

P O E M S,

SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN AT BRISTOL;

IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,

By THOMAS ROWLEY, PRIEST, &c.

WITH A

C O M M E N T A R Y,

IN WHICH

THE ANTIQUITY OF THEM IS CONSIDERED,
AND DEFENDED.

BY JEREMIAH MILLES, D. D.

DEAN OF EXETER.

RENASCENTUR QUÆ JAM CECIDERE.

HOR. DE ARTE POETICA.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR T. PAYNE, AND SON, AT THE MEWS GATE.

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE Reader is informed, that the following Poems are printed verbatim from the former Editions, with the Errata corrected. The Preface, and Introductory Account, prefixed to those Editions, are added, on account of the variety of useful information which they contain. The order of the latter is transposed, that it may correspond with the present arrangement of the Poems.

The Glossary which accompanied the text in the former Editions, and was copied from MSS. in the hand-writing of Thomas Chatterton, is reprinted entire, in Roman characters. The additions and alterations

alterations in the present Edition, are distinguished by Italics; and the same rule is observed in the alphabetical Glossary at the end of the Volume, which is greatly enlarged, both in words and references, of which the Reader will be more particularly informed in the Advertisement prefixed to that Glossary.

T H E

C O N T E N T S

O F T H I S V O L U M E.

	Page
P REFACE to the former Editions, — —	vii
Introductory Account to ditto, — —	xii
Preliminary Dissertation, — —	I
Preface to Battle of Hastings, N° 1. — —	33
Battle of Hastings, N° 1. — —	40
Preface to Battle of Hastings, N° 2. — —	95
Battle of Hastings, N° 2. — —	97
General observations on Ælla, — —	159
Epistle to Maſtre Canynge on Ella, — —	165
Letter to the dygne Maſtre Canynge, — —	170
Preface to Ella, — —	175
Entroduktionne, — —	195
Tragedy of Ella, — —	196
Prologue to Goddwyn, — —	280
Preface to Goddwyn, — —	282
Goddwyn, a Tragedie, — —	285
Preface to the Tournament, — —	301
The Tournament, an interlude, — —	306
	Preface

vi THE CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

	Page
Preface to the Bristowe Tragedie, — — —	320
Bristowe Tragedie, or the Dethe of Syr Charles Bawdin,	328
Preface to the Englysh Metamorphosis, — — —	353
Englysh Metamorphosis, — — —	355
Preface to the Balade of Charitie, — — —	364
An excelente Balade of Charitie, — — —	366
Preface to the Songe to Ella, — — —	375
Challenge, and Songe to Ella, — — —	382
Preface to the Eclogues, — — —	389
Eclogue the First, — — —	391
Preface to Eclogue the Second, — — —	398
Eclogue the Second, — — —	400
Preface to Eclogue the Third, — — —	407
Eclogue the Third, — — —	408
Preface to Eclogue the Fourth, or Elinoure and Juga, —	414
Eclogue the Fourth, or Elinoure and Juga, —	416
Preface to the Poem onn oure Ladies Churche, —	419
Onn oure Ladies Churche, — — —	423
On the fame, — — —	424
Epitaph on Robert Canynge, — — —	427
Preface to the Storie of William Canynge, —	428
The Storie of William Canynge, — — —	430
On Happiencesse, by William Canynge, —	447
Onn John a Dalbenie, by the fame, —	449
The Goulers Requiem, by the fame, —	ibid.
The Accounte of W. Canynges Feast, — — —	451
Additional Evidence, — — —	453
Answer to the Appendix, — — —	464
Glossary — — —	523

P R E F A C E

P R E F A C E

TO THE FORMER EDITIONS.

THE Poems, which make the principal part of this Collection, have for some time excited much curiosity, as the supposed productions of THOMAS ROWLEY, a priest of Bristol, in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. They are here faithfully printed from the most authentic MSS. that could be procured; of which a particular description is given in the *Introductory Account of the several pieces contained in this volume*, subjoined to this Preface. Nothing more therefore seems necessary at present, than to inform the Reader shortly of the manner in which these Poems were first brought to light, and of the authority upon which they are ascribed to the persons whose names they bear.

This cannot be done so satisfactorily as in the words of Mr. George Catcott of Bristol, to whose very laudable zeal the Public is indebted for the most considerable part of the following collection. His account of the matter is this: “The first discovery of certain
“ MSS. having been deposited in Redclift church, above three
“ centuries ago, was made in the year 1768, at the time of open-
“ ing the new bridge at Bristol, and was owing to a publication
“ in *Farley’s Weekly Journal*, 1 October 1768, containing an
“ *Account of the ceremonies observed at the opening of the old bridge,*
“ taken,

viii PREFACE TO THE FORMER EDITIONS.

“ taken, as it was said, from a very antient MS. This excited
 “ the curiosity of some persons to enquire after the original. The
 “ printer, Mr. Farley, could give no account of it, or of the
 “ person who brought the copy; but after much enquiry it was
 “ discovered, that the person who brought the copy was a youth,
 “ between fifteen and sixteen years of age, whose name was
 “ Thomas Chatterton, and whose family had been sextons of
 “ Redclift church for near one hundred and fifty years. His
 “ father, who was now dead, had also been master of the free-
 “ school in Pile-street. The young man was at first very un-
 “ willing to discover from whence he had the original; but, after
 “ many promises made to him, he was at last prevailed on to ac-
 “ knowledge, that he had received this. *together with many other*
 “ *MSS*, from his father, who had found them in a large chest in
 “ an upper room over the chapel on the north side of Redclift
 “ church.”

Soon after this, Mr. Catcott commenced his acquaintance with
 young Chatterton *, and, partly as presents, partly as purchases,
 procured from him copies of many of his MSS. in prose and verse.

Other

* The history of this youth is so intimately connected with that of the poems
 now published, that the Reader cannot be too early apprized of the principal cir-
 cumstances of his short life. He was born on the 20th of November 1752, and
 educated at a charity-school on St. Augustin's Back, where nothing more was
 taught than reading, writing, and accounts. At the age of fourteen, he was
 articled clerk to an attorney, with whom he continued till he left Bristol in
 April 1770.

Though his education was thus confined, he discovered an early turn towards
 poetry and English antiquities, particularly heraldry. How soon he began
 to be an author, is not known. In the *Town and Country Magazine* for March
 1769, are two letters, probably, from him, as they are dated at Bristol, and sub-
 scribed with his usual signature, D. B. The first contains short extracts from
 two MSS, “ *written three hundred years ago by one Rowley, a Monk,*” concerning
 dress in the age of Henry II.; the other, “ *ETHELGAR, a Saxon poem,*” in bom-
 bast prose. In the same Magazine for May 1769, are three communications from
 Bristol, with the same signature, D. B. viz. CERDICK, *translated from the Saxon*

Other copies were disposed of in the same way, to Mr. William Barrett, an eminent surgeon at Bristol, who has long been engaged in writing the history of that city. Mr. Barrett also procured from him several fragments, some of a considerable length, written

(in the same style with *ETHELGAR*), p. 233.—*Observations upon Saxon heraldry*, with drawings of *Saxon achievements*, &c. p. 245.—*ELINOURE and JUGA*, written three hundred years ago by T. ROWLEY, a secular priest, p. 273. This last poem is reprinted in this volume, (p. 416. of this edition.) In the subsequent months of 1769 and 1770 there are several other pieces in the same Magazine, which are undoubtedly of his composition.

In April 1770, he left Bristol and came to London, in hopes of advancing his fortune by his talents for writing, of which, by this time, he had conceived a very high opinion. In the prosecution of this scheme, he appears to have almost entirely depended upon the patronage of a set of gentlemen, whom an eminent author long ago pointed out, as *not the very worst judges or rewarders of merit*, the booksellers of this great city. At his first arrival indeed he was so unlucky as to find two of his expected Mæcenases, the one in the King's Bench, and the other in Newgate. But this little disappointment was alleviated by the encouragement which he received from other quarters; and on the 14th of May he writes to his mother, in high spirits upon the change in his situation, with the following sarcastic reflection upon his former patrons at Bristol. "*As to Mr. —, Mr. —, Mr. —, &c. &c. they rate literary lumber so low, that I believe an author, in their estimation, must be poor indeed! But here matters are otherwise. Had Rowley been a Londoner instead of a Bristowyan, I could have lived by copying his works.*"

In a letter to his sister, dated 30 May, he informs her, that he is to be employed "*in writing a voluminous history of London, to appear in numbers the beginning of next winter.*" In the mean time, he had written something in praise of the Lord Mayor (Beckford), which had procured him the honour of being presented to his lordship. In the letter just mentioned he gives the following account of his reception, with some curious observations upon political writing: "*The Lord Mayor received me as politely as a citizen could. But the devil of the matter is, there is no money to be got of this side of the question.—But he is a poor author who cannot write on both sides.—Essays on the patriotic side will fetch no more than what the copy is sold for. As the patriots themselves are searching for a place, they have no gratuity to spare.—On the other hand, unpopular essays will not even be accepted; and you must pay to have them printed: but then you seldom lose by it, as courtiers are so sensible of their deficiency in merit, that they generously reward all who know how to dawb them with the appearance of it.*"

b

Notwithstanding

X PREFACE TO THE FORMER EDITIONS.

written upon vellum *, which he asserted to be part of his original MSS. In short, in the space of about eighteen months, from October 1768 to April 1770, besides the Poems now published, he produced as many compositions, in prose and verse, under the names of Rowley, Canynge, &c. as would nearly fill such another volume.

In April 1770 Chatterton went to London, and died there in the August following; so that the whole history of this very extraordinary transaction cannot now probably be known with any certainty. Whatever may have been his part in it; whether he was the author, or only the copier (as he constantly asserted) of all these productions; he appears to have kept the secret entirely to himself, and not to have put it in the power of any other person, to bear certain testimony either to his fraud or to his veracity.

The question therefore concerning the authenticity of these

Notwithstanding his employment on the History of London, he continued to write incessantly in various periodical publications. On the 11th of July he tells his sister that he had pieces last month in the *Gospel Magazine*; the *Town and Country*, viz. Maria Friendless; False Step; Hunter of Oddities; To Miss Bush, &c. *Court and City*; *London*; *Political Register*, &c. But all these exertions of his genius brought in so little profit, that he was soon reduced to real indigence; from which he was relieved by death (in what manner is not certainly known), on the 24th of August, or thereabout, when he wanted near three months to complete his eighteenth year. The floor of his chamber was covered with written papers, which he had torn into small pieces; but there was no appearance (as the Editor has been credibly informed) of any writings on parchment or vellum.

* One of these fragments, by Mr. Barrett's permission, has been copied in the manner of a *Fac simile*, by that ingenious artist Mr. Strutt, and an engraving of it is inserted (p. 452 of this edition.) Two other small fragments of Poetry are printed (p. 427 and 430 of this edition.) See the *Introductory Account*. The fragments in prose, which are considerably larger, Mr. Barrett intends to publish in his History of Bristol, which, the Editor has the satisfaction to inform the Publick, is very far advanced. In the same work will be inserted *A Discourse on Bristowe*, and the other historical pieces in prose, which Chatterton at different times delivered out, as copied from Rowley's MSS.; with such remarks by Mr. Barrett, as he of all men living is best qualified to make, from his accurate researches into the Antiquities of Bristol.

Poems must now be decided by an examination of the fragments upon vellum, which Mr. Barrett received from Chatterton as part of his original MSS., and by the internal evidence which the several pieces afford. If the Fragments shall be judged to be genuine, it will still remain to be determined, how far their genuineness should serve to authenticate the rest of the collection, of which no copies, older than those made by Chatterton, have ever been produced. On the other hand, if the writing of the Fragments shall be judged to be counterfeit and forged by Chatterton, it will not of necessity follow, that the matter of them was also forged by him, and still less, that all the other compositions, which he professed to have copied from antient MSS., were merely inventions of his own. In either case, the decision must finally depend upon the internal evidence.

It may be expected, perhaps, that the Editor should give an opinion upon this important question; but he rather chooses, for many reasons, to leave it to the determination of the unprejudiced and intelligent Reader. He had long been desirous that these Poems should be printed; and therefore readily undertook the charge of superintending the edition. This he has executed in the manner, which seemed to him best suited to such a publication; and here he means that his task shall end. Whether the Poems be really ancient, or modern; the compositions of Rowley, or the forgeries of Chatterton; they must always be considered as a most singular literary curiosity.

INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT

OF THE

SEVERAL PIECES CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS, N° 1.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS, N° 2.

IN printing the first of these poems, two copies have been made use of, both taken from copies of Chatterton's hand-writing, the one by Mr. Catcott, and the other by Mr. Barrett. The principal difference between them is at the end, where the latter copy has fourteen lines from ver. 550, which are wanting in the former. The second poem is printed from a single copy, made by Mr. Barrett from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

It should be observed, that the Poem marked N° 1, was given to Mr. Barrett by Chatterton with the following title; "*Battle of Hastings, wrote by Turgot the Monk, a Saxon, in the tenth century, and translated by Thomas Rowley, parish priest of St. Johns in the city of Bristol. in the year 1465.—The remainder of the poem I have not been happy enough to meet with.*" Being afterwards press'd by Mr. Barrett to produce any part of this poem in the original hand writing, he at last said, that he wrote this poem himself for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then desired to produce that

other poem, he, after a considerable interval of time, brought to Mr. Barrett the poem marked N° 2, as far as ver. 520 incl. with the following title; “*Battle of Hallyngs by Turgotus, translated by Roulie for W. Canynge Esq.*” The lines from ver. 521 incl. were brought some time after, in consequence of Mr. Barrett’s repeated solicitations for the conclusion of the poem.

Æ L L A, A TRAGYCAL ENTERLUDE.

This Poem, with the *Epistle*, *Letter*, and *Entreductionne*, is printed from a folio MS. furnished by Mr. Catcott, in the beginning of which he has written, “Chatterton’s transcript. 1769.” The whole transcript is of Chatterton’s hand-writing.

G O D D W Y N, A TRAGEDIE.

This fragment is printed from the MS. mentioned p. xvi. in Chatterton’s hand-writing.

T H E T O U R N A M E N T.

This Poem is printed from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton’s hand-writing.

Sir Simon de Bourton, the hero of this poem, is supposed to have been the first founder of a church dedicated to *oure Ladie*, in the place where the church of St. Mary Ratcliffe now stands. Mr. Barrett has a small leaf of vellum (given to him by Chatterton as one of Rowley’s original MSS.), entitled, “*Vita de Simon de Bourton*,” in which Sir Simon is said, as in the poem, to have begun his foundation in consequence of a vow made at a tournament.

T H E D E T H E O F S Y R C H A R L E S B A W D I N.

This Poem is reprinted from the copy printed at London in 1772, with a few corrections from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton’s hand-writing.

The person here celebrated, under the name of *Syr Charles Bawdin*,

Bawdin, was probably *Sir Baldewyn Fulford*, Knt. a zealous Lancastrian, who was executed at Bristol in the latter end of 1461, the first year of Edward the Fourth. He was attainted, with many others, in the general act of Attainder, 1 Edw. IV. but he seems to have been executed under a special commission for the trial of treasons, &c. within the town of Bristol. The fragment of the old chronicle, published by Hearne at the end of *Sprotti Chronica*, p. 289. says only; “Item the same yere (1 Edw. IV.) “was takin Sir Baldewine Fulford and bebedid att Bristow.” But the matter is more fully stated in the act which passed in 7 Edw. IV. for the restitution in blood and estate of Thomas Fulford, Knt. eldest son of Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford, in the county of Devonshire, Knt. *Rot. Pat.* 8 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 13. The preamble of this act, after stating the attainder by the act 1 Edw. IV. goes on thus: “And also the said Baldewyn, the said first yere “of your noble reign, at Bristowe in the shere of Bristowe, before Henry Erle of Essex, William Hastings of Hastings Knt., “Richard Chock, William Canyng Maire of the said towne of “Bristowe and Thomas Yong, by force of your letters patentes “to theym and other directe to here and determine all treasons “&c. doon withyn the said towne of Bristowe before the vth day “of September the first yere of your said reign, was atteynt of “dyvers trefons by him doon ayenst your Highnes &c.” If the commission came soon after the vth of September, as is most probable, King Edward might very possibly be at Bristol at the time of Sir Baldewyn’s execution; for, in the interval between his coronation and the parliament which met in November, he made a progress (as the Continuator of Stowe informs us, p. 416.) by the South coast into the West, and was (among other places) at Bristol. Indeed there is a circumstance which might lead us to believe, that he was actually a spectator of the execution from the minster-window, as described in the poem. In an old account of the Procurators of St. Ewin’s church, which was then the

SEVERAL PIECES CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME. xv

the minster, from xx March in the 1 Edward IV. to 1 April in the year next ensuing, is the following article, according to a copy made by Mr. Catcott from the original book.

“Item for wasshynge the church payven ageyns } iiij d. ob.
Kynge Edward 4th is comynge.

ENGLISH METAMORPHOSIS.

This Poem is printed from a single sheet in Chatterton's hand-writing, communicated by Mr. Barrett, who received it from Chatterton.

BALADE OF CHARITIE.

This Poem is also printed from a single sheet in Chatterton's hand-writing. It was sent to the Printer of the *Town and Country Magazine*, with the following letter prefixed :

“To the Printer of the Town and Country Magazine.

“S I R,

“If the Glossary annexed to the following piece will make the
“language intelligible; the Sentiment, Description, and Verifi-
“cation, are highly deserving the attention of the literati.

“July 4, 1770.

D. B.”

VERSES TO LYDGATE.

SONGE TO ÆLLA.

LYDGATE'S ANSWER.

These three small Poems are printed from a copy in Mr. Catcott's hand-writing. Since they were printed off, the Editor has had an opportunity of comparing them with a copy made by Mr. Barrett from the piece of vellum, which Chatterton formerly
gave

gave to him as the original MS. The variations of importance (exclusive of many in the spelling) are set down below*.

ECLOGUE THE FIRST.

ECLOGUE THE SECOND.

ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

These three Eclogues are printed from a MS. furnished by

* *Verfes to Lydgate.*

In the title, for *Ladgate*, r. *Lydgate*.

ver. 2. r. *Thatt I and thee*.

3. for *bee*, r. *goe*.

7. for *fyghte*, r. *wryte*.

Songe to Ælla.

The title in the vellum MS. was simply "*Songe to Ælle*," with a small mark of reference to a note below, containing the following words—" *Lorde of the castelle of Brytayne yune daies of yore*." It may be proper also to take notice, that the whole song was there written like prose, without any breaks, or divisions into verses.

ver. 6. for *brastynge*, r. *burstynge*.

11. for *valyante*, r. *burlic*.

23. for *dysmall*, r. *honore*.

Lydgate's answer.

No title in the vellum MS.

ver. 3. for *warfes*, r. *pene*.

antep. for *Lendes*, r. *Sendes*.

ult. for *lyne*, r. *thyng*.

Mr. Barrett had also a copy of these Poems by Chatterton, which differed from that, which Chatterton afterwards produced as the original, in the following particulars, among others:

In the title of the *Verfes to Lydgate*.

Orig. *Lydgate* — Chat. *Ladgate*.

ver. 3. Orig. *goe*. — Chat. *doe*.

7. Orig. *wryte*. — Chat. *fyghte*.

Songe to Ælla.

ver. 5. Orig. *Dacyant*. — Chat. *Dacya's*.

Orig. *whose lockes* — Chat. *whose hayres*.

11. Orig. *burlic*. — Chat. *bronded*.

22. Orig. *kennyl*. — Chat. *bearyl*.

23. Orig. *honore*. — Chat. *dysmall*.

26. Orig. *1'prauncynge*. Chat. *1'frayning*.

30. Orig. *gloue*. — Chat. *glare*.

Mr.

SEVERAL PIECES CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME. xvii

Mr. Catcott, in the hand-writing of Thomas Chatterton. It is a thin copy-book in 4to. with the following title in the first page. "*Eclogues and other Poems by Thomas Rowley, with a Glossary and Annotations by Thomas Chatterton.*"

There is only one other Poem in this book, viz. the fragment of "*Goddwyn, a Tragedie,*" which see below, p. 279.

ELINOURE AND JUGA.

This Poem is reprinted from the *Town and Country Magazine* for May 1769, p. 273. It is there entitled, "*Elinoure and Juga. Written three hundred years ago by T. Rowley a secular priest.*" And it has the following subscription; "D. B. Bristol, May, 1769." Chatterton soon after told Mr. Catcott, that he (Chatterton) inserted it in the Magazine.

The present Editor has taken the liberty to supply [between-hooks] the names of the speakers, at ver. 22 and 29, which had probably been omitted by some accident in the first publication; as the nature of the composition seems to require, that the dialogue should proceed by alternate stanzas.

ONN OURE LADIES CHYRCHE. ON THE SAME.

The first of these Poems is printed from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

The other is taken from a MS. in Chatterton's hand-writing, furnished by Mr. Catcott, entitled, "*A Discorse on Bristowe, by Thomas Rowle.*" See the Preface, p. x. n. *.

EPITAPH ON ROBERT CANYNGE.

This is one of the fragments of vellum, given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett, as part of his original MSS.

THE STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE.

The 34 first lines of this Poem are extant upon another of the vellum fragments, given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrat. The remainder is printed from a copy furnished by Mr. Catcott, with some corrections from another copy, made by Mr. Barrett from one in Chatterton's hand-writing. This poem makes part of a prose-work, attributed to Rowley, giving an account of *Painters, Carvers, Poets*, and other eminent natives of Bristol, from the earliest times to his own. The whole will be published by Mr. Barrett, with remarks, and large additions; among which we may expect a complete and authentic history of that distinguished citizen of Bristol, Mr. William Canynge. In the mean time, the Reader may see several particulars relating to him in *Cambden's Britannia, Somerset*. Col. 95.—*Rymer's Fadera*, &c. ann. 1449 & 1450.—*Tanner's Not. Monast.* Art. BRISTOL and WESTBURY.—*Dugdale's Warwickshire*, p. 634.

It may be proper just to remark here, that Mr. Canynge's brother, mentioned in ver. 129, who was lord mayor of London in 1456, is called *Thomas* by Stowe in his List of Mayors, &c.

The transaction alluded to in the last Stanza is related at large in some prose Memoirs of Rowley, of which a very incorrect copy has been printed in the *Town and Country Magazine* for November 1775. It is there said, that Mr. Canynge went into orders, to avoid a marriage, proposed by King Edward, between him and a lady of the Widdewile family. It is certain, from the Register of the Bishop of Worcester, that Mr. Canynge was ordained *Acolyte* by Bishop Carpenter on 19 September 1467, and received the higher orders of *Subdeacon*, *Deacon*, and *Priest*, on the 12th of March, 1467, O. S. the 2d and 16th of April, 1468, respectively.

ON HAPPINESSE, BY WILLIAM CANYNGE.

ONNE JOHNE A DALBENIE, BY THE SAME.

THE GOULER'S REQUIEM, BY THE SAME.

THE ACCOUNTE OF W. CANYNGE'S FEASTE.

Of these four Poems attributed to Mr. Canynge, the three first are printed from Mr. Catcott's copies. The last is taken from a fragment of vellum, which Chatterton gave to Mr. Barrett as an original. The Editor has doubts about the reading of the second word in ver. 7, but he has printed it *keene*, as he found it so in other copies. The Reader may judge for himself, by examining the *Fac simile* in the opposite page.

With respect to the three friends of Mr. Canynge mentioned in the last line, the name of *Rowley* is sufficiently known from the preceding poems. *Iscaun* appears as an actor in the tragedy of *Ælla*, p. 158. and in that of *Goddwyn*, p. 279; and a poem, ascribed to him, entitled "*The merry Tricks of Laymington*," is inserted in the "*Discorse of Bristowe*." Sir *Theobald Gorges* was a knight of an ancient family seated at Wraxhall, within a few miles of Bristol [See *Rot. Parl.* 3 H. VI. n. 28. *Leland's Itin.* vol. VII. p. 98.]. He has also appeared above as an actor in both the tragedies, and as the author of one of the *Mynstrelles songs* in *Ælla*, p. 211. His connexion with Mr. Canynge is verified by a deed of the latter, dated 20 October, 1467, in which he gives to trustees, in part of a benefaction of £. 500 to the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, "*certain jewells of Sir Theobald Gorges, Knt.*" which had been pawned to him for £. 160.

NOTE OF REFERENCE
TO THE
FOLLOWING SHEETS.

THE Reader is referred to page 453, for the Additional Evidence in favour of these Poems, which came too late to be inserted in its proper place, and contains a letter written by Mr. Thistlethwaite, who was an intimate friend of Chatterton, nearly of the same age, and, like him, had a turn for poetry. Mr. Bryant, in his very able defence of these Poems, lately published, page 492, contrasts a Poem written by Mr. Thistlethwaite, called *The Consultation*, with one by Chatterton, entitled *The Confutatio*, and gives a preference to the former composition.

P R E L I M I N A R Y

D I S S E R T A T I O N.

THE poems of Rowley, so long and so impatiently expected, have now made their appearance in the world; and, by being collected in one volume, have afforded ample scope to the lovers of ancient poetry, and to the critics in ancient language, to judge of their merit and authenticity.

The public is already informed, that the principal materials which compose the volume, were collected by the laudable industry and indefatigable zeal of Mr. George Catcott of Bristol, who availed himself of an early acquaintance with young Chatterton, to procure from him transcripts of these poems; and by the same means, Mr. Barrett of Bristol was enabled to enlarge the collection, reserving to himself such pieces in poetry and prose, as related particularly to the history of Bristol, which he has for some time been preparing for the press, and (it is hoped) will soon communicate to the public.

The uncommon merit of these poems could not escape the penetrating genius of Chatterton from the first moment of their discovery: his mother and sister are still living, to attest the earnestness with which he collected, perused, decyphered, and transcribed those ancient parchments, which had been deposited in his father's house before he was born: his friends, to whom

he first communicated them, beheld, with equal pleasure and surprise, a superiority in the language and stile, in the sentiment and numbers of this poetry, distinguishing it from every other specimen of the fifteenth century hitherto produced. This superiority, together with the uncommon circumstances attending the discovery of these parchments, created doubts or suspicions concerning their authenticity; and the few detached specimens then circulating in private hands, were insufficient to determine the judgment of the critics upon this point.

In this situation they attracted the notice of their learned editor, who was neither insensible of their merit, nor a stranger to the doubts which had arisen concerning them; but (as a friend to learning, and a lover of ancient poetry) “was desirous that they should be printed; and therefore readily undertook the charge of superintending the edition, chusing at that time, for many reasons, to decline giving his opinion on the question of their authenticity, which he left to the determination of the unprejudiced and intelligent reader.”

If the evidence did not appear at that time sufficient to determine his judgment in their favour, it may be presumed at least that his opinion was suspended in an equal balance; and that he would not have produced to the world any composition, which he thought to be spurious, or which was likely to appear so in the judgment of the public.

On a subsequent examination, he has changed his opinion of this poetry; and, from some words and phrases which appeared doubtful to him in point of antiquity, he has condemned the whole collection as spurious, declaring them, in his Appendix, “not to have been written by any ancient author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton.” Should his opinion be decisive with the public, have we not great reason to lament the untoward fate of this excellent poet, whose merit whilst living was unknown to, or at least unnoticed by his contemporaries; whose works were consigned to oblivion by the zeal of his friend and patron Canning for their preservation; and who, being afterwards raised from
a slumber

a slumber of three centuries by the fortunate hand of Chatterton, and ushered into the world under the patronage of this eminent critic, should now feel that hand exerted against him, which had lately been so instrumental in restoring him to a second life?

But although the weight of Rowley's antagonists may be great, and the number of his advocates few, yet the genuineness of these poems is not given up by the literary world; legal as well as poetical justice requires, that he should be allowed to speak for himself before sentence is finally pronounced against him; and therefore, with permission of the critics, we will pay the same respect to his merit, which he paid to that of his favourite Ella,

And rowze hym uppe before the judgment daie,
To saie what he as Clergyond can kenne,
And howe hee sojourned in the vale of Men.

Entroductionne to Ella.

It may be expected that the existence of the poet should be proved, before his works are made the subject of a comment, though the authenticity of the poetry does not depend upon this circumstance: for the present question is not, whether the author was called Rowley or Chatterton; but, whether the poetry itself was composed by a learned priest in the fifteenth century, or by an illiterate charity-boy of the present age. Mr. Tyrwhit and Mr. Warton have adopted the latter supposition, in which they have been followed by many respectable persons, who have not given themselves the trouble to examine this poetry with a critical impartiality, being strongly prepossessed with the idea that refined sentiment, polished diction, and harmony of numbers (so eminently conspicuous in these compositions) are the peculiar features, and sole property of modern poetry. What weight may be due to this opinion, will appear from the following observations.

It is to be remarked, in the first place, that every circumstance

B 2

relating

relating to this uncommon discovery seems to reduce us to this alternative; either to believe that they were really copied by Chatterton from parchments found in Redcliff church, or that they were written by himself, and produced to the world under that false title. Rowley has hitherto appeared as the reputed author, and ought not to be dispossessed, till some other person can produce a better title: not that a deficiency of evidence in support of Rowley's claim, will necessarily establish that of Chatterton: for the æra of the poems may be later than the fifteenth, and earlier than the eighteenth century: They might not have been written either by that learned priest, or this illiterate youth. The difficulties, which on one side of the question are great, on the other are insurmountable. The subject of some of these poems seems to claim a determinate æra, and, as far as the knowledge and attestation of Chatterton are concerned, they can relate to no other period or author. He persisted in asserting their authenticity, except in one instance, which will be accounted for hereafter; and never seriously laid claim to any of them as written by himself. If the fact was otherwise, the truth is gone to the grave with him, alike concealed from the knowledge of the world, from his intimate friends, his family, and nearest relations.

In the former editions we may see some general lineaments of this extraordinary youth; but, as the facts and circumstances attending his progress through a very short and unhappy life, will supply many topics of argument to illustrate the present subject; it may not be improper to produce the result of a most exact and diligent enquiry, made by a gentleman of great credit and veracity, from Chatterton's mother and sister, and from such of his surviving friends, who were enabled to give him information on this subject.

His mother says, that he was born November 20th, 1752, and baptized at Redcliff church the 1st of January following: That he first went to school at five years of age, was admitted into Colston's charity-school August 3d, 1761, was bound apprentice to

to Mr. John Lambert, attorney of Bristol, for seven years, on the 1st of July, 1767, removing the same day from the school to his master's house. The instruction in Colston's school was confined to writing, reading, and arithmetic: the hours appointed for it, during the summer half year, were from seven to twelve, and from one to five: in the winter, two hours less each day. He was always in bed by eight of the clock, and never permitted to be absent, except on Saturdays and saints days, from between one and two till seven or eight at night. When he first went to school, he was observed to be of slow apprehension and uncommonly dull; was above five years old before he knew his letters; his writing-master, Mr. Love, who succeeded Chatterton's father as master of the school in Pile-street, thought it impossible to make him learn them; and he had a fancy to be taught his letters by his mother, from the illuminated initials in an old vellum French MS. treatise on music; and which most probably came from Redcliff church: she taught him afterwards to read, from a black-lettered Testament (as she called it) meaning a Bible. But before he left that school he grew fond of reading, and borrowed from Mr. Long, Mr. Shircliff, and particularly from Mr. Green, who had the largest collection of any bookseller in Bristol (and to whom he was obliged for Speght's Chaucer,) such books as their shops produced; but he knew nothing of the parchments taken from Redcliff church, nor of their contents, till he had left Mr. Colston's school. The office-hours at Mr. Lambert's were from seven in the morning till eight at night; and Mr. Lambert, who attests the regularity of his attendance, says that he was never but once known to be out of the house after ten of the clock at night: but he then went to bed very late, and rose very early, seldom spending more time with his mother and sister than from eight to nine in the evening. He left Mr. Lambert in April 1770, and went to London, where it is supposed he put an end to his miserable life in the month of August following.

As to the parchments, Mrs. Chatterton says, that her husband's
uncle,

uncle, John Chatterton, was chosen sexton of Redcliff church March 25, 1725, and dying in that office in 1748, was succeeded by Humphrey Perrot, who died May 1756; that her husband keeping a writing-school in Pile-street, the uncle furnished him with many old parchments for covering the boys copy-books, a little before the death of Mr. Gibbs, vicar of Redcliff, which parchments were taken out of some ancient chests in the room over the north porch of Redcliff church, (now empty, and still to be seen in that room :) That the charity-boys belonging to the school in Pile-street brought these parchments to her husband's house, and that they filled a large mawnd basket: That many of them had seals, the figure of a pope or bishop in a chair; others had no seals: That her husband put them in cupboards in the school, for the purpose of covering the boys writing-books; the best of them were put to that use, and the rest remained in the cupboard: she thinks her husband read some of them, but does not know that he transcribed any, or was acquainted with their value: Being particularly fond of music, he employed his leisure hours in writing it for the cathedral, of which he was a singing-man: He had been employed in London in engrossing deeds for the attorneys, and was probably acquainted with the old hands; he had also been writing-usher to a school where the classics were taught, and thereby knew a little of the Latin tongue: he died August 1752, about three months before his son was born.—She says that the parchments in question, at the time of her husband's death, were contained in a cupboard in the school-room, where they remained as long as the widow continued in the house, which was an indulgence granted her for some time after her husband's death. On her removal from thence, she emptied the cupboard of its contents, partly into a large long deal box, where her husband used to keep his cloaths, and partly into a square oak box of a much smaller size; carrying both, with their contents, to her lodgings, where, according to her account, they continued neglected and undisturbed, till her son

first discovered their real value; who, having examined their contents, told his mother “that he had found a treasure, and was so glad nothing could be like it:” That he then removed all these parchments out of the large long deal box under the bed, in which his father used to keep his cloaths, into a square oak box of a smaller size: That he was perpetually rummaging and ransacking every corner in the house for more parchments, and, from time to time, carried away those he had already found, by pockets-full: That one day, happening to see Clarke’s History of the Bible covered with one of those parchments, he swore a great oath, and, stripping the book, put the cover into his pocket, and carried it away; at the same time stripping a common little Bible, but finding no writing on the cover, replaced it again very leisurely. Twenty Bibles were presented to the charity-boys of Pile-street, of which Chatterton was master, by the Reverend Mr. Gibbs, vicar of Redcliff church, under whose appointment Chatterton acted, which Bibles were afterwards covered with the parchments taken from the room over the porch. Upon his being informed by his mother from whence, and by what means, his father first procured these parchments, he went himself to the place, and picked up four more, which, if Mrs. Chatterton remembers right, Mr. Barrett has at this time in his possession. Mr. Barrett confirms this testimony, with regard to Chatterton’s bringing parchments to him, which he took from the room over the porch, who also said that he had been there more than once; but Mr. Barrett observes that these parchments contained deeds of land, &c. in Latin, and that Chatterton desired Mr. Barrett to read them to him, as he neither understood the language nor character in which they were written.

Mrs. Newton his sister, being asked if she remembers his having mentioned Rowley’s poems, after the discovery of the parchments; says, that he was perpetually talking on that subject, and once in particular, (about two years before he left Bristol) when a relation, one Mr. Stephens of Salisbury, made them

them a visit, he talked of nothing else; which Mr. Stephens has since confirmed, as to the general tenor of the conversation, though, at such a distance of time, he does not charge his memory with particulars: That he used to read Rowley very often to her, and sometimes his own poems; but, as the latter were almost wholly satirical, the mother and grandmother grew uneasy, fearing that they should involve him in some scrape; after which he chiefly read Rowley to her; one of the poems on our lady's church (but which of the two she does not know) he read from a parchment, and (as she believes) the battle of Hastings also; but is not certain. Being asked if she remembered any particular passages that he had read, she replied "The language was so old, that I could not understand them: they were all to me a mere blank, I had no kind of relish for them. This my brother used sometimes to perceive, would grow angry, and scold at me for want of taste; but what I sickened my poor brother with, I remember very well, was my inattention to the Battle of Hastings, which before he used to be perpetually repeating." When he was communicative, he would read the play of Ella to his sister; and she recollects his having mentioned the names of Turgot and John Stow: she never saw him copying any of these parchments at his mother's, but concluded that he did it at Mr. Lambert's office; where once, and once only, she thinks that she saw him transcribing one of them: she describes these parchments as *curled* and *crumpled*, and *green about the edges*.

This account, which was given by Mrs. Newton to some respectable friends who lamented the untimely fate of her brother, and compassionated the situation of her family upon that occasion, is confirmed and illustrated by the following letter, which she wrote some time since, to the author of a pamphlet, entitled "*Love and Madness*," and which he has thought fit to publish in that work.

" Conscious

“ Conscious of my own inability to write to a man of letters,
 “ and reluctant to engage in the painful recollection of the parti-
 “ culars of the life of my dear deceased brother; together with
 “ the ill state of health I’ve enjoyed since it has been required of
 “ me, are, Sir, the real causes of my not writing sooner. But I
 “ am invited to write as to a friend: inspired with the sacred name,
 “ I will forget the incorrectness of my epistle, and proceed.

“ My brother very early discovered a thirst for pre-eminence.
 “ I remember, before he was five years old, he would always pre-
 “ side over his playmates as their master, and they his hired ser-
 “ vants. He was dull in learning, not knowing many letters at
 “ four years old, and always objected to read in a small book. He
 “ learnt the alphabet from an old folio musick-book of my father’s,
 “ my mother was then tearing up for waste paper; the capitals at
 “ the beginning of the verses, I assisted in teaching him. I recol-
 “ lect nothing remarkable till he went into the school, which was
 “ in his eighth year, excepting his promising my mother and me
 “ a deal of finery, when he grew up, as a reward of her care. About
 “ his tenth year he began (with the trifle my mother allowed
 “ him for pocket-money) to hire books from the circulating li-
 “ brary, and (we were informed by the usher) made rapid progress
 “ in arithmetick. Between his eleventh and twelfth year, he wrote
 “ a catalogue of the books he had read, to the number of seventy:
 “ History and divinity were the chief subjects: his schoolmates
 “ informed us, he retired to read at the hours allotted for play.
 “ At twelve years old, he was confirmed by the bishop: he made
 “ very sensible serious remarks on the awfulness of the ceremony,
 “ and his own feelings and convictions during it. Soon after this,
 “ in the week he was door-keeper, he made some verses on the
 “ last day, I think about eighteen lines; paraphrased the ninth
 “ chapter of Job; and, not long after, some chapters in Isaiah.
 “ He had been gloomy from the time he began to learn, but we
 “ remarked he was more chearful after he began to write poetry.
 “ Some satirical pieces we saw soon after. His intimates in the

“ school were but few, and they solid lads ; and, except the next
 “ neighbours’ sons, I know of none acquaintance he had out. He
 “ was fourteen the twentieth of November, and bound apprentice
 “ the first of July following. Soon after his apprenticeship, he
 “ corresponded with one of his schoolmates, that had been his bed-
 “ fellow, and was, I believe, bound to a merchant at New-York.
 “ He read a letter at home, that he wrote to his friend, a col-
 “ lection of all the hard words in the English language, and re-
 “ quested him to answer it. He was a lover of truth from the
 “ earliest dawn of reason, and nothing would move him so much
 “ as being belied. When in the school, we were informed by the
 “ usher, his master depended on his veracity on all occasions. Till
 “ this time he was remarkably indifferent to females. One day
 “ he was remarking to me the tendency severe study had to four
 “ the temper, and declared he had always seen all the sex with
 “ equal indifference, but those that nature made dear: he thought
 “ of making an acquaintance with a girl in the neighbourhood,
 “ supposing it might soften the austerity of temper study had
 “ occasioned; he wrote a poem to her, and they commenced
 “ corresponding acquaintance. About this time the parchments
 “ belonging to my father, that were left of covering his boys
 “ books, my brother carried to the office. He would often speak
 “ in great raptures of the undoubted success of his plan for fu-
 “ ture life. He was introduced to Mr. Barrett and Mr. Catcot ;
 “ his ambition increased daily. His spirits were rather uneven,
 “ sometimes so gloom’d, that for many days together he would
 “ say very little, and that by constraint. At other times exceed-
 “ ing chearful. When in spirits, he would enjoy his rising fame;
 “ confident of advancement, he would promise my mother and
 “ me should be partakers of his success. Mr. Barrett lent him
 “ many books on surgery, and I believe he bought many more, as
 “ I remember to have packed them up to send to him when in
 “ London, and no demand was ever made for them. About this
 “ time he wrote several satirical poems ; one in the papers, on
 “ Mr.

“ Mr. Catcot’s putting the pewter plates in St. Nicholas tower.
 “ He began to be universally known among the young men. He
 “ had many cap acquaintaince, but I am confident but few in-
 “ timates. At about seventeen, he became acquainted with Mr.
 “ Clayfield, distiller in Castle-street, who lent him many books
 “ on Astronomy. Mr. Cator likewise assisted him with books on
 “ that subject; from thence he applied himself to that study. His
 “ hours in the office, were from eight in the morning to eight in the
 “ evening. He had little of his master’s business to do, sometimes
 “ not two hours in a day, which gave him an opportunity to pur-
 “ sue his genius. He boarded at Mr. Lambert’s, but we saw
 “ him most evenings before nine, and would, in general, stay to
 “ the limits of his time, which was ten. He was seldom two
 “ evenings together without seeing us. I had almost forgot to
 “ add, we had heard him frequently say that he found he studied
 “ best toward the full of the moon; and would often sit up all
 “ night and write by moon-light. A few months before he left
 “ Bristol, he wrote letters to several booksellers in London, I be-
 “ lieve, to learn if there was any probability of his getting an
 “ employment there, but that I cannot affirm, as the subject was
 “ a secret at home. He wrote one letter to Sir Horace Warpool,
 “ and, except his correspondence with Miss Rumsey, the girl I
 “ before mentioned, I know of no other. He would frequently
 “ walk the college green with the young girls that stately paraded
 “ there to shew their finery, but I really believe he was no debau-
 “ chee (though some have reported it): the dear unhappy boy had
 “ faults enough; I saw, with concern, he was proud, and exceed-
 “ ingly imperious; but that of venality he could not be justly
 “ accused with. Mr. Lambert informed me, not two months
 “ before he left Bristol, he had never been once found out of the
 “ office in the stated hours, as they frequently sent the footman
 “ and other servants there to see; nor but once stayed out till
 “ eleven; then he had leave, as we entertained some friends at
 “ our house at Christmas.

various subjects.—That he who commenced a poet at twelve years of age, and from his earliest days shewed so great a thirst for pre-eminence, should so far sacrifice his own credit, as to deny himself to be the author of poems, superior to those which he had confessedly written.—That he who was above venality, and so great a lover of truth, should make himself a living lie; and impose upon his nearest relations and the whole world, a forgery which tempted him with no prospect of honour or advantage, unless any could be supposed to arise from the reputed antiquity of these poems.

The supposition of a forgery under such circumstances, is irreconcilable with every idea of rational conduct, and much more so with the genius and disposition of this extraordinary youth.

The account given by Mr. William Smith of Bristol (who was one of Chatterton's intimate acquaintance, and to whom he addressed a short letter; see *Love and Madness*, p. 172, fourth edition) is more circumstantial in other respects: He says, that Chatterton read Rowley's poems to him at the time that he was apprentice to Mr. Lambert, and not before; that he sometimes read whole treatises, sometimes parts only, and that very often; that is, he read some ancient pieces of writing, which came from the room over the north porch in Redcliff church; he does not know that they were all by Rowley, but never heard him mention any other ancient poet: That these MSS. were upon vellum; that he had seen a dozen of them; some with the heads of kings and popes: That he had very often seen him transcribe these parchments at Mr. Lambert's office; and that he had read them to him, when he had just transcribed them; but Mr. Smith had at that time no taste for such things.—The account which young Chatterton gave him of these parchments was, that he received them from his mother, as belonging to his father, who had them originally from Redcliff church; that being in his mother's possession, some were turned into thread-papers, some into patterns, some into dolls, and applied to ignoble uses; that he accidentally discovered their value, by
finding

finding some writing on one of these thread-papers, which was very old, the hand being different from common hands, and the subject treated in an uncommon manner; and that, being of an inquisitive and curious turn, he questioned his mother concerning them, how and whence they came.—That Chatterton was fond of walking in the fields, and particularly in Redcliff meadows; of talking with him about these MSS. and reading them to him: “ You and I (says he) will take a walk in Redcliff meadow, I have got the cleverest thing for you that ever was: “ It is worth half a crown to have a sight of it only, and to hear “ me read it to you.” He would then produce and read the parchment. He used to fix his eyes in a kind of reverie on Redcliff church, and say, “ this steeple was once burnt by lightning: This was the place where they used formerly to act “ plays.” He spoke of all these parchments as ancient; some as Rowley’s, but whether all, he does not know. He never offered to claim them as his own, nor so much as dropped the least hint that way: He never seemed desirous that any one should suspect, much less believe them to be written by him. He had no reason to be obliged to any man for character: He was one of the most extraordinary geniuses Mr. Smith ever saw or heard of: He never dropped the least hint of any design to print the contents of these parchments, though he was remarkably fond of publishing: He had no knowledge either of Greek or Latin, but expressed a design to teach himself Latin; which idea Mr. Smith discouraged, as an impracticable and useless attempt; but advised him to try at French: It does not appear, however, from any part of his history, that he attempted either. Mr. Smith concludes his testimony, with wishing that he had been acquainted formerly with the value of these things; as he could have got them all of Chatterton with a word’s asking.

This testimony of Mr. Smith is clear and expresses with regard to Chatterton’s possessing, reading from, and transcribing the contents of these ancient parchments; to his never claiming

claiming them, or any other composition as his own, which he did not actually write; and though, from the exalted ideas he entertained of Chatterton's abilities, he thought him capable of any thing short of inspiration, yet he would not admit the idea of his being the author of this poetry; though this must have been the highest compliment to Chatterton, and the most convincing proof of the wonderful extent of his abilities.

Mr. Thomas Cary, formerly clerk to Mr. Cruger, late member for Bristol, an intimate friend and acquaintance of Chatterton, and a great admirer of his abilities, and who lamented his death in an elegy subjoined to the publication of Chatterton's *Miscellanies*, p. 241, and to whom also he addressed a letter: (See *Love and Madness*, p. 171;) yet did not think him capable of writing these poems, nor did he doubt their having been written by Rowley, as appears by the following letter, addressed by him to Mr. George Catcott, in answer to his enquiries on that subject:

“ S I R,

“ It being your request that I should give you my opinion of the
 “ authenticity of Rowley's MSS., I can only say that I have fre-
 “ quently heard Chatterton make mention of such writings being
 “ in his possession shortly after his leaving school, when he could
 “ not be more than fifteen years of age; and, that he had given
 “ Mr. Barrett and Mr. Catcott part of them. Not having any taste
 “ myself for ancient poetry, I do not recollect his ever having
 “ shewn them to me; but that he often mentioned them, at an age,
 “ when (great as his capacity was,) I am convinced he was inca-
 “ pable of writing them himself; I am very clear in, and confess it
 “ to be astonishing, how any person, knowing these circumstances,
 “ can entertain even a shadow of a doubt of their being the works
 “ of Rowley. Of this I am very certain, that if they are not
 “ Rowley's, they are not Chatterton's: This, I think, I am war-
 “ ranted in asserting, as, from my intimacy with him, I had it in
 “ my power to, and did observe the progress of his genius from
 “ his

“ his infancy to the fatal dissolution. His abilities, for his age,
 “ were beyond conception great, but not equal to the works of
 “ Rowley, particularly at the age that he produced them to light.
 “ I think I need say no more, to convince any rational being of
 “ their being genuine; in which persuasion I rest,

“ *Bristol,* “ S I R,
 “ *August 14th,* “ Your most obedient servant,
 “ 1776. “ THOMAS CARY.”

Mr. Shiercliffe, a bookfeller, now living in Bristol, says, that in the year 1748, being at Mr. Miller's (who was a painter, but afterwards retired from business) when he was painting old Parrott's epitaph, (which Parrott caused to be put up in the cemetery of Redcliff church, many years before his death) Mr. Miller desired Mr. Shiercliffe to put a flourish at the bottom of it, which he accordingly did; and old Parrott coming in at that time, seemed much pleased with it: In the course of the conversation, Mr. Parrott said, he had found a great curiosity, and carried them to see it, in a place over the porch of Redcliff church. There were many old writings on vellum, which Mr. Shiercliffe did not understand: At this distance of time he cannot positively say, whether the name of Rowley was mentioned, but thinks it was. On Mr. Parrott's death, some of his papers came into the hands of one Mr. Morgan at Bristol, a curious man, and a great lover of antiquities, although no scholar. Mr. Barrett is now possessed of his papers, amongst which is the following curious note concerning Redcliff church.

“ Over the north porch is a long sexangular room, in which
 “ were formerly kept the archives belonging to the church. The
 “ trunks and boxes are still remaining, with many hundred old
 “ deeds in them, where I have been furnished with many curious materials.”

Mr. Morgan has been dead above fifteen years; he was contemporary with Chatterton's father, but it is not said that he
 was

was acquainted with him. Mr. Morgan's not mentioning the poetry among these old records, might be owing to his not being able to decypher them, as they are written in a hand not very easy to be read; or they might have been given to Chatterton's father before Mr. Morgan had access to the room.

It appears then from the foregoing most authentic evidence, that certain ancient manuscripts on parchment did exist, and were in the possession of Chatterton's parents, before the time of his father's death; that the son took them into his custody soon after July 1767, that he transcribed several of them at Mr. Lambert's office, and read them to his sister and Mr. Smith, some from the original MSS. and others from his own copies; that he expressed uncommon delight at the discovery of this treasure, which he communicated to a few friends only, and even to them partially; that he never laid claim to them as written by himself, except in one instance; and, notwithstanding his great vanity, love of authorship, and high opinion of his own abilities, he neither denied what he had written himself, nor claimed the works of others: It must be observed also, that he was particularly jealous of such, among his contemporaries, who were rivals to him in poetry or fame, or who presumed to find fault with or undervalue his poetical compositions.

If it be considered likewise, how slowly Chatterton's abilities opened on his first going to school; how constantly his time was employed there; it will be found (notwithstanding the surprising progress which he made afterwards) that two years and nine months spent with Mr. Lambert (part of which was employed in copying books of precedents for his master) was not more than sufficient for the business of transcribing these parchments, endeavouring to understand their contents, reading Chaucer, transcribing Speght's Glossary, and acquiring a competent knowledge of the meaning of ancient words: not to mention the hours which he dedicated to reading plays and romances, and writing satires and lampoons against those who had offended him, besides that

part of his time which was given to a set of youths, who, like himself, had a genius for poetry, and a turn for dissipation.

They who are willing to think Chatterton's time and abilities equal to all that is attributed to him, must consider the great compass and variety of knowledge necessary to qualify him for so extensive a forgery. He must have been conversant, to a certain degree, with the language of our ancient poets, with the meaning and inflexion of their words, and with the rules of grammar which they observed: He must have formed a vocabulary from their works, which must have been previously read and understood by him, as the groundwork of his imitation, and undoubtedly the most difficult part of the undertaking.

To adopt the ideas, to support the style and phraseology of a language in which he had never before written, and with which he could have very little acquaintance, and to execute this with a propriety and spirit superior to all the poetry which that age had produced, must appear an impracticable attempt; and though his words should speak the language, they would never convey the sentiments, of a poet writing in the fifteenth century. Even possessed of all these qualities, the want of literature must have confined his genius within very narrow limits; for it required a knowledge of history and antiquity, to record ancient facts and local customs; and, without the assistance of the Greek and Latin poets, the author could not have been furnished with so many classical ideas.

In all these instances Chatterton appears to have been deficient; he knew no language but his mother-tongue, nor any kind of literature but what he gleaned from the books which he could borrow of the Bristol booksellers; whose collections were neither select nor numerous: His choice, after he began to exercise his pen, was generally determined to poetry, novels, and romances: He was never observed by Mr. Lambert, or any other friend, to be engaged in any regular or serious course of study; his mind

being too desultory for close application; and it appears in general, by the subjects and stile of his poems, that they followed the course of his natural inclination, which was much given to satire; and of his conduct and opinions, which were early tainted with irreligion. On these topics, his pen following the dictates of his heart, the sentiments flowed with ease: But how must his mind have laboured under the burthen of describing pathetically the pleasures of virtue, and the rewards of religion; which are so frequently mentioned in these poems, though they had not made their proper impression on his heart? But, not to detain the reader any longer on such disquisitions, let us begin our examination of these poems with the title-page, and name of the author.

May we not ask, then, what could tempt Chatterton to produce his poetry under the name of *Rowley*? If ambition, and a desire of poetic superiority, were his predominant passions, (as his sister and most intimate friends have asserted) why should he deprive himself of an honour justly due to his merit, by concealing his name? If, from a modest diffidence of his abilities, (which was never a part of his character) he wished to know in secret the powers of his virgin muse, why did he not send her into the world, to make her way to fame, by assuming the name of Chaucer, Lidgate, Occleve, or some other of our most respectable ancient poets? What reason can be assigned for his choosing the name of *Rowley* in preference to all others? A name at present entirely unknown in Bristol, and never particularly distinguished there; except that, at the time when these poems are supposed to have been written, one Thomas Rouley, a merchant, was sheriff of the town. His epitaph is still extant in St. John's church, inscribed in Gothick letters, on a brass plate, as follows:

Hic jacet Thomas Rouley quondam mercator ac vicecomes
 hujus ville de Bristol. qui quidem Thomas obiit xxiii die
 mē̄s Januarii Anno Dni millmo cccclxxviii. et Margareta
 uxor ej^{us}. que obiit die mensis Anno Dni millmo
 cccclxx quār̄ aīab^{us} pp̄itiet^{ur} De^{us} Amen.

This is probably the only record or monument which could have furnished him with the name of Rowley ; but the inscription was in Latin, which he did not understand, and the Gothick letters made it still more difficult to be decyphered ; and who knows whether he ever saw the inside of that church or the inscription ? But, suppose him possessed of that information, what assistance could it afford him, or what foundation could it lay for raising on it so large a superstructure of history and facts, making him the friend of Canning, and of bishop Carpenter, &c. These, with many other hints and references to his life and connections, which are interspersed through these poems, could serve only to embarrass him in his subject, and to lead to the detection of his forgery. Rejecting therefore such improbable suppositions, let us endeavour to procure information from the poems themselves, and from other records concerning this extraordinary man. If we give credit to Chatterton's notes, prefixed to the Ballad of Charity, he was born at Norton Malreward, near Bristol, educated at the convent of St. Kenna, at Keynsham, and died at Westbury ; but these facts being unsupported by other authentic proofs, can only carry such weight with the reader, as he may be disposed to give them : It appears, however, from the poems themselves, and from their respective titles, that he was *a Priest*, (or, as he is justly called in the title prefixed to the Ballad of Charity, *a gode Priest*,) his profession being plainly enough pointed out in the story of William Canning, where he says of himself,

But

But I ne did once think of wanton thoughte,
For well I minded what *by vow I bete*.

This *bete*, or promise, was the vow of chastity, taken at his ordination; the record of which, as far as it relates to the orders of Acolythe, appears in the episcopal register of Wells, wherein Thomas Rowle, Bathon and Wellen diocēs, was admitted to that order, with others, by John Olonens' episc (bishop of Oleron in France) officiating for John (Stafford) bishop of Bath and Wells, in the parish-church of Crukerne, in Somersetsshire, May 30th 1439; and this date agrees very well with the other circumstances of his life. The name of *Rowley* was not uncommon at that time in the diocese, for the same register mentions *John Roley* of Glaston, and *Richard Roley*; the former ordained deacon in 1454, the latter subdeacon and deacon in the same year, and priest in 1455. One *Richard Rowleigh* appears, by bishop Booth's Episcopal Register at Exeter, to have died vicar of North Molton in Devonshire, 1469; p. 26. b; possibly the same person who is mentioned in the Wells Register. The Worcester Register mentions *John Rowley*, ordained an Acolythe, by Bishop Carpenter, in the conventual church of Tewkesbury 1457: *Thomas Rolegh*, batchelor of laws, was admitted to the rectory of Bekynton, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, presented by Thomas St. Mauro (Seymour) knight, Jan. 23d 1478: The said *Thomas Rolegh* (elsewhere in the same register spelt *Rowleigh*) was instituted to the rectory of North Tawton, in Devonshire, September 20th, 1479. Reg. Courtenay, p. 87. a. In an inquisition de jure patronatus of this rectory, holden on the 20th of September preceding, entered in the same register, p. 80. a. he is said to be "alibi beneficiatus quia rector ecclesiæ parochialis de Bekynton Bathon & Wellen dioces." He soon after resigned, and took again the living of Bekynton; for the Wells register says, that he was instituted to the parish-church of Bekynton, March 28th, 1480, on the resignation of *Mr. Thomas Rolegh*, batchelor of laws,

laws, the last rector, at the presentation of the above knight, (Sir Thomas Seymour.) He was still possessed of North Tawton, in 1491, being mentioned as one of the jury, in an inquisition de jure patronatus, April the 15th, in the same year.

The æra of this *Thomas Rolegh* seems rather too late for our poet. It would be endless to search for Rowley's superior orders in other registers.—In the note prefixed to the *Battle of Hastings*, he is stiled *Parish Priest of St. John's in Bristol*; a fact not authenticated by the Worcester register. In the title to the *Battle of Hastings*, and in the preface to the account of the *Court Mantle*, printed by Chatterton in the *Town and Country Magazine*, March 1769, he is called a monk; which is not very probable. These different accounts seem rather to arise from want of proper information, than from a pre-concerted forgery, which would have dictated a more uniform story. Rowley's memoirs of Canning, reprinted by Mr. Warton, make him confessor to William Canning, and to his son Robert. Other unpublished accounts of him, in Mr. Barrett's hands, say, that Rowley and Canning were educated together, at the convent of the White Fryars (i. e. the Carmelites) at Bristol; where their friendship first commenced: Both these memoirs make Rowley to have survived his friend, and yet no notice is taken of him in Canning's will.

It must also be observed, that the spirit of Rowley's poetry is perfectly consonant to his clerical character: There is such a rectitude and purity in all his sentiments, such delicacy in his expressions, such a constant attention to improve every incident to moral or religious instruction, that we discover the source whence these principles flowed, as well as the profession that habituated him to this turn of thought. But how different was the character and conduct of Chatterton? The compassion due to the errors of his education, and to the undeserved distress of his surviving family, forbid all enlargements on this topic, which are not necessarily connected with the present argument. But it
must

must not be concealed, that soon after his coming into Mr. Lambert's family, when his poetic life began, he gave himself up to sceptical and irreligious ideas, of which his poem to Happiness, written in 1769, and lately published, and his profane will, intended to ridicule that last necessary and religious act in a man's life, are but too sufficient proofs.

Could a youth, thus estranged from the pure principles of religion and morality, enslaved to his passions, stung with disappointment, disgusted both with himself and mankind, (could he, I say) recommend those precepts of benevolence, morality, and religion, which abound in these poems, unmixed with any indelicate sentiment or expression, which might wound the chastest ear, or offend the most religious heart?

Much less was he qualified, either by age or experience, to point out the motives of human conduct; the progress, operation, and effects of the passions, which are delineated with so much justice and delicacy in this poetry, and can be described by those only, who have sagacity to trace, and a nice judgment to observe upon their effects!

But the advocates for Chatterton would make him not only a prodigy in poetry, but in literature also: For the one, he was greatly indebted to nature, but the other could only be acquired by time and study; and yet, we are to suppose, that, without the assistance of language, grammar, or books, (except the few which he picked up at Bristol) and without any instructor but his own genius, he wrote all these poems, and several prose compositions, besides other fugitive pieces, on various subjects, in less than three years, under all the disadvantages of his situation and circumstances. The boldness of this supposition, in favour of Chatterton, can only be equalled by one no less hardily advanced to the discredit of Rowley, viz. that it was impossible for the fifteenth century to produce an English priest qualified to be the author of these poems.

In respect to literature, the argument is confessedly in favour of Rowley, and no less decisive against Chatterton; and as

to the powers of genius and poetry, they are not confined to one period or century. Each may have its characteristical style; but poets and writers will arise in every age, far excelling the rest of their contemporaries, and becoming exceptions to a general rule: The superiority of Rowley's poetry is therefore no conclusive argument against the authenticity of it. If learning was little cultivated in that age, we must not infer that it did not at all exist; and that no man, at that time, could have a taste for classical learning and ancient poetry, because those branches of literature were then generally neglected. Some have even doubted, whether any English priest, of the fifteenth century, was learned enough to read Homer in the original; but Mr. Warton * has removed that doubt, by observing, that the knowledge of the Greek tongue was introduced into England in the twelfth century, by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who was himself a Greek priest—That Adhelm, of Malmſbury, went to Canterbury on purpose to learn that language of him—That copies of Homer, and of other Greek books, imported by that prelate, were extant even in archbishop Parker's time—That on the revival of literature in England after the Norman conquest, many classics were transcribed for the use of monasteries—and that Greek books found their way into our libraries at the time of the Crusades; Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, having translated Dionysius the Areopagite, and Damascenus, in 1230; and encouraged the knowledge of the Greek tongue, by a translation of Suidas, and by preferring John of Basingstoke for his abilities in that language.—In the twelfth century, John of Salisbury frequently quotes Homer with propriety; and hath one observation concerning him, which could only result from a most intimate acquaintance with that poet: “Homerus in illo celeberrimæ perfectionis opere designatus est
“nosſe *Fortunam*, adeo quidem ut in nullâ parte tanti carminis
“nominetur.”——Policrat. 111—8. p. 144.

* Dissert. 2d,

John Free, who translated some of Xenophon's discourses, some books of Diodorus Siculus, and a tract of Synesius, out of Greek into Latin, was nominated bishop of Bath and Wells in 1465, but died before consecration. See Bale, and Bayle in voce Phræa.

And though instances of poetic genius were then rare in England, yet history has taken notice of some, not less extraordinary than Rowley. Joseph Ifcanus is stiled, by Mr. Warton, a miracle of his age, for classical compositions:—"Josephus Ifcanus omnium poetarum sui temporis (absit invidia dicto) facile primus, tantæ eloquentiæ, majestatis, eruditionis homo fuit, ut nunquam satis admirari possim, unde illi in tam barbarâ et rudi ætate facundia accreverit; usque adeo omnibus numeris terfa, elegans, rotunda." See Leland de Scriptor. Britann.

To this character, given by Leland, of a poet who flourished at the beginning of the thirteenth century, may be added his observation on Josephus's poem "De Bello Trojano," which the reader may apply to Rowley's Battle of Hastings: Leland first discovered a copy of this poem in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, but it was imperfect; when he was studying in Paris, two years after, he found another copy of the same poem, in the library of St. Victor, imperfect likewise; not long after, he met with a third copy of the same poem, in the possession of a noble Parisian "sed sub fine mutilum:" At last, when he visited the English libraries, by order of king Henry the Eighth, he found in that of Thorney Abbey an entire copy of this poem. What a valuable accession would it be to our ancient poetry, if a third, or even a fourth copy of *the Battle of Hastings* could be discovered, to supply the imperfection of the two poems now extant!

To give a parallel instance in the French language: Prosper Marchand, in his Dictionary, *V. Vitry*, after giving his reader two old French Poems, with a Latin version of them, by Nic. de Clemangis, adds, "L'ordre, l'arrangement, la clarté, la diction, et surtout la Mesure des vers de ces deux pièces Françaises, sont si nettes, si exactes, et si APPROCHANT DE NÔTRE POESIE MODERNE,

E
quoi

quoi qu'écrites, l'une par Philippe de Vitry mort des 1361, et l'autre par Pierre d'Ailly mort vers 1425, que, si Despreaux les avoit connues, il est à croire qu'il leur auroit accordé, préféablement à Villon, la gloire,

————— d'avoir su les premiers
Debrouiller l'art confus de nos vieux Romanciers.

Boileau Art Poétique, v. 110.

The works of Chaucer abound with classical allusions, and the English poems of that age are founded on Greek and Roman history: Mr. Warton supposes that Lidgate might have seen a Latin version of Homer, made in 1360, and says that it was also translated into French verse about the year 1430.

As nothing, therefore, but a general want of literature, could have prevented the readers of those days from having recourse to the original poets, the force of the objection is chiefly this; that if Rowley was the author of this collection, he must have been a very uncommon genius both for poetry and literature.

Besides the classical allusions, borrowed from ancient poets, there are many historical facts, local customs, and manners of the age referred to, which it was impossible that Chatterton, or indeed any other modern writer, could have so accurately described. And even in those subjects which confessedly came within the reach of Chatterton's literary powers, his works are easily distinguishable from Rowley's by his style and language, his sentiments and manner of expression, by the choice of his subjects, his mode of treating them, and his total want of plan and method. The two volumes printed under the respective names of these two poets, point out this difference in the strongest colours, convincing the reader, that the style of Chatterton never rises to the dignity of Rowley; nor does Rowley descend to the mediocrity of Chatterton.

Exceptions, indeed, have been made to single words and phrases; some of which have been unjustly charged as plagiarisms from modern poets; and anachronisms have been imputed, where none did

did really exist.—Not one of these poems has ever been brought to the test of a critical enquiry; and yet judgment has been hastily and partially pronounced against them all, more from the authority of opinion, than the result of examination. It was unfortunate for our poet, that Lauder and Macpherson had so much exercised the attention of the public: Critical jealousy is therefore doubly armed against all future claims to poetic antiquity, and, from an easy credulity, is driven to the opposite extreme of ill-founded scepticism; flying from smaller difficulties, to embrace real inconsistencies; and losing all the beauties of the poetry, in the idea of combating the authenticity of it.

The learned editor has brought this question to a fairer issue, “by denying the language of this poetry to be that of the fifteenth century.” So respectable a critic is entitled to a reply; but it must be deferred to the close of these observations, that the attention of the reader may not be diverted, by verbal criticism, from that chain of external and internal evidence, which will arise in the course of a regular commentary on the poems; a method which seems adapted to do justice to the various excellencies of our poet, and to carry conviction to the mind of the reader, in a more pleasing and forcible manner than could have been done by a mere argument.

The reader will candidly pardon the length of the following remarks, when he considers the singularity, both in the style and sentiments, of these poems—that they frequently want illustration, and have never yet received the assistance of a commentator—that the sense of the author is not unnecessarily tortured with conjectural criticism, but the greatest regard is paid to the text, which, indeed, is too perfect to want much correction. Should this first and imperfect attempt prove successful, in removing ill-grounded prejudices, and unjust suspicions of forgery; it may be the future lot of some more able pen to place the merit and beauties of this poetry in a more conspicuous light, and give that credit to the author, which he deserves to hold amongst the first poets of our

nation, Chaucer, Shakespear, and Milton, especially as he has given such striking proofs of his genius in every species of poetry wherein those great masters have remarkably excelled.

In order to do justice to the wonderful extent and variety of Rowley's genius, we must view him in the different lights of an Epic, Dramatic, and Lyric Poet; as a Pastoral Writer, a Moral and Critical Satyrist: and, that the poems may correspond with this enquiry, I have taken the liberty to transpose their order, which can be attended with no inconvenience, the poems being, for the most part, entirely unconnected with each other. If the arrangement in the former edition was not accidental, it might either have followed the order of the manuscripts, or the method observed in the publication of Virgil, where the eclogues are placed first, and the epic poem last; for the additional pieces which follow the Battle of Hastings, relating to the History of Canning, or written by him, may be considered only as an appendix to Rowley's works. The introductory account is too interesting to have any part of it omitted, and is therefore preserved entire, although changed in order.

The literature which distinguishes these poems, being one of the strongest proofs of their belonging to Rowley, and not to Chatterton, the Battle of Hastings is placed at the head of the collection, to shew how intimately the author was acquainted with Homer's Iliad; how evidently he formed these two poems on that model; and how closely he follows his original in the simplicity of his narration, in the description of events, in the wounds and death of his heroes, as well as in his similes and allusions; many of which are direct copies from Homer, in others the principal idea is retained, though the circumstances and application are diversified, and again in others only a distant resemblance is preserved: There appears, however, in many of them, a spirit which exceeds and improves upon Homer's idea. They who can assert that these similes are copied from versions, and not from the original poet, cannot have taken the trouble of comparing them with any one of Homer's translators.

Indeed

Indeed the assertion confutes itself; for, among the many Hometical images in these two poems, it is not easy to find a line, a phrase, or even an epithet, which can fix the charge of plagiarism on the author, who has studiously endeavoured to adhere to the unaffected simplicity and force of thought, with the unadorned energy of expression, so characteristical of the Greek poet; but he frequently differs from Pope, even in expressing the same idea, and almost always excels him. The reader is referred, for the truth of these assertions, to the subsequent quotations; which will convince him, that the author of the *Battle of Hastings* neither wanted, nor was indebted to Mr. Pope's translation, much less to those of Chapman, Hobbes, or Ogilby, for the beauty of his images and the powers of his expression:

The abilities of our author in Dramatic Poetry, are displayed in the Tragedies of *Ella* and *Godwin*, in the *Masque of the Tournament*, and the *Bristol Tragedy*; where we see him well acquainted with the history and antiquities of his own country, and with the customs and manners of the age in which he lived; a perfect master of the human heart, an accurate judge of the operation and effects of the passions, and no less happy in his manner of expressing them.

His powers in Lyric Poetry are confessedly so great, that the age wherein he wrote has been judged unequal to the production of them; but, as the decision of this question belongs to a future part of these observations, it may be sufficient to say at present, that the *Minstrells Songs* in *Ella*, with those in the *Tournament*, the *Song to Ella*, and the *Chorus* in *Godwin*, contain the most masterly exertions of the Lyric Muse.

As a Mythological Poet, the English *Metamorphosis* exhibits his powers of embellishing the fables of our ancient historians, with a delicacy of description unknown to that age, and of gracing, with a dignity and magnificence of description, the incredible tales and unmeaning bombast of old romance.

In the Pastoral Style, he seems to have imitated Theocritus and
Virgil:

Virgil in the simplicity of their ideas respecting rural life ; and to have closely followed the latter in his expressive complaints on the miseries of civil war.

His merit as a Moral Writer is extended over all his works.— Every incident is improved for the instruction of his reader, and the most useful lessons of wisdom and virtue drawn from the most trivial circumstances; and though he never condescends to an improper levity on grave and religious subjects, yet he knew how to enforce his lectures of morality by the keenness of his wit; and with a natural vein of pleasant humour to ridicule the dull pedant, the bad poet, the proud and uncharitable abbot: Under this description are included the two letters addressed to Mr. Canning, and the Ballad of Charity.

Lastly, as a Panegyrist, he has avoided fulsome flattery in celebrating the praises of his patron and friend: He was happy in his subject, and with great art has shewn the character to advantage, by introducing other Bristol worthies, whose respective merits are mentioned, in order to do honour to the town, and to serve as a foil to the superior virtues of Mr. Canning.

To these general remarks on the subjects of the poems, some observations may be added on their metre, to show the correspondence of Rowley's measures with those which were used by the preceding and contemporary poets. Some of the earliest of them composed in couplets either of eight or ten syllables: Of the former kind, are Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, some few of Lidgate's Poems, Chaucer's *Dreme*, *House of Fame*, and the *Romaunt of the Rose*. The first poem on our Lady's Church is the only one which Rowley has written in couplets, or in this measure: The greatest part of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and his *Legend of Good Women*, are in the decasyllabic couplet; but, in general, Lidgate's, Occleve's, Rowley's, Spenser's, and a great part of Chaucer's poetry, is written in stanzas of seven, eight, or nine decasyllabic lines, to which Rowley generally adds a tenth, and closes it with an Alexandrine.

All these may be ranked under the title of *Rithme Royal*; of which Gascoigne, in his instructions for English verse, has given the following description :

“ Rithme Royal is a verse of ten syllables, and seven such verses
“ make a staffe, whereof the first and thirde do answer acrosse in
“ the terminations and rime; the second, fourth, and fifth, do
“ likewise answer eche other in terminations; and the two last
“ combine and shut up this sentence; this hath been called Rithme
“ Royal, and surely it is a royal kind of verse, serving best for
“ grave discourses *.”—Signum, V. 1. b.

The different number of lines contained in the stanza makes no material alteration in the structure of this verse, the stanza always concluding with a couplet: In that of six lines, the four first rime alternately; in that of nine, wherein Spenser has composed his *Fairy Queen*, the sixth line rimes to the final couplet, and the seventh to the fifth: Rowley having added another line to the stanza, the eighth rimes with the sixth. Chaucer has a ballad in the ten-line stanza, which begins,

“ The long nightis.” See Urry’s edit. p. 538.

But the stanzas are irregular, and the rimes differently disposed. Spenser, in his *Ruins of Rome*, &c. and Gascoigne in some of his poems, put fourteen lines in a stanza. Rowley has composed in the stanza of ten lines “ the Battle of Hastings; the Tragedies of Ælla and Godwin; the English Metamorphosis; the Tournament; and the two first Eclogues;” for the third is a mixture of many metres.—“ The Challenge to Lidgate” has no Alexandrines †, there are none in the first poem on the Battle of Hastings, and but few

* Mr. Warton has misquoted this passage, and made the staffe to consist of ten instead of seven lines; which would correspond exactly with the greatest part of Rowley’s Poetry. See History of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 165, note.

† Gascoigne ludicrously calls the long verse of twelve and fourteen syllables (probably meaning the Alexandrine,) *poulters*, i. e.—poulterers, *measures*, which giveth twelve for one dozen, and fourteen for another. Sign. V. 11.

in “the Tournament;” and these poems constitute by far the greatest part of his works. In the stanza of nine lines, Rowley has written no poem; Spenser’s *Fairy Queen* is in that measure. In the stanza of eight lines “The letter to the digne Maister Canning, and the second poem on our Lady’s Church,” correspond with Chaucer’s *Monks and Plowman’s tales*, Scoggan’s *Ballades*, Spenser’s *Britain’s Ida*, *Muiopotmos*, and Virgil’s *Gnatt*,—This is *la balade*, or the ballad measure, under which denomination Mr. Warton also includes the seven-line stanza of Chaucer’s ballads, and many other pieces of ancient English poetry. In this metre are Rowley’s “*Eleanor and Juga*, the Introduction “to *Ella*, the *Ballad of Charity*, and Canning’s poem on *Happiness*.”

Specimens of the six-line stanza appear in “the *Epistle to Mr. Canning*, the *Prologue to Godwin*, the first *Minstrells Song* “in the *Tournament*, those of the *Three Minstrells in Ella*, &c. “and in the *Storie of William Canning*.”—Chaucer has no poem of this metre, but Spenser uses it in his *Calendars* for January, August, October and December, in his *Tears of the Muses*, and in *Astrophel*. In the shorter ballad measure, viz. the four-line stanza, of eight and six syllables alternately, are, “*The Bristol Tragedy*, and *Lidgate’s Answer to Rowley’s Challenge*.” This is the metre of Spenser’s *Calendar* for July, of *Chevy Chase*, and of many ancient tragical ballads. The several *Minstrells Songs* formed in stanzas, come under no general rule; but instances of them all may probably be found in our ancient poetry. This general conformity, therefore, of Rowley’s measure to that of other ancient English poets, though diversified in some few instances, is an additional circumstance in favour of the authenticity of this poetry.

BATTLE

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

BEFORE we enter on the subject, or even on the title of "The Battle of Hastings," we must disprove Chatterton's claim as author of the former poem; which he said *was written by himself for a friend**, though he produced the second part to Mr. Barrett some time afterwards, as the copy of an original from Rowley. This claim (the only one he ever made to any of the poems) was most probably a subterfuge, to avoid the pressing importunity of Mr. Barrett for a sight of the original; which he would not, and possibly could not then produce; for on every other occasion he uniformly asserted the originality of these poems, to his mother, sister, and to all his friends. In one of his letters to his sister, lately printed in the pamphlet entitled *Love and Madness*, p. 177, he speaks of copying Rowley as a real author: "Had Rowley been a Londoner, instead of a Bristowan, "I could have lived by copying his works." He wrote also a satire on his Bristol friends, for not supplying his necessities when he left that city, in 1770; to which his sister alludes in her letter, wherein she says, "About this time he wrote several satirical "poems, one in the papers, on Mr. Catcot's putting the pewter "plates in St. Nicolas Tower." In this poem, he thus addresses Mr. George Catcot:

* See the Introductory Account.

If ever obligated to thy purse,
Rowley discharges all, my first great curse;
 For, had I never known the *antique lore*,
 I ne'er had ventur'd from my peaceful shore,
 To be the wreck of promises and hopes,
 A boy of learning, and a bard of tropes.

The antique lore can only mean Rowley's MSS. copies of which Mr. Catcott had purchased of him; and so much had they engaged his time, and captivated his imagination, that he forsook the business of an attorney for the amusements of a poet, and became the very character described by Mr. Pope.

A prentice born his parents' soul to cross,
 Who penn'd a stanza, when he should engross.

But it is beyond all possible construction to suppose, that *antique lore* meant his own forgeries, or poems written by himself on subjects of ancient history, independent of any original, which might be a guide to his fancy, or an inducement for his imitation: Mr. Warton has done too much honour to this hasty and improbable assertion, by admitting it as an objection to the authenticity of the poems. If it was the design of this youth to prepare them for the deception of the world; If he was so artful, and so determined in his plan, as to impose upon his own family, and most intimate friends, how shall we account for his ready acknowledgment of the forgery to Mr. Barrett, which must effectually defeat all his future schemes, and prevent him from making any further advantage of the curiosity of his friends? It would be allowing very little sagacity in Mr. Barrett, to suppose, that on comparing the two poems, he would not discover from the history, style, language, sentiments and metre, that they were both the work of the same pen, both far beyond the knowledge and poetic abilities of an illiterate charity-boy at the age of seventeen. If Chatterton's claim is urged by Mr. War-

ton * in behalf of the former of these poems, why is he not equally worthy of credit when he disclaims the latter? His testimony, therefore, may be pleaded with equal force, either to establish or condemn the authenticity of them both, and proves either too little or too much. The reader will scarcely hesitate which part he shall take of this dilemma; and, without injuring the cause of Rowley, we may make this concession, (of which Mr. Warton may avail himself) that whenever Chatterton's claim to the former poem can be established, the critics will not deny him the honour of the latter; as it will appear most probable, from many circumstances, that both were the work of the same poet. They are not distinguished from each other as a first and second part, as one continued history of the battle, but are numbered 1 and 2, as different relations of the same fact: Accordingly each poem has its proper exordium, and begins with introducing the forces into the field on the day of battle. The latter poem is undoubtedly a more elegant composition, more adorned in its description of the different characters and preparations made by the two armies, the embassy sent, and the treaty carried on between Harold and William; and though the events, and indeed many of the personages, are different, yet the history and style, the language and metre are the same; the similes seem to be derived from one common source, and their choice and arrangement to have been the work of the same poet.

The title prefixed to this poem by Chatterton, as it appears in the introductory account, is also liable to critical discussion.—It is not proved that Rowley was parish-priest of St. John's; and Turgot is erroneously said to have lived in the tenth century, though he was not born till the eleventh. These may be mistakes of Chatterton, which do not affect the authenticity of the poem: and they will be more pardonable, because Mr. Warton himself has anticipated the æra of Turgot by an en-

* See Mr. Warton's observation, in his additions to vol. ii.

ture century, in order to prove that he could not have been the author of the poem, notwithstanding he had in another passage truly fixed the time of his death to 1115. Turgot therefore was not only living, but also well qualified by his age, abilities, and situation, to have penned a *History* at least, if not a *Poem*, on this subject; and it will appear probable, from some local circumstances, that Rowley made use of that writer's materials.

The former of these poems is affectedly penned in the person of Turgot; for the expression

I tho' a Saxon, yet the truth will tell,

cannot with any propriety be applied to Rowley, who was no Saxon; but it was strictly true of Turgot, who, according to Simeon of Durham, "*Profapiam traxit de genere Anglorum non infimo.*" *De gestis Regum*, p. 206. To this likewise Rowley seems to allude in the second poem, when, invoking the Spirit of Turgot, he says,

Thou sonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme,
Send mee *agayne* a dryblette of thie lyghte,
That I the deeds of Englyshmenne maie wryte. v. 588.

alluding to the assistance he had received from him in the preceding poem.

This connection between Turgot and Rowley may be further illustrated by the similes and allusions in both poems, relating to the North of England, and particularly to the neighbourhood and Church of Durham: "The groves of that city, the shrine of St. Cuthbert and the tapers that burned round it, the tower of Standrip, the abbey of *Godric*, (or Finchall) and the names of "Adem and Adhelm," the former a Monk of Durham, the latter a son of a great benefactor to that church. There is another circumstance, little attended to, which pleads strongly in favour of the antiquity of these notices relating to the neighbourhood and Church of Durham; I mean Chatterton's early assuming and
continuing

continuing the signature of *Dunelmus Bristolensis* to all such of his publications as he did not chuse to authenticate with his own name. In every other view, Durham must have been as remote from him in thought, as it was in situation; and to these subjects Rowley himself must have been an entire stranger, unless he had either travelled into that country, or had been made acquainted with the particulars of its history. This connection also appears in the partiality so notoriously shewn (in the former poem more especially) to the English cause; and the frequent opportunities taken by the poet to reflect on and depreciate the characters of the Normans. This language might well suit with the æra and principles of Turgot, but would be very unseasonable in the mouth of Rowley, at a time when the ancient animosities between the Saxons and Normans had subsided under a succession of Norman and Anjouvin princes, and dissensions no less violent had arisen between the houses of York and Lancaster.

It is not asserted, however, that these materials of Turgot were poetical; for Rowley, in his letter to Canning, places him with the historians, Asier, Bede, and Ingulf; and though Lidgate's answer seems to speak of him as a poet, yet even there the words are applicable to him as an historian, and in that light more suitable to his general character, and to the information which Rowley might have received from him; for he is spoken of by our ancient writers as no less eminent for his literature, than for the dignity of his station in the church. It may be proper to compare the anecdotes of Rowley, with the account given of him by Simeon of Durham: Amongst "the skill'd paincters and carvellers," who either were natives of Bristol, or adorned it by their art, Turgot is thus mentioned by Rowley:

"Turgottus, borne of Saxonne parents in Bristow Towne, a
 "Monk of the church of Duresme.—He was well skylledd in
 "tynges, & wrotten maynte of Rolles, as yee maie see ynne mie
 "yellowe Rolle—He dyd decease Mxcviii beyng buried in
 "Duresme church."

The

The death of Turgot is here placed too early by seventeen years ; and his being a native of Bristol, though possible, is not very reconcileable with Simeon's account, who says, That the Danes having destroyed the monasteries in the North of England, Aldwin, prior of Winchelcumb, in Gloucestershire, attended with two Monks of Evesham, Elfuin and Reinfrid, travelled to Wirmouth*, in the bishoprick of Durham, about the year 1073, to rebuild those monasteries†. They were joined in that work, as the historian observes, by many "*ex remotis Angliæ partibus quorum unus erat Turgotus postea Scotorum Episcopus.*" As he is said, therefore, to have come from a remote part of England, and Aldwin was prior in Gloucestershire, he might have been a native of Bristol; and indeed Rowley's invocation of his Spirit, in the second poem, supposes it to haunt,

"or rowle in fersley wythe fersc Severnes tyde."

B. H. 2. v. 595.

because it was the place of his former abode. Turgot, however, could not have staid long enough at Bristol to write its history and antiquities, which, with Rowley's notes (or emendals as he calls them) is still extant in Mr. Barrett's possession, and some part of it, in the original, upon vellum. Simeon further says of Turgot, that being confined by William the Conqueror in the castle of Lincoln, as one of the hostages for the fidelity of that country, he escaped to Grimsby, where, putting himself on board a ship bound to Norway, he was introduced to King Olaus as a youth of learning, and was appointed a spiritual instructor to that monarch; and having acquired great credit and riches there, on his return to England was shipwrecked with all his substance, hardly escaping with his life. Being recommended by Walcher, bishop of Durham, to Aldwin the prior of that church, he became a Monk, and succeeded Aldwin in that office in 1087. He laid the first stone of

* Leland's Collect. tom. i. p. 383.—Hemingford, p. 460.

† Hoveden, p. 455. b.—Warton's Anglia Sacra, T. i. p. 785.

the new church at Durham, with Malcolm King of Scots, and Bishop William, 3 Id. August 1093 *. Capgrave says, that he was confessor to Margaret, Malcolm's Queen. He was promoted to the archbishoprick of St. Andrew's, by Henry the first, in 1106; but disputes arising between that see and York, on account of jurisdiction, he retired to Durham, where he fell sick, and died on the 2d Kal. Sept. anno 1115 †; and, agreeably to his most earnest wish, was interred near the shrine of St. Cuthbert. Whilst he was prior of Durham, he wrote a history of that church, which his continuator, (Simeon before mentioned) a Monk of the same convent, would have passed on the world for his own performance. Besides this History of Durham, he is said to have written "Annales sui Temporis, and the History of Malcolm, King of Scots, and Margaret his Queen." This latter was penned in English, according to Hector Boethius, who celebrates the author's veracity and eloquence: "Non minori elegantia quam pietate & veritate;" and Bale, alluding to the same work, says, "Lingua quidem materna, sed elegantia quadam Demosthenia, veritate sincera ‡." We must therefore admit the ability of Turgot to contribute to this work, and allow him some share in the composition, though the parts of each author cannot precisely be ascertained.

* Hemingford's History, p. 464.

† Eadmer, p. 117.—Cron. Mailros, p. 164.—Warton's Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 785.

‡ Dr. Cave thinks it indisputable, that Turgot wrote in Latin, though Bale and Pitts, by mistaking a passage in Hector Boethius, say that he wrote in English; but he does not pretend to know, whether this work be extant or no. Hist. Liter. tom. ii. p. 378, old edit.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

N^o. 1.

O CHRYSTE, it is a grief for me to telle,
 How manie a nobil erle and valrous knyghte
 In fyghtyng for Kynge Harrold noblie fell,
 Al sleyne in Hastyngs feeld in bloudie fyghte.
 O sea! our ^a teeming donore han thy floude, 5
 Han anie fructuous ^b entendement,
 Thou wouldst have rose and sank wyth tydes of bloude,
 Before Duke Wyllyam's knyghts han hither went;

^a *Prolific benefactress.*^b *Useful meaning.*

Whose

This poem opens with an ejaculation not unlike that of Earl Percy over Douglas:

O Christ, my very heart doth bleed

With sorrow for thy sake.

And, like Homer, our poet laments the fate of those heroes who fell in the battle,

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς αἶδι' προΐαψεν.

Il. A. 1. 3.

The souls of many chiefs untimely slain.

V. 5. This address to the sea is no less just than poetical. He calls it *our teeming donore*, or prolific benefactress, alluding to those two great sources of wealth derived from it, our commerce and fishery. Thus Homer, more than once, calls the sea Πόρον ἰχθύων. See Il. I. v. 4. and T. v. 378. And to these the expression of *Fructuous entendement*, in the following line, alludes: A phrase much more ancient than Rowley's time; for Occleve files Chaucer *Mirror of fructuous Entendement*.

It

Whose coward arrows manie erles fleyne,
And ^c brued the feeld wyth bloude as feason rayne. 10

And of his knyghtes did eke full manie die,
All passyng hie, of mickle myghte echone,
Whose poygnant arrowes, typp'd with destynie,
Caus'd manie wydowes to make myckle mone.

^c *Embrued.*

Lordynges,

It would be doing the greatest injustice to the poet, to confine his idea to the Straights of Dover; for with how much greater dignity and propriety may the expression be applied to the ocean surrounding this island, which (according to the poet's wish) should have announced the impending fate of the kingdom in tides of blood. We cannot, therefore, adopt the alteration suggested in the errata to the glossary of the former edition,

O sea-o'erteeming Dovor!

not only for want of authority, but also because the epithet will not admit that sense. The Anglofaxon word *Teman* conveying no other idea, than that of prolific fruitfulness; without the least reference to size, bulk, or situation, any further than these are implied in the idea of fecundity. In this sense Shakespear uses *overtteemed*, in the description of Hecuba in Hamlet.

——— and for a robe,

About her lank and all *o'erteemed* loins

A blanket in the alarm of fear caught up. Act 2d, scene the last.

Hecuba's loins are said to have been lank with *overtteeming*, or too frequently bearing children.

V. 9. The *coward arrows* are not meant to convey a reflection on the soldiers who discharged them, unless archery should be thought a dastardly method of fighting, in comparison of close engagement; but the poet probably alluded to the direction in which they were aimed; for, instead of being pointed horizontally at the breast of the enemy, the arrows were shot in an oblique ascent, so as to fall upon the English unprepared, and unguarded against such an attack; the Romans, indeed, held the Parthians to be cowards on that account; but where was the dishonour of shooting their arrows in such a direction as was likely to do most execution?

Lordynges, avaunt, that chycken-harted are, 15
 From out of hearynge quicklie now departe ;
 Full well I ^d wote, to fynge of bloudie warre
 Will greeve your tenderlie and mayden harte.
 Go, do the weaklie woman inn mann's ^e geare,
 And ^f fcond your mansion if grymm war come there. 20

Soone as the erlie maten belle was tolde,
 And sonne was come to byd us all good daie,
 Bothe armies on the feeld, both brave and bolde,
 Prepar'd for fyghte in champyon arraie.
 As when two bulles, deftynde for Hocktide fyghte, 25
 Are yoked bie the necke within a sparre ^g,

^d Know. ^e Drefs. ^f Abscond from, quit. ^g Bar, enclosure.

Theie

V. 15. The addrefs to Lordynges is a very common introduction to ancient ballads.

Herkeneth Lordyngs, a word I you pray. Pardoner's Tale.
 Lufteneth Lordings, both young and old. Warton i. p. 57.
 Liffeneth Lordings in good intent. Sir Thopas.

with innumerable other instances.

V. 16. So in Sir Charles Bawdin, v. 331.

From out of hearing of the King
 Departed then the fledde.

V. 19. See v. 300, and v. 101 of the 2d poem.

V. 21. The battle begins in this poem at the 3d stanza, but in the other, the prelude and epifodes employ twelve stanzas. The reader will observe how far inferior this description of the morning is to the same morning, as represented in the other poem, v. 211.

V. 24. *Champyon* is here used as an adjective, and in *Ella*, v. 832. the *champyon* crowne. In the second poem, v. 690, and perhaps elsewhere, it is a substantive; and in the prologue to *Godwin*, v. 12. it is a verb; but such liberties are not uncommon with our ancient poets.

V. 25. The Hocktyde games are alluded to more than once, as affording a variety of diversion. Here bulls are baited: At v. 348, mastiff dogs are set to fight: In the second poem, v. 576, Cornish wrestlers, and v. 412, the nappy ale at those games is

Theie rend the erthe, and travellys affryghte,
 Lackynge to gage the sportive bloudie warre ;
 So lacked Harrolde menne to come to blowes,
 The Normans lacked for to wielde their bowes, 30

Kynge Harrolde turnynge to hys leegemen ^h spake ;
 My merrie men, be not caste downe in mynde ;
 Your onlie lode ⁱ for aye to mar or make,
 Before yon funne has donde his welke ^k, you'll fynde.
 Your lovyng wife, who erst dyd rid the londe 35
 Of Lurdanes ^l, and the treafure that you han,
 Wyll falle into the Normanne robber's honde,
 Unlesse with honde and harte you plaie the manne.

^h Subjects. ⁱ Praise, honour. ^k Finished his course. ^l Lord Danes.

Cheer

made the subject of the poet's praise. This festival is known to have been originally instituted in commemoration of Ethelred's slaughter of the Danes all over England, and the observance of it continued, in the midland parts of England, even to Sir Henry Spellman's time. It was originally celebrated on the 13th of November, according to Huntingdon ; in later times it was not confined to any particular day, but was kept during some part of the summer.

V. 32. The appellation of *merrie men* is frequent with our ancient poets, in the speeches made by lords and warriors to their followers and soldiers. There is a transposition of the words in this speech of Harold, which renders it obscure ; the meaning may be thus expressed :

———You, who erst
 Did rid the land of the Lord Danes, will find
 Your loving wife and treasure which you had
 Will fall into the Norman robber's hand.

V. 34. This expression probably means the setting of the sun: To *don* and to *do*ff, i. e. *do on* and *do off*, were phrases in use before Rowley's time ; for the former word occurs in Richard the II'd's *Forme of Cury*, lately published by Mr. Pegge ; so v. 51 of this poem, Harold *donde* hys faie, or put on his *sagum*, or military cloak ; and the sun is here said to have *donde his welke*, or put on his clouds ; i. e. he was wrapped in, or surrounded by them ; for *welken* signifies *clouds* ; see Junius in voce : Or, to speak in other words, “before the rays of the sun were obscur'd or lost.” Unless it should be thought that *donde* means *downde*, i. e. before the sun had gone down on the sky ; in that case a different interpretation must be given of v. 51, and

Cheer up youre hartes, chafe forrowe farre awaie,
 Godde and Seyncte Cuthbert be the worde to daie. 40

And thenne Duke Wyllyam to his knyghtes did faie ;
 My merrie menne, be bravelie everiche ^m ;
 Gif I do gayn the honore of the daie,
 Ech one of you I will make myckle riche.
 Beer you in mynde, we for a kyngdomm fyghte ; 45
 Lordshippes and honores echone shall possesse ;
 Be this the worde to daie, God and my Ryghte ;
 Ne doubte but God will oure true cause bleſſe.
 The clarions ⁿ then founded sharpe and shrille ;
 Deathdoeynge blades were out intent to kille. 50

And brave Kyng Harrolde had nowe donde ^o his faie ;
 He threwe wythe myghte amayne ^p hys shorte horſe-spear,
 The noiſe it made the duke to turn awaie,
 And hytt his knyghte, de Beque, upon the ear.

^m Every one. . ⁿ Trumpets. . ^o Put on his military cloak. . ^p Great force.

His

donde his faie will then ſignify, that Harold had done or finiſhed the ſpeech which he made in the preceding ſtanza.

The ſpeech itſelf is concise and pertinent; but it may be doubted whether *God and St. Cuthbert* was the parole of the Engliſh army on that day; at leaſt it is unnoticed by the hiſtorians, and ſeems rather to be a partiality of Turgot for his favourite ſaint; who, though highly honoured in the neighbourhood of Durham, probably was not equally revered in the South of England. But Duke William's parole, of *God and my right*, ſeems to be better founded, as it was his conſtant appeal, and that of his advocates and hiſtorians: So ſays William of Malmsbury; [p. 101.] “*Dux clarâ voce ſuæ parti, utpote juſtiori Deum affuturum pronuncians,*” and again “*inclamato Dei auxilio;*” ſo likewise the author of *Gesta Willemi Ducis*; “*Præſertim cum juſtæ cauſæ præſidium cæleſte non deſit.*” The ſpeech made for him by Henry Huntingdon on this occaſion, reminds his ſoldiers of their conqueſts over the Franks, and upbraids Harold for the treachery of his behaviour to him.

V. 52. Harold begins the battle by throwing his ſhort-horſe-spear, the principal and moſt convenient part of the Saxons offensive weapons; for it is ſaid, v. 92,

“ The

His cristede¹ beaver dyd him smalle abounde²; 55
 The cruel spear went thorough all his hede;
 The purpel bloude came goushyng to the grounde,
 And at Duke Wyllyam's feet he tumbled deade:

¹ *Crested helmet.* ² *Benefit, or service.*

So

The English nete but short horse-spears could wield.
 But they were armed also with bills, which they used (laying down their lance)
 when they came to close engagement; for it is observed, poem 2d, v. 591,

Harold, who saw the Normanns to advance,
 Seizd a huge byll, and layd hym down hys speare;
 So dyd ech wite laie downe the broched launce,
 And groves of bylles dyd glitter in the ayre.

V. 55. *Dyd him smalle abounde*, i. e. did him little service. See the application of
 this word justified in the answer to the appendix. Homer makes the same observation.

Ὅνδ' ἄρα χαλκείη κόρυς ἔσχεθεν. Il. M. 184.

And in another passage,

————— Ὅνδ' ἤρκεσε θώρηξ
 Χάλκεος ——— Il. N. 371—397.

Vain was his breast-plate to repell the wound. Pope, B. xiii. 468.

So Virgil,

Nec misero clypei mora profuit ensi. Æn. xii. v. 541.
 Nor could the plated shield sustain the force. Dryden.

Spenfer has also a similar line.

Ne plate, ne male, could ward such mighty throwes.
 Book ii. c. 5. ft. 9.

The same actions being frequently repeated in a battle, it requires the poet's skill
 to vary them in description. Rowley not only copies, but exceeds Homer in this
 respect; as for instance,

His proof steel armour did him little shielde. v. 294.
 His sheelde of wolfs skinn did him not attend. v. 467.
 Nete did hys helde out brazen sheelde availe. p. 2. v. 322.
 Nor was ytte stopped by his coate of mayle. v. 324.
 Ah! what awayed the Lyons on his creste. v. 279.
 Ah neete awayl'd the brafs or iron thonge. v. 337.

V. 56. De Beque fell like Echepolus in the Iliad:

Ἡρππε

So fell the myghtie tower of Standrip, whenne

It felte the furie of the Danish menne.

60

O Afflem, son of Cuthbert, holie Sayncte,

Come ayde thy freend, and shewe Duke Wylliams payne;

Take up thy pencyl, all hys features paincte;

Thy coloryng excells a synger strayne.

Duke

Ἡρίπε δ', ὡς ὅτε πύργος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ. Il. Δ. v. 462.

So sinks a tower, that long assaults had stood

Of force and fire, its walls besmeared with blood.

Pope, B. iv. v. 528.

V. 59. By *the tower of Standrip*, must be meant Staindrop, in the bishoprick of Durham, the only place of that name in England; for though there is neither the appearance nor tradition of a castle there, a tower might have antiently stood on that spot, and have been destroyed by the Danes; an event too inconsiderable to be recorded by historians, though perhaps important enough to be preserved in that neighbourhood by tradition. The manor of Staindrop, which was given by King Canute to the Monks of Durham, anno 1020, was granted in 1130, by Algar prior of Durham, to Delphin filius Uctredi. See Leland's *Collectanea*, tom. i. p. 378 & 390.

V. 61. The invocation of Afflem (another anecdote relating to Durham) seems to be made in the person of Turgot, who was his friend and contemporary Monk in the monastery of Durham; but Rowley could have no connection with him, for he was ignorant even of the time of his death; though he gives the following character of him in his list of skylde painters and carvellers.

“ Afflem a Monke of St. Cuthberte, wythe beforefayde Turgotte Bristowe borne,
“ a most skylde payncterr & poett; whann he dyedd is uncouthē.”

Rowley has done him credit as a painter, which in those days was a rare accomplishment; but we are probably to understand by it the art of illuminating manuscripts, which was chiefly possessed by the Monks. He says also that Afflem was born at Bristo^l, but probably on no better authority than his assertion concerning Turgot.

Duke William is said in both these poems, and in the Minstrells Song in the Tournament, to have been armed with a cross-bow, and with bows and arrows, the usual weapons of the Normans; in which they were remarkably expert; [v. 71.] William's bow was proportionable to his strength: He is here said to have taken his *brazen cross-bow* in his hand, and elsewhere, a *strong arblaster*, [poem 2d. v. 303,] by which

Duke Wylliam fawe hys freende fleyne piteouſlie, 65
 Hys lovyng frende whome he muche honored,
 For he han lov'd hym from puerilitie^s,
 And theie together bothe han bin ybred :
 O ! in Duke Wylliam's harte it rayſde a flame,
 To whiche the rage of emptie wolves is tame. 70

He tooke a braſen croſſe-bowe in his honde,
 And drewe it harde with all hys myghte amein,
 Ne doubtyng but the braveſt in the londe
 Han by his foundynge arrowe-lede bene fleyne.
 Alured's ſtede, the fynest ſtede alive, 75
 Bye comelie forme knowlached^t from the reſt ;
 But nowe his deſtind howre dyd aryve,
 The arrowe hyt upon his milkwhite breſte :
 So have I ſeen a ladie-smock ſoe white,
 Blown in the mornynge, and mowd downe at night. 80

^s *Childhood.*

^t *Known, or diſtinguiſhed.*

With

which is meant the ſame weapon. But in other paſſages he is ſaid to have had a *long ſtrunge bow*. Tournament v. 45 ; *an enyronned bow*. ib. v. 50 ; *an ironne-woven bow*. v. 68 ; and *an yron interwoven bowe*. B. H. p. 2. v. 232. Theſe were bows in the common form, from which the arrows were directed ſlanting upwards ; whereas from the croſs-bows they were levelled horizontally. In the preſent inſtance, William only killed a beautiful milk-white horſe of Alured. The poet, however, takes occaſion from his colour to introduce an alluſion, not unlike that made by Homer on the death of Gorguthio. Il. ©. v. 306. It wants, however, that elegance and ſpirit which his correſt pen has given to the ſimilies in the other poem.

V. 79. The Lady-smock here alluded to is mentioned by Shakeſpear amongſt the ſpring-flowers.

When daiſies pied and violets blue,
 And cuckow-buds of yellow hue,
 And *lady-smocks* all ſilver white,
 Do paint the meadows with delight.

Love's Labour Loſt, act 5th, ſcene the laſt.

V. 83.

With thilk ^u a force it dyd his bodie gore,
 That in his tender guttes it entered,
 In veritee a fulle clothe yarde or more,
 And downe with flaiten ^x noyse he funken dede.
 Brave Alured, benethe his faithfull horse, 85
 Was sincere all over withe the gorie duste,
 And on hym laie the recer's lukewarme corse,
 That Alured coude not hymself aluste ^y.
 The standyng Normans drew theyr bowe echone,
 And broght full manie Englysh champyons downe. 90

^u Such. ^x Undulating, or terrible. ^y Free, or disengage himself.

The

V. 83. The arrow is said to have entered the horse's guts

A full cloth yard or more.

This expression occurs likewise in Chevy-Chace :

An arrow of a *cloth yard long*,
 Up to the head drew he.

So Edgar in King Lear :

That fellow handles his bow like a crow-keeper ;
 Draw me a *clothier's yard*.

And Drayton says of Robin Hood's bowsmen, B. 26.

They not an arrow drew but was a *cloth yard long*.

It does not follow, however, that this expression was borrowed from Chevy-Chace, though that ballad was extant before Rowley's time ; but the above references shew that the arrows of that time were generally a yard in length, of such measure as was used by the *clothiers*, and distinguished, probably, from measures of a different kind applied to other goods.

V. 84. The *flaiten noyse* and the *flotting crie* of the English army, which roused the Normans from their prayers, [Poem 2d, v. 42,] may signify that undulatory sound which is caused by respiration ; but Ray, amongst his South and East country words, explains *flaite* to affright or scare.

There is an interval of 320 lines between Alured's fall from his horse and his appearing again remounted in the battle ; these different and distant exhibitions of the same warrior may be considered as a dramatic beauty, and the same is done with respect to the Welsh hero Howel ap Jevah.

V. 91.

The Normans kept aloofe, at diftaunce ftylle,
 The Englyfh nete ^z but fhorthe horfe-fpears could welde;
 The Englyfh manie dethe-fure dartes did kille,
 And manie arrowes twang'd upon the fheelde.
 Kynge Haroldes knyghts defir'de for hendie ^a ftroke, 95
 And marched furious o'er the bloudie pleyne,
 In bodie clofe, and made the pleyne to fmoke;
 Theire fheelds rebounded arrowes back agayne.
 The Normans ftode aloofe, nor hede ^b the fame,
 Their arrowes woulde do dethe, tho' from far of they
 came. 100

^z Nothing. ^a Hand to hand. ^b Heeded, or regarded.

Duke

V. 91. The Norman foldiers are defcribed here, and in the following poem, (agreeably to the accounts of our hiftorians) as keeping their diftance, and annoying the Englifh army with their arrows; but no great ufe is made of this advantage, for at the end of two ftanzas, the poet makes the battle clofe on every fide. In the 2d poem, however, he has been much more indulgent to the fingle combatants, for it is not till the 571ft line, that

Duke William gave command each Norman knight
 Should onward go, and dare to clofer fight.

V. 92. It is obferved, that whilft the Englifh fought at a diftance

They nete but fhort horfe-fpears could welde;

but when the Normans clofed, they changed their weapons,

And lifted up their bills with mickle pride. v. 123.

This agrees with the difpofition of the Englifh army, as defcribed by William Malmfbury, p. 101:—"Pedites omnes *cum bipennibus* conferta ante fe feutorum teftudine impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt." A circumftance, which (as he obferves) would have given them the victory, if the Norman ftatagem of a pretended flight had not caufed the Englifh to open their phalanx.

In Strutt's Defcription of the ancient Customs and Manners of the Englifh, vol. ii. pl. 20, Guy Earl of Warwick and Sir Pandulf are reprefented fighting with

H

fpears;

Duke Wylliam drewe agen hys arrowe ftrynge ^c,
 An arrowe withe a fylver-hede drewe he ;
 The arrowe dauncynge in the ayre dyd synge,
 And hytt the horſe Toſſelyn ^d on the knee.
 At this brave Toſſlyn threwe his ſhort horſe-ſpeare ; 105
 Duke Wylliam ſtooped to avoyde the blowe ;
 The yrone weapon hummed in his care,
 And hitte Sir Doullie Naibor on the prow ^e :
 Upon his helme ſoe furious was the ſtroke,
 It ſplete his bever, and the ryvets broke. 110

Downe fell the beaver ^f by Toſſlyn ſplete in tweine,
 And onn his hede expos'd a punie wounde,
 But on Deſtoutvilles ſholder came ameine,
 And fell'd the champyon to the bloudie grounde.

^c Or bowſtring. ^d Rather Toſſlyn. ^e Brow, or head. ^f Helmet.

Then

ſpears ; and it is ſaid, “ after they went togedre with axes.” The two combatants are repreſented in the latter of theſe ſituations ; Sir Guy’s weapon is a long ſword at the end of an handle, Sir Pandulf’s is like an halberd. This drawing is taken from John Rous.

V. 106. Duke Wylliam ſtooped to avoyde the blowe.

So did Hector : — ὁ δ' ἐκλίνθη. Il. H. v. 254.

And Meriones : — ἠλεύατο χάλκεον ἔσκος

Προσσω γὰρ κατέκυψε — — Il. Π. v. 610.

Who ſtooping forward, from the death withdrew.

Pope, B. xvi. v. 740.

V. 113. On Deſtoutvilles ſholder came ameine.

So Homer,

Τὸν βάλε δεξιὸν ὦμον ὃ δ' ὑπτιος ἐν κονίῃσι

Κάππεσεν οἰμώξας — — Il. Π. v. 289.

His ſhoulder blade receives the fatal wound,

The groaning warrior pants upon the ground.

Pope, B. xvi. v. 344.

Then Doullie myghte his bowestrynge drewe, 115
 Enthoughte to gyve brave Tofslyn bloudie wounde,
 But Harolde's afenglave^e stopp'd it as it flewe,
 And it fell bootlefs^h on the bloudie grounde.
 Siere Doullie, when he sawe hys vengeⁱ thus broke,
 Death-doyng blade from out the scabard toke. 120

And now the battail closde on everych fyde,
 And face to face appeard the knyghts full brave ;
 They lifted up their bylles with myckle pryde,
 And manie woundes unto the Normans gave.
 So have I fene two weirs at once give grounde, 125
 White fomyng hygh to rorynge combat runne ;
 In roaryng dyn and heaven-breaking founde,
 Burfte waves on waves, and spangle in the sunne ;
 And when their myghte in burfitynge waves is fled,
 Like cowards, stele alonge their ozy bede. 130

^e Lance. ^h Uselefs. ⁱ Vengeance.

Yonge

V. 125. The simile of the two weirs, resembles Homer's description of the Winter torrents; but the idea is improved by our poet's contrasting the noisy foaming wear, with the subsequent tranquillity of the stream stealing along its oozy bed.

Ὡς δ' ὅτε χείμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες
 Ἐς μισγύγκηκον συμβάλλεται ὄβριμον ὕδωρ
 Κρηνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων κοίτης ἔντοσθε χαράδρης.—Il. Δ. v. 452.

As torrents roll, encreas'd by murmuring rills,
 With rage impetuous down their ecchoing hills,
 Sweep to the vale, and pour along the plain,
 Roar through ten thousand channels to the main.

Pope, B. iv. v. 516.

Yonge Egelrede, a knyghte of comelie mein,
 Affynd^k unto the kyng of Dynefarre^l,
 At echone tylte and tourney he was feene,
 And lov'd to be amonge the bloudie warre ;
 He couch'd hys launce, and ran with mickle myghte 135
 Ageinſte the breſt of Sieur de Bonoboe ;

^k Related. ^l Dynevawr Caſtle.

He

V. 132. The king of Dynefarre was one of the princes of South Wales.

The caſtle near Carmarthen, called in Welch *Dyne vawr*, or *Dinas vawr*, i. e. the *great caſtle* (of which the beautiful ruins are yet to be ſeen in Mr. Rice's park at Newton) was formerly the habitation of the princes of that country ; to one of theſe Egelrede was probably allied by marriage, though neither the name nor particular relation is ſpecified. The caſtle was erected into a barony, in favour of William Earl Talbot, in 1780, with remainder to his daughter Lady Cecil Rice, widow of George Rice, Eſq; late owner of this caſtle, and to their iſſue male.

V. 136. Egelrede's unfortunate antagoniſt, the *Sieur de Bonoboe*, ſeems to have been a perſon of no ſmall diſtinction at the Norman court: Hollingſhed calls him *Le ſeigneur de Bonne bault*; Jean de Wace, *Sire de Bones-bo*. His name occurs likewiſe in the Liſt of Warriors in Leland's Collect. vol. i. p. 203. He was one of thoſe Norman lords who either came into England with Edward the Confeſſor, or reſorted afterwards to his court, where all Normans were ſure to meet with a very favourable reception ; and, according to Godwin's ſarcaſtical deſcription,

They batten on her fleſh, her hartes blood drink: v. 3.

He ſignalized himſelf in the martial exerciſe of tilting, which was then the favourite amuſement,

He wonne the tylte, and ware her crymſon glove,
 and returned married and enriched to Normandy ; but, wiſhing to encrease his wealth and fame, engaged in the Conqueror's expedition. He is celebrated more as an affectionate huſband and tender father, than as a magnanimous warrior——

To ſele his wounde, his harte was woe.

Ten thouſand thoughtes puſh'd in upon his mynde,

Not for hymſelfe, but thoſe he left behynde. v. 138.

The reader may figure to himſelf ſome reſemblance between this character and that of Anthores in Virgil, who was ſlain by Mezentius.

Herculis Anthorem comitem, qui miſſus ab Argo

Hæſerat Evandro, atque Italâ confederat urbe

He grond and funken on the place of fyghte,
 O Chryste ! to fele his wounde, his harte was woe.
 Ten thoufand thoughtes pufh'd in upon his mynde,
 Not for hymfelfe, but thofe he left behynde. 140

He dy'd and leffed ^m wyfe and chyldren tweine,
 Whom he wyth cheryfhment did dearlie love ;
 In England's court, in goode Kynge Edward's regne,
 He wonne the tylte, and ware her crymfon glove ;

^m *Left.*

And

Sternitur infelix, alieno vulnere; cælumque
 Aspicit, & moriens dulces reminiscitur Argos.
Æn. x. v. 777.

Anthores had from Argos travell'd far,
 Alcides' friend, and brother of the war,-
 Till, tired with toils, fair Italy he chofe,
 And in Evander's palace fought repose ;
 Now, falling by another's wound, his eyes
 He cafts to Heaven, of Argos thinks, and dies.
Dryden, v. 1107.

This early account of tilting has been censured as an anachronism; because, according to the Chronicle of Tours, that exercise was not introduced in France till the year 1066, and thence communicated to the Germans and English; but this question will be more properly referred to the poem on the Tournament. It will be sufficient to observe at present, that such anachronisms (if this be one) are neither unusual with poets, nor impeach the authenticity of their works, as they are not required to be accurate historians and good chronologers. There is something significant in the expression of the *crymfon glove*; and though we know not the origin of the allusion, yet the trophy is natural and well-imagined; the delivery or throwing down the gauntlet or glove being the established form of giving a challenge, and the taking it up as certain a token that the challenge was accepted. In an ancient Scottish ballad on the murder of the Earl of Murray, in 1561, amongst other accomplishments, he is said to have ridden at the ring, to have played at the ball, and at the gluve: *He was a braw gallant, and he playd at the gluve.* Percy v. ij. p. 212.

V. 137. So in the 2d poem, v. 477.

He fell and ground upon the place of fighte.

And thence unto the place where he was borne, 145
 Together with hys welthe & better wyfe,
 To Normandie he dyd perdie ⁿ returne,
 In peace and quietnesse to lead his lyfe;
 And now with fovrayn Wyllyam he came,
 To die in battel, or get welthe and fame. 150

Then, swefte as lyghtnyng, Egelredus fet
 Agaynst du Barlie of the mounten head;
 In his dere hartes bloude his longe launce was wett,
 And from his courser down he tumbled dede.
 So have I fene a mountayne oak, that longe 155
 Has caste his shadowe to the mountayne syde,
 Brave all the wyndes, tho' ever they so stronge,
 And view the briers belowe with self-taught pride;
 But, whan throwne downe by mightie thunder stroke,
 He'de rather bee a bryer than an oke. 160

Then Egelred dyd in a declynie °
 Hys launce uprere with all hys myghte ameine,

ⁿ *Privately.* ° *Stooping.*

And

V. 155. The simile of the mountain oak is so familiar, that it has long since been made the subject of a fable; and though the clove is inanimate, wanting that spirit, which generally graces the similes of Rowley, yet that defect is compensated by a beauty peculiar to his compositions; it terminates in a moral reflection. See also Eclogue 3d, v. 91, and v. 175, of this poem; where the overhanging rock enforces a similar lesson. Rowley seems to have learned the practice of compounding his epithets from Homer—Heaven-piercing bang—Heaven-breaking found—Redde forweltring levyn brond—bloddie-dropping head—Gore-depicted wings, &c.

V. 161. The *declynie*, or, as it is called, v. 431, *the clinie just*, is that declination of the body which was necessary to give force to his spear. His blood, which
 was

And strok Fitzport upon the dexter eye,
 And at his pole the spear came out agayne.
 Butt as he drewe it forthe, an arrowe fledde 165
 Wyth mickle myght sent from de Tracy's bowe,
 And at hys fyde the arrowe entered,
 And oute the crymson streame of bloude gan flowe ;
 In purple strekes it dyd his armer staine,
 And smok'd in puddles on the dustie plaine. 170

But Egelred, before he funken downe,
 With all his myghte amein his spear besped^p,
 It hytte Bertrammil Manne upon the crowne,
 And bothe together quicklie funken dede.
 So have I seen a rocke o'er others hange, 175
 Who stronglie plac'd laughde at his slippry state,
 But when he falls with heaven-peercyng bange
 That he the sleeve^q unravels all their fate,
 And broken onn the beech thys lesson speak,
 The stronge and firme should not defame the weake. 180

Höwel ap Jevah came from Matraval,
 Where he by chaunce han slayne a noble's son,
 And now was come to fyghte at Harold's call,
 And in the battel he much goode han done ;

^p *Dispatched, sent forth.* ^q *Clew of thread.*

Unto

was drawn by De Tracy's arrow, is said to have smoked in *puddles* on the dusty plain; but this is not the same idea with the *puddlie streame of blood* which flowed from Chatillon's horse, v. 367, which he seems there to use as an ignoble epithet.

V. 131. Two Welsh heroes are now introduced, whose characters, drefs, and achievements are described in very singular and expressive terms. The former of these, *Howel ap Jevah*, *perched the stronge*, and *the flower of Powysland*, is said to have fled, on account of a murder, from Matraval, (the residence of the princes of Powysland,

Unto Kyng Harold he foughte mickle near, 185
 For he was yeoman of the bodie guard ;
 And with a targyt and a fyghtyng spear,
 He of his boddie han kepte watch and ward :

True

land, in North Wales) and to have attached himself to Harold, as the captain of his body guard. Though the fact itself may be the invention of the poet, yet the name has foundation enough in history to give an air of probability to the story. Howel ap Jenaf or Jevaf, (the son of Jenaf) is mentioned in Enderbies Welsh History, p. 239, as entering England with an army, where he was slain valiantly fighting; but that is said to have happened in 984. The same account is given by Selden in his notes on Drayton's Polyolbion, B. ix. A Welsh Chronicle, printed in Leland's Collectanea, v. viii. p. 84, says Janaf and Jago were the two sons of Edval Voel; and that they ruled North Wales after the death of Howel.

But without recurring to the supposition of a real fact in the case, this circumstance of Howel's history has the merit of being perfectly conformable to ancient manners and classical representation. A similar instance occurs in the history of Epigeus, in the Iliad.

————— Δίος Ἐπιγεύς
 Ὃς ῥ' ἐν Βαθείῳ εὐναιομένῳ ἦνασσε
 Το πρίν, ἀτὰρ τότε γ' ἐσθλὸν ἀνείψιδ' ἐξεναρίξας
 Ἔς Πηλῆ ἰκέτευε, καὶ ἐς Θετιν ἄργυρόπεζαν.
 Οἱ δ' ἅμ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ ῥήξήνορι πέμπον ἔπεισθαι
 Ἴλιον εἰς εὐπωλον ἵνα Τρώεσσι μάχοιτο.

Il. II. v. 573.

Now Greece gives way, and great Epigeus falls;
 Agacleus' son, from Budium's lofty walls,
 Who, chas'd for murder thence, a suppliant came
 To Pelcus, and the silver-footed dame,
 Now sent to Troy, Achilles' arms to aid,
 He pays due vengeance to his kinsman's shade.

B. xvi. v. 699.

Howel ap Jevah has a friend in Mervyn—Epigeus has his Patroclus. Howel is slain—and so is Epigeus. The death of Howel enrages Mervyn to revenge it—The death of Epigeus has the same effect upon Patroclus. Mervyn is as furious as a mountain wolf—Patroclus rushes like a hawk on his prey. The Normans fly—so do the Trojans. Could all these coincidences be accidental?

This

True as a shadow to a substant^r thyng,
So true he guarded Harold hys good kyng. 190

^r *Substantial.*

But

This Howel might have been of the royal family of North Wales; the murder for which he fled having been committed at Matraual, the residence of those princes. His armour was correspondent to his character; a target covered with a wolf's skin, and a fighting spear, which he used with so much strength and dexterity, as to pierce De Tracy's heart and liver, and to bear them both away on the point of his lance. Wounds of this kind are mentioned in Homer.

Ἐκ χροὸς εἴλκε δόρυ προτὶ δὲ φρένες αὐτῷ ἔπουντο.
Τοῖο δ' ἄμα ψυχὴν τε καὶ ἔγκειος ἐξέρυσ' αἰχμῆν
Il. II. v. 504.

Then drew the fibres from the panting heart,
The reeking fibres, clinging to the dart.
Pope, B. xvi. v. 621.

Howel's Norman antagonist is described as a proud and effeminate warrior.

—————A man of mickle pride,
Whose featliest beauties ladden in his face.

Not unlike the character of Paris or Nireus in the Iliad.

Νιρέυς ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε
Ἄλλ' ἀλαπαδνὸς ἦεν. Il. B. v. 673.

Nireus, in faultless shape and blooming grace,
The loveliest youth of all the Grecian race.
Pope, B. ii. v. 817.

But the character of Auffroi seems better suited to that of Othryoneus, who was slain by Idomeneus.

Πέφνε γὰρ Ὀθρυονῆα Καθησόμεν ἔνδον ἰόντα,
Ὅς ῥα νέον πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰληλεθε.
Ἦτεε δὲ Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην
Κασσάνδρην, ἀνάεδνον· ὑπέσκειτο δὲ μέγα ἔργον,
Ἐκ Τροίης ἀέκοντας ἀπώσμεν ὡς Ἀχαιῶν.
Il. N. v. 363.

His bloude at this was waxen flaminge hotte,
 Without adoe * he turned once agayne,
 And hytt de Griel thilk a blowe, God wote,
 Maugre y hys helme, he splete his hede in twayne.

* *Immediately.* y *Notwithstanding.*

This

We need not, however, recur to that ballad for the expression of *grey goose wing*, for it was the ancient custom to mount their arrows with goose feathers; and Roger Afcham, in his *Toxology*, not only mentions these feathers, as best suited to the purpose, but also harangues very quaintly on the merit and usefulness of the animals that bear them, from the time that they saved the Roman Capitol; and though he says the *colour* is a circumstance least to be regarded, yet he adds, “that it stands in good reason to have the *cocke* feather black or “*greie*, as it were to geve a man warning to nocke right.” So that the *grey goose wing* became a familiar expression to signify an arrow; and in this sense it is used more than once in the poem on the Battle of Flodden Field.

The *grey goose wings* did work such greif. Stanza 493.

Out went anon the *grey goose wing*,

Amongst the Scots did fluttering fly. Stanza 1049.

If the expression was at that time so familiar, can we suppose it to have been unknown in Rowley's time? In the more ancient copy of the battle of Otterburn, or Chevy-Chace, written in the Northern dialect, and published by Hearne, with *Gul. Nubrigenfis*, the line runs thus:

The *fwane fethars* that his arrow bar.

And though Dr. Percy's idea should be true, that the present ballad is no older than Queen Elizabeth's time, yet it appears by the poem on Flodden Field, before mentioned, that the expression of *grey goose wing* must have been more ancient, if that poem was written (as is supposed) soon after the battle, which was fought in 1513.

It is usual with our poet, after he has introduced his warriors on the stage, to digress from them to other events and persons: Thus, when Howel ap Jevah had received a wound in the heel, we hear no more of him for two hundred lines, till he falls by De Valeris' hand, v. 453.—But we must postpone for a while the intermediate events described in the poem, that the history of Howel, and of his countryman Mervyn, may not be interrupted. He is mentioned as retreating from the army, in order to have his wounds dressed, v. 455; That operation conveys a curious picture of the ancient chirurgical practice, wherein superstition had a very considerable share; for the surgeon was a *cunnyng man*, that is to say a conjurer; and

This Auffroie was a manne of mickle pryde, 205
 Whose featliest ² bewty ladden ^a in his face ;
 His chaunce in warr he ne before han tryde,
 But lyv'd in love and Rosaline's embrace ;

² *Most comely, or agreeable.* ^a *Lay.*

And

the cure was to be effected in part by his singeing a charm, praying to St. Cuthbert and the Virgin Mary, and by putting a row of bloodstones round the neck of the patient.

The manual operation was not unlike that of Machaon on Menelaus: The Greek as well as the English surgeon first sucked the blood from the wound, and then infused a tincture of holy and balsamic herbs.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἶδεν ἕλκος, ὅθ' ἔμπεσε πυκρὸς οὔτος
 Αἶμα' ἐκμυζήσας, ἐπ' ἄρ' ἤπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς
 Πάσσε, τὰ οἱ ποτὲ πατρὶ φίλα φρόνεων πόρε Χείρων.

Il. Δ. v. 217.

Then suck'd the blood, and sovereign balm infused,
 Which Chiron gave, and Esculapius used.

Pope, B. iv. v. 250:

The former of these applications is omitted by Virgil; but when Iapis had extracted the arrow from Æneas's thigh, he applied simples to the wound.

Multa manu medico, Phæbique potentibus herbis
 Nequicquam trepidat.—

To which Venus added,

Ambrosiæ succos, & odoriferam Panacæam.

Æn. xii. v. 402. and 419.

All softning simples known of sovereign use
 He presses out, and pours the noble juice. Dryden.

It seems to have been the practice, in both instances, to encourage the soldier after his wounds were dressed. The English surgeon says to Howel,

Go Champyonne, get a gone.

and Iapis uses a similar exhortation on the like occasion:

Arma cito properate, viri: quid statis? Iapis
 Conclamat———— v. 425.

Arms, arms, he cries, the sword and shield prepare,
 And send the willing Chief renew'd to war.

The comparing a warrior's death to the fall of an oak, v. 469, is an image very familiar both to Homer and Rowley, and frequently copied by other poets.

The

And like a useleſs weede among the haie
Amonge the ſleine warriours Griel laie.

Kynge

The character and atchievements of *Mervyn ap Tewdor* are ſtill more ſingular than thoſe of his friend and countryman *Howel ap Iſevah*: He ſhould ſeem, from his name, to have been the ſon of the famous *Tewdor Mawr*, the grandſon of *Owen*, and the great grandſon of *Howel Dha*; but it is not eaſy to aſcertain his perſon and rank from true hiſtory; though there was a *Meyne* or *Meredith* (poſſibly the ſame name with *Mervyn*) who was ſon of *Owen* King of South Wales, about the time of *Howel ap Iſevah*. The deſcription of this warrior's dreſs and activity, his ſtrength and valour, will give more entertainment to the reader than his genealogy: He flew upon the Norman with the rage of a mountain wolf, terrifying him as much by his appearance as he did by his valour; for it is truly ſaid

His garb ſufficient was to move affright:

His armour conſiſting chiefly of ſkins of wild beaſts.

His gauntletts were the ſkynn of *Harte of Greece*. v. 494.

This expreſſion occurs in the ballad of Adam Bell, which is more ancient than Shakeſpear.

Each of them flew a *Hart of Greece*,
The beſt that they could ſee.

Percy, vol. i. p. 161. 2d. edit.

It is ſo called alſo in one of the ballads on Robin Hood, in Evans's Collection, vol. i. p. 36. It may be preſumed to have been anciently the common name for a ſtag. So Shakeſpear, in one of his ſongs, ſpeaks of a *Hart* and *Hind*; and in the battle of Otterbourn, Earl Percy ſays, that

He will kill the fatteſt *Harts* in all Cheviot.

But they were not called *Harts of Greece* from their fatneſs or *graiſſe* (as Dr. Percy ſuppoſes in his Gloſſary vol. i.) but from *Greece*, whence they were ſuppoſed originally to come; for in fact this name takes its origin from the ſtory of Hercules's labours, one of which conſiſted in purſuing and catching, on mount Meenalus in Arcadia, a Hind ſacred to Diana, which had gilt horns and brazen hoofs. To this ſtory we find frequent alluſions in the Roman poets. It is thus that Virgil compliments Auguſtus, by comparing him with Hercules:

Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit
Fixerit *Æripedem Cervam* licet, aut Erymanthi
Pacarit nemora, aut Lernam tremefecerit arcu.

Æn. vi. v. 801.

Kynge Harolde then he putt his yeomen bie,
 And ferslie ^b ryd into the bloudie fyghte ;
 Erle Ethelwolf, and Goodrick, and Alfie,
 Cuthbert, and Goddard, mical ^c menne of myghte,

^b *Fiercely.* ^c *Men of great might.*

Ethelwin,

So likewise Seneca, in his *Hercules Furens* :

—Mænali pernix fera,
 Multo decorum præferens auro caput,
 Deprensa cursu est.

There is an ancient tradition, recorded by Camden in his account of Westmorland, p. 994, concerning a *Hart of Greece*, which seems to allude to this fable :
 “ In Whinfeild forest there is a venerable oak, called *Hartshorn tree*, which took
 “ its name from a stag coursed by a single greyhound to the Red Kirk in Scotland,
 “ and back again to this place ; where both being spent, the stag leaped the pales,
 “ but died on the other side, and the greyhound attempting to leap, fell and died on
 “ this side ; whence they nailed up their heads on the tree, and, the dog’s name being
 “ Hercules, they made this rhyme upon them :

Hercules killed *Hart a Greece*,
 And *Hart a Greece* kill’d Hercules.

Mervyn’s sword is said to be short, broad, and keen, “ so that no man’s bone
 “ could stop its way,” and he wielded it with such strength and fury as to chine
 down one of the Normans, to bury it with its hilt in the neck of another, and to
 break it with the violence of the blow ; to twist, by the muscular strength of his
 arms, the head of De Laque quite round to his back ; and, when pierced through
 with the Norman arrows, he griped Fitz Piers by the throat ’till he strangled
 him. These are original descriptions of the rude and vigorous exertions of ancient
 British valour, and though they should not be strictly true, yet they are perfectly
 consonant to the manners of those times.

The simile which compares Mervyn to a mountain wolf beset by the hounds,
 v. 515, if not directly copied from Homer, at least bears a great resemblance to his
 description of the wild boar surrounded and bated by peasants and dogs.

Ὡς δ’ ὅτε κάρπιον ἀμφὶ κύνες θαλεροὶ τ’ αἰζηοὶ
 Σεύνεται, ὃ δὲ τ’ ἔισι βαθείης, ἐκ ξυλόχοιο
 Θήγων λευκὸν ὀδόντα, μετὰ γναμπτήσι γένυσσιν·
 Ἀμφὶ δὲ τ’ αἴσσονται· ὑπὰ δὲ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων
 Γίγνεται, οἱ δὲ μένουσιν ἄφαρ δεινὸν περ ἔοντα.

Il. A. v. 414.

Ethelwin, Ethelbert, and Edwin too, 215
 Effred the famous, and Erle Ethelwarde,
 Kyngge Harolde's leegemenn ^d, erlies hie and true,
 Rode after hym, his bodie for to guarde;

^d *Subjects.*

The

So fares a boar whom all the troops surround,
 Of shouting huntsmen and of clamorous hounds;
 He grinds his ivory tusks, he foams with ire,
 His sanguine eye-balls glare with living fire:
 By these, by those on every part he's tried,
 And the red slaughter spreads on every side.

Pope, B. xi. v. 525.

The epithet of *blameless*, v. 537, is frequently applied by Homer to his warriors, but seldom used by other poets. It must be, therefore, from the original that the poet chose an epithet more particular, than it is either just or beautiful.

The description of Mervyn's armour, v. 485, may also shew how far a coincidence in sentiment, and a similarity in description, may subsist between two poets who never saw or borrowed from each other's works: This is certainly the case with Rowley and Spenser, in the description which the latter gives of the armour of Clarion, in his *Muiopotmos*, vol. v. p. 343, compared with that of Mervyn.

And then about his shoulders broad he threw
 A hoary hide of some wild beast, whom he
 In salvage forest by adventure slew,
 And reft the spoil his ornament to be;
 Which spreading all his back with dreadful view,
 Made all that him so horrible did see,
 Think him Alcides in a lion's skin,
 When the Nemean conquest he did win.

Nor is it unlike Dolon's dress in the *Iliad*,

"Ἔσχατο δ' ἔκτοσθεν ῥινὸν πολιοῖο λύκειο.

Il. κ. v. 334.

A wolf's grey hide around his shoulders hung.

Pope, B. x. v. 396.

And Ornitus in Virgil,

Cui pellis latos humeros erepta juvenco
 Pugnatori operit: Caput ingens oris hiatus
 Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus albis.

Æn. xi. v. 679.

The refte of erlies, fyghtyng other wheres,
Stained with Norman bloude their fyghtyng fperes. 220

As when fome ryver with the feafon raynes
White fomyng hie doth breke the bridges oft,
Oerturns the hamelet and all contains*,
And layeth oer the hylls a muddie foft;

* *Its contents.*

So

Other instances might be produced of coincidence in fentiment and expreffion between poets, without the leaft fufpicion of plagiarism. In regard to that before quoted, Spenser having never feen Rowley's works, could not have copied his description; and it would be adding one more incredible idea, to the many already entertained of Chatterton's wonderful genius and extenfive reading, to fuppofe that he had borrowed this thought from Spenser.

But to return to the battle, the account of which has been interrupted by the hiftory of the two Welch heroes.

V. 204. Maugre hys helme, he fplete his hede in twayne;
As Harold did to Fitz Sarnaville:

Who at one blowe made tweyne his head. v. 237.

So Homer,

—— Έρυαλον έπεσσύμενον θάλε πέτρῃ
Μέσσην κακκεφαλὴν, ἥ δ' ἀνδρικὰ πᾶσα κεάσθη
Έν κύρῳ θριαρῇ.—— Il. Π. v. 412.

And burft the helm and cleft the head in twain.

Pope, B. xvi. v. 503.

V. 213. It may be obferved, that Harold's Earls and leaders are defcribed by genuine Saxon names; and the poet's ufual partiality to the Englifh appears in the encomiums given of their characters ——

They ftained with Norman bloude their fyghtyng fperes.

V. 221. In the following ftanza we have a fimile, which refers us to the original in Homer, where the deftruction of the bridges, and of the mounds of the hamlet, is particularly mentioned,

Θῦνε γὰρ ἀμπεδίου ποταμῷ πλήθοντι ἰοικῶς
Χαιμάρῃ, ὅς' ὕκα ρέων ἐκέδασσε γεφύρας·

Τὸν

So Harold ranne upon his Normanne foes, 225
 And layde the greate and smalle upon the grounde,
 And delte among them thilke a store of blowes,
 Full manie a Normanne fell by him dede wounde ;
 So who he be that ouphant ^f faeries strike,
 Their foules will wander to Kynge Offa's dyke. 230

^f *Elfin*.

Fitz

Τὸν δ' ἔτ' ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν
 Οὐτ' ἄρα ἔρκεα ἴσχει ἀλωαων ἐριθηλέων
 Ἐλθόντ' ἑξαπύνης, ὅτ' ἐπιβρίση Διὸς ὄμβρος.

Il. E. v. 87.

Thus from high hills the torrents swift and strong
 Deluge whole fields, and sweep the trees along ;
 Thro' ruin'd moles the rushing wave resounds,
 O'erwhelms the bridge and hurts the lofty bounds.

Pope, B. v. v. 116.

See also another simile in Homer, much to the same purpose.

Ὡς δ' ὅποτε πλήθων ποταμὸς πεδίοις κατέεισι
 Χαμάρας κατ' ὄρεσφιν ὀπαζόμενος Διὸς ὄμβρῳ
 Πολλὰς δὲ δρυὶς ἀζαλείας πολλὰς δὲ τε πεύκας
 Εσφέρεται, πολλὸν δὲ τ' ἀφυσγετὸν εἰς ἄλλα βαλλει.

Il. A. v. 492.

As when a torrent, swell'd with wintry rains,
 Pours from the mountains o'er the delug'd plains ;
 And pines and oaks, from their foundation torn,
 A country's ruins, to the sea are born.

Pope, B. xi. v. 614.

V. 229. The allusion to the fairies, at the end of this stanza, having no connection in idea with the preceding and following lines, seems to be improperly introduced in this place ; but it is used with great propriety at line 479, to illustrate the terror with which the Normans flew from the face of Mervyn, dreading equally his appearance and his valour. The tradition of punishments inflicted on those who should strike the fairies, or perhaps be seen by them, seems to have originated (at least to have been preserved) in Wales, of which Offa's Dyke was the boundary. The word *Ouphant* does not occur in our glossaries ; but *Elf* or *Elfin* is not uncommon, which, according to Skynner, signifies *earthly demons* ; we still call them

Then Egwin Sieur Pikeny did attaque ;
He turned aboute and vilely foutenⁱ flie ;
But Egwyn cutt so deepe into his backe,
He rolled on the grounde and soon dyd die.

His distant sonne, Sire Romara de Biere, 255
Soughte to revenge his fallen kynfman's lote^k,
But soone Erle Cuthbert's dented^l fyghtyng spear
Stucke in his harte, and stayd his speed, God wote.

He tumbled downe close by hys kynfman's syde,
Myngle their stremes of purple bloude, and dy'd. 260

And now an arrowe from a bowe unwote^m
 Into Erle Cuthbert's harte eftfoons dyd flee;
 Who dying fayd; ah me! how hard my lote!
 Now slayne, mayhap, of one of lowe degree.

ⁱ *Sought.* ^k *Lot, or fate.* ^l *Pointed.* ^m *Unknown.*

So

V. 252. The flight of Pikeny gives occasion for another disgraceful reflection on the Norman arms: but poetical justice is done; for he is killed, like a coward, by a wound in his back.

V. 261. An unknown arrow found its way to Earl Cuthbert's heart: Æneas was wounded in the same manner.

Ecce viro stridens alis allapsa sagitta
 Incertum quâ pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta,
 Quis tantam Rutulis cladem, Casusne Deusne
 Attulerit. Æn. xii. v. 319.

A winged arrow struck the pious prince,
But whether 'from some human hand it came,
Or hostile God, is yet unknown to fame.

Dryden, v. 482.

It seemed, however, to be a point of some consequence to determine the quality and rank of the person by whom Æneas was wounded: Earl Cuthbert adopted the same sentiments:

So have I seen a leafie elm of yore 265
 Have been the pride and glorie of the pleine;
 But, when the spendyng landlord is growne poore,
 It falls benethe the axe of some rude fweine;
 And like the oke, the foveran of the woode,
 It's fallen boddie tells you how it stoode. 270

When Edelward perceevd Erle Cuthbert die,
 On Hubert strongest of the Normanne crewe,
 As wolfs when hungred on the cattel flie,
 So Edelward amaine upon him flewe.
 With thilk a force he hyt hym to the ground; 275
 And was demasing^a howe to take his life,

^a *Musing, considering.*

When

Who dying sayd; Ah me! how hard my lote!
 Now slayne mayhap of one of lowe degree. v. 263.

And when Earl Hereward was wounded by De Viponte,—“A squier of low
 “degree,”—he observed, that

The Erle, wounded by so base an hind,
 Rayfed furious doyngs in his noble mind. v. 339.

So it is said of Alured, v. 417.

^c But noe such destinie awaits his hedde,
 As to be fleyen by a wight so meene. v. 417.

V. 265. The image of a leafie elm, hewn by the rude swain, has the merit of simplicity, and the much greater one of shewing the moral turn of the poet; who seems to hint at the revolution of all human affairs, and of that principally which arises from the folly and extravagance of mankind.

V. 273. So Virgil,

———Inde lupi seu
 Raptores—quos improba ventris
 Exegit cæcos rabies,——— Æn. ii. v. 355.

When he behynde received a ghaſtly wounde
 Gyven by de Torcie, with a ſtabbyng knyfe;
 Baſe trecherous Normannes, if ſuch actes you doe,
 The conquer'd maie clame victorie of you. 280

The erlie felt de Torcie's trecherous knyfe
 Han made his crymſon bloude and ſpirits fle;e
 And knowlachyng^o he ſoon muſt quyt this lyfe,
 Reſolved Hubert ſhould too with hym goe.
 He held hys truſtie ſwerd againſt his breſte, 285
 And down he fell, and peerc'd him to the harte;
 And both together then did take their reſte,
 Their ſoules from corpes unaknell'd^p depart;
 And both together ſoughte the unknown ſhore,
 Where we ſhall goe, where manie's gon before. 290

Kynge Harolde Torcie's trechery dyd ſpie,
 And hie alofe^a his temper'd ſwerde dyd welde,
 Cut offe his arme, and made the bloude to flie,
 His prooffe ſteel armoure did him littel ſheelde;

^o *Knowing.* ^p *Not having the funeral knell rung for them.* ^a *Aloft.*

And

V. 277. De Torcie, another cowardly Norman, is introduced treacherouſly ſtabbing Earl Edelward in his back. No ſuch actions are attributed by the poet to his countrymen, nor are they ſuffered to paſs without his cenſure. In this reſpect alſo he reſembles Homer, whoſe cowards are all Trojans.

V. 289. And both together, &c.—So Homer ſays of Antenor's ſons.

——— ἔδυν δόμον ἄιδος εἴσω.——— Il. A. v. 263.

The ſocial ſhades the ſame dark journey go.

Pope, B. xi. v. 340.

And not contente, he fplete his hede in twaine, 295
 And down he tumbled on the bloudie ground ;
 Mean while the other erlies on the playne
 Gave and received manie a bloudie wounde,
 Such as the arts in warre han learnt with care,
 But manie knyghtes were women in men's geer. 300

Herrewald, borne on Sarim's ' fpreddyng plaine,
 Where Thor's fam'd temple manie ages stode ;
 Where Druids, auncient preefts, did ryghtes ordaine,
 And in the middle shed the victyms bloude ;

^s *Salisbury Plain.*

Where

V. 301. The atchievements of *Herrewald* (or, as he is called in the 2d poem, v. 545, *Herewarde*) one of Rowley's favourite heroes, are now introduced, with very high encomiums. He is said in both poems to have been a native of Old Sarum, and to have had a distinguished command in the battle; whence it might be inferred that he was a real personage; but neither his birth, nor any part of his history, comes authenticated by other writers, or agrees with the account of *that Hereward*, who is highly celebrated by Ingulf, and other historians. He was the son of Leofric de Brune, and a native of Croyland, remarkable for his stature and strength; and so violent in his juvenile exercises, that Edward the Confessor, at the request of his own father, banished him the kingdom. During his exile, he distinguished himself so much by his valour, that the fame of it became the subject of English poetry; "Ejusque gesta fortia etiam Angliam ingressa canerentur." The Conqueror having granted away his lands, he came to England, and joined himself to Earl Siward, Morkar, and other Saxon lords, who held out the Isle of Ely against the King; and he was the only person of consequence who escaped after that unsuccessful enterprize. Ingulf adds, p. 70, that he was made a regular knight, according to the Saxon ceremonial, by his uncle Brand, then abbot of Peterborough; and being repossessed of his lands, and restored to the King's favour, died in peace. But *Rowley's Herewarde* is said in the former poem to have been killed by De Broque; in the latter, his fate is left undecided, but his valour is celebrated in the most distinguished terms.

In the former poem,

Three Norman champyons of hie degree,
 He leste to smoke upon the bloudie pleine. v. 323.

And

Where auncient Bardi dyd their verses synge 305
 Of Cæsar conquer'd, and his mighty hoste,
 And how old Tynyan, necromancing kynge,
 Wreck'd all hys shyping on the Brittish coaste,

And

And in the latter,

He sweepes whole armies to the reaulmes of nyghte. v. 550.

He sweepes alle neere hym lyke a bronned floude. v. 558.

There is in the possession of the Earl of Northampton, a most noble pedigree of the Howard family fairly drawn out on vellum, and richly illuminated with their arms, alliances, and descent, executed in the last century by Lilly, Portcullis Herald. The origin of the Howard family is therein deduced from Ingulf's *Hereward*; and the several passages of that author relating to him are brought as proofs: But it does not seem that the connection of the two names is proved, or the descent sufficiently authenticated; Judge Howard, in Edward the first's reign, being the earliest person of consequence who appears there under that name. This beautiful and valuable pedigree was drawn out for the Earl of Arundel, but never presented to him; after Lilly's death, it was purchased, at a sale of his books, by James Earl of Northampton, for 100 guineas; and is now the property of George Lord de Ferrars; whose father, Lord Viscount Townshend, married the daughter and sole heiress of that Earl.

The place of *Hereward's* nativity has furnished the poet with a curious episode on the situation and appearance of Old Sarum, and a description of Salisbury plain, much altered since that time by population and improvements. He has also pointed out the origin and use of that famous monument of antiquity, *Stonehenge*, so little noticed by our ancient writers. He asserts, with great truth, that it was a temple erected by the Britons to *Thor*, or *Tauran*, the Celtic Jupiter; for, according to Keyser, "*Thor Celtis est Taran vel Taram.*" *Antiq. Septent.* p. 196. Now *Taran*, or *Taram*, in the Welsh and Irish languages, signify thunder: Hence Jupiter Tenans was worshipped in Britain under the title of *Tanarus*; and an altar dedicated to him by that appellation was dug up at Chester, in 1653, and is still preserved among the Arundelian marbles at Oxford. See² Prideaux's *Marmora Arund.* p. 282. It was inscribed I. O. M. TANARO, i. e. Jovi Optimo Maximo Tanaro; and to the same deity belonged that altar which Lucan has stigmatised for the cruelty of its human sacrifices.

Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.—Lib. i. v. 446.

Tharan, or *Tharamin*, i. e. Jupiter. See Borel's *Antiq. Gauloises*.

He was also stiled *Tharanus*, *Taranus*, *Tanarus*; all words of the same import. Compare the following lines of these poems with this account.

And made hym in his tatter'd barks to flie,
 'Till Tynyan's dethe and opportunity.

310

To

Where Druids, auncient preefts, did ryghtes ordaine,
 And in the middle shed the victyms bloude.

Poem 1st. v. 303.

Here did the Brutons adoration paye
 To that false God, whom they did *Tauran* name,
 Dyghtynge hys altarre with greete fyers in Maic,
 Roastyng their vye'tualle round aboute the flame.

Poem 2d. v. 535.

The songs recited by the bards in these temples, at such conventions, are justly supposed by the poet to have celebrated the valour of their countrymen, and their successful opposition to Cæsar on his first attempt against this island; where, by his own account, he lost forty-two of his ships, besides twelve more on his second landing. This loss is poetically ascribed to the powers of *Tynyan*, a British king, who, according to the superstition of those times, was supposed to be a Necromancer; and was undoubtedly the same person with *Tenantius*, or *Theomantius*, Duke of Cornwall at the time of Cæsar's invasion; called by Jeoffry of Monmouth, *Tenancius* and *Tennancius*; and by Lewis, *Tenevan*. [History of Britain, l. iv. p. 72.] He was the son of King Lud, the father of Cunobeline, and nephew to Cassibelan, whom he assisted on Cæsar's invasion, and succeeded him in the British throne, which, according to Lewis, he held for twenty years, being "a man valiant in battle, happy in peace, and a lover of justice." p. 80. This description is accompanied with an allusion to the infamous massacre of the British nobility by Hengist, which is supposed to have been committed at this place; and the person of Turgot is assumed in the recital, by saying,

I tho a Saxon yet the truthe will telle,
The Saxonnes sleyn'd the place wyth Brittitish gore,
Where nete but bloud of sacrifices fell. v. 312.

The fact itself is recorded by our historians; and it may be inferred from the ancient history of Abbendon Monastery, (printed in the Monasticon, tom. i. p. 97.) that the monument took its name from that event. "Eo tempore quo nequissimus Hengistus Paganus apud *Stan-Hengeſt* tot nobiles consules peremit."

Keyſler, indeed, in his Antiqu. Septent. would ascribe to Stonehenge a later date, by asserting it to have been a *monumental* work of the Saxons; but it is reasonable to suppose that this treaty was holden, by consent of the Britons, at the place appointed for their religious and civil assemblies, which in those days were generally convened on the same spot.

To make it more renom'd than before,
(I, tho a Saxon, yet the truthe will telle)
The Saxonneſs ſteynd the place wyth Brittiſh gore,
Where nete but bloud of ſacrifices felle.

Tho'

————— ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε θέμις τε
Ἦν, τῇ δὲ καὶ σφί Θεῶν ἐτετεύχοντο βωμοί.
Il. A. v. 806.

————— Where, on the crouded ſtrand,
The public mart, and courts of juſtice ſtand;
And altars to the guardian Gods ariſe.
Pope, B. xi. v. 936.

So Picus's palace is deſcribed by Virgil.

Hinc ſceptra accipere, & primos atollere faſces
Regibus omen erat: Hoc illis curia templum,
Hæc ſacris ſedes epulis. Æn. vii. v. 174.

But Rowley's account of this monument (which he may be ſuppoſed to have received from Turgot) gives it a more ancient origin; for he ſays in the following lines,

Tho' Chriſtians, ſtyle they thoghte mouche of the pile,
And here theie mett when cauſes dyd it neede. v. 315.

And in the ſecond poem,

'Twas here, that Hengyſt did the Brytons flee,
As they were mette in council for to bee. v. 539.

And this correſponds in ſome meaſure with Jeffery Monmouth's account, who ſays, that the ſlaughter was committed “ near the monaſtery of the Abbot Ambrius, and that the bodies of the ſlain Britons were buried not far from *Kærcaradane*, or *Caradoc*, (now Salisbury) in a burying-place by the monaſtery of “ Ambrius the Abbot who was the founder of it, l. iii. p. 51; which monaſtery “ (as he afterwards obſerves, l. v. p. 61. b.) maintained 300 Friars, and was ſituated “ on the mountain of Ambrius.” Thence, probably, the town of Ambreſbury, called by Matt. Weſtmiſter, *Pagus Ambri*, took its name. This, with the reſt of Monmouth's narrative, “ that the ſtones were brought by the aſſiſtance of Merlin, at the “ deſire of Aurelius Ambroſius, from the mountain of Killaraum, (now Kildare) in “ Ireland, and erected as a monument over the Britons ſlain on this ſpot,” bears the ſtrongest marks of a Monkiſh fable, it being wholly improbable, that any monaſtery, much leſs one that contained 300 Monks, ſhould have exiſted, during that early period,

Tho' Chryſtians, ſtyle they thoghte mouche of the pile,
 And here theire mett when caufes dyd it neede ; 316
 Twas here the auncient Elders of the Ile
 Dyd by the trecherie of Hengiſt bleede ;

O Hengiſt !

on Salifbury plain ; a ſituation of all others moſt improper for the purpoſe : But the ideas of that age could annex no higher degree of dignity to a place of public worſhip, than to call it a monaſtery. The number of ſtones placed in a certain order on the ſpot where the maſſacre was committed, favoured the notion of their being erected as monuments of the ſlain ; and their ſtupendous ſize and wonderful arrangement gave full ſcope to the fable, that they were brought and erected by the powers of magic. All theſe hints only ſerve to eſtabliſh the antiquity of Rowley's materials ; who, according to the ideas of that age, calls King *Tinjan* a magician and necromancer.

The ceremonies performed here are ſaid to conſiſt in ſhedding the victim's blood in the middle of the temple, and in lighting or dreſſing the altar of their God Thor with great fires in the month of May. See v. 303, and poem 2d, v. 531. With regard to the former, though it is acknowledged that the Druids offered human ſacrifices in their temples, yet, by the poet's manner of ſpeaking, he does not ſeem to have here applied the word *victim* in that ſenſe, ſince he mentions the blood of the ſacrifices with a marked oppoſition to the *British gore* ſpilled by Hengiſt ; had both been human blood, he would have ſpoken of both as a Chriſtian, with almoſt equal abhorrence ; nor can it be ſuppoſed that the Chriſtians would have choſen that place even for their civil aſſemblies, which had been defiled with human ſacrifices. It is much more to the purpoſe to obſerve, how much the account here given of the temple, and of the ceremonies performed in it, are founded in truth, and verified by hiſtory. The lighting of fires in May is one of the moſt remarkable parts of the Druid worſhip, and as ſuch is taken notice of by Toland in his *Hiſtory of Druids* ; by Borlase in his *Antiquities of Cornwall* ; and by other writers on that ſubject. It is obſervable, that *fires* are mentioned in the plural number ; and Toland ſays, “ that two fires were kindled by one another on May-eve, in every village of the nation, as well through all Gaul, as in Britain, Ireland, and the adjoining leſſer iſlands ; between which fires the men and beaſts to be ſacrificed were to paſs : One of the fires was on the karn, the other on the ground.” Dr. Borlase obſerves, “ that feſtival fires, or bonfires, are kindled on the eve of St. John Baptiſt, and on St. Peter's day, which ſeem to be the remains of the Druid ſuperſtition.”

Braund, in his popular antiquities, quotes the Scholiaſt on the 65th Canon of the Council of Trullo, p. 270, which cenſures the Heatheniſh cuſtom of “ making
 “ fires

O Hengist! han thy cause bin good and true,
 Thou wouldst such murderous acts as these eschew. 320
 The

“ fires on the new moon and on St. John Baptist’s eve, and the people leaping over
 “ them in a mad and foolish manner; which, as he observes, is a remain of the
 “ Druid custom of passing the victim through the fire, which these priests had
 “ from the Canaanites.”

To save the reader the trouble of resuming the subject in the second poem, where there is also an allusion to the religious rites performed in this temple, it may be observed, that the word *vyctimes* seems to be there improperly substituted instead of *vyctualle*, as an *erratum* in the former edition; since these two passages relate to different parts of the sacrificial rites; the one to “ the shedding the victim’s blood,” the other to the *feast* which accompanied, or rather followed that ceremony, and which was a part of the Heathen worship.

Virgil mentions it as a part of the rites performed at the temple of Picus.

—————Hoc illis curia templum,
Hæc sacris sedes epulis: hic ariete cæso
 Perpetuis soliti patres confidere mensis.

Æn. vii. v. 175.

Thus again, in describing the reception of Æneas by Evander:

Tum læti juvenes certatim aræque sacerdotes
Viscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris
 Dona laboratæ Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant.
 Vescitur Æneas, simul et Trojana juvenus
 Perpetui tergo bovis & lustralibus extis.

Æn. viii. v. 179.

Toland observes, in his History of the Druids, p. 70, “ that the holy fires
 “ lighted by them, were constantly attended with sacrifices and feasting;” and
 Dr. Borlase, in his Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 127, 2d edit. that “ in-
 “ temperance in drinking generally closed the sacrifice.” Keyfler, in his Antiq.
 Septent. p. 331, illustrates this Druidical ceremony with several quotations from
 the Northern writers. Sturlesonius, in vitâ Olai, says; “ Vetus tum obtinuerat
 “ consuetudo circa Victimarum mactationes, ut ad fanum ipsum incolæ conveni-
 “ rent omnes, commeatum victumque pro solennibus epulis una adducentes; nec
 “ omnino cerevisiæ in tam celebri conventu proportionem singulorum ulla debebat
 “ esse penuria: Mactabantur hic armentorum atque equorum plura genera——
 “ Carnem mactatorum animalium pro more gentis elixatam convivæ absument.
 “ Focus in medio fundi accensus ardebat, supra quem etiam lebetes fervefactos

The erlie was a manne of hie degree,
 And han that daie full manie Normannes fleine;
 Three Norman Champyons of hie degree
 He lefte to fmoke upon the bloudie pleine:

The

“ adpendere moris erat; scyphi autem mero repleti per mediam flammam traducebantur.”

Keyser observes in another place, “ Stabant autem, cum computationes sacræ peragerentur, circa ignem in medio templi accensum, cum mulsum vel cerevisia liberalissimè in pateris vel poculis exhiberentur.” P. 355.

It is also observed by Mr. Toland, “ that the men and beasts to be sacrificed, passed through the two fires *which were made in the middle of the temple*,” where the poet says the blood of the victim was shed, without mentioning their flesh to have been burnt in the fire.

If human sacrifices were here alluded to, or if the bodies of beasts were to be consumed in the sacrificial fire, it could not correspond with the description the poet gives of

Roasting their vyeſtuelle round about the flame.

This passage, therefore, alludes to the ceremony of the feast, not to the sacrifice itself, and therefore requires no alteration.

V. 313. Mr. Warton seems to have wavered between two opinions concerning the origin and history of this monument, and to have endeavoured by two different and contrary mediums to convict this poem of forgery. In a note, vol. i. p. 53, and in a passage, vol. ii. p. 155, he contends for the probability of Monmouth's account, viz. “ that this monument was erected by the Britons, in memory of Hengist's massacre, asserting that no other notion prevailed concerning it at the time when this poem was written, (which he supposes to have been soon after the battle was fought).—That this notion had been delivered down by long and constant tradition;—that it was the established and uniform opinion of the Welsh and Armoric bards, who most probably received it from the Saxon Minstrels;—that Monmouth's History was written not above eighty years after the battle;—and that Robert of Gloucester, and all the Monkish Chronicles, agreed in this doctrine.”

And yet this doctrine, so established by Mr. Warton, is expressly contradicted by himself in the following sentence, wherein he asserts, “ that the construction of this stupendous pile BY THE DRUIDS, AS A PLACE OF WORSHIP, was a discovery reserved for the sagacity of a wiser age, and the laborious discussion of modern antiquaries.” Upon Mr. Warton's authority, therefore, we will give up the opinion of Monmouth as fabulous, and remark the great improbability that

The Sier Fitzbotevilleine did then advaunce, 325
 And with his bowe he smote the erlies hede ;
 Who eftsoons gorad hym with his tylting launce,
 And at his hofes feet he tumbled dede :

His

that the Saxon Minstrells should chuse so infamous an act of perfidy, so disgraceful to their own name and country, for the subject of their songs and traditions, and of which Turgot confessed himself ashamed, when he said,

I, tho' a Saxon, yet the truthe will telle.

The Welsh bards, full of legendary superstition, and strongly prepossessed with ideas of Merlin's magical powers, might have invented or circulated this tale for the amusement of the vulgar ; their historians might have believed and published it ; and, according to the custom and ignorance of those days, it might have been handed down by subsequent Monks and Chroniclers : But if this tradition was so ancient, so general, and so well authenticated, (as Mr. Warton supposes) how happens it that the Saxon Minstrells did not transmit it, either to their own or to the British historians ; since neither Bede, Nennius, Asser, nor Ingulf, make the least mention of this wonderful structure : It is first noticed by Huntingdon, a contemporary writer with Monmouth, who, though he speaks of it as one of the four wonders of England, declares, " that no one could then think by what art these " great stones were raised so high, nor why they were put there." Stanenges ubi lapides miræ magnitudinis in modum Portarum elevati sunt, ita ut Portæ Portis superpositæ videantur, nec potest aliquis excogitare quâ arte tanti lapides adeo in altum elevati sunt, vel quare ibi instructi sunt. Lib. i.

Monmouth's account, therefore, could not be at that time the generally-received opinion, much less the only one entertained concerning it ; and Mr. Warton himself acknowledges that it was not the true one ; consequently the idea of its Druidical origin was founded on more remote antiquity, and higher tradition : But when, by the conversion of the Britons to Christianity, the ceremonies of the Druid worship ceased, and the temple itself grew into disuse, the history and origin of it must gradually fall into oblivion ; and fabulous accounts would be engrafted on it, founded on later events : Thus the massacre of the Britons at this place might give rise to a tradition, that the monument was erected in memory of that event ; and this might have been one, but not the only opinion that obtained concerning it in Monmouth's time. But even that tradition cannot affect the testimony of Turgot, who, living a century earlier, and being a learned and judicious historian, might be better informed of its true origin, from ancient records, or well-founded tradition, although unknown to the generality of writers in that ignorant and illiterate age.

Thus

His partyng spirit hovered o'er the floude
Of foddayne roushyng mouche lov'd purple bloude. 330

De

Thus far the poet's account of this monument may be justified, supposing Turgot to have been the author. Let us consider Mr. Warton's other objection, viz. that this account could not have been penned by Rowley, because the true history of Stonehenge was "*a later discovery, reserved (as he says) for the sagacity of wiser ages.*" This objection might have some weight, if the fact alluded to had been *then first brought to light*; but what he calls a *discovery*, is only the revival of an ancient tradition, obscured by the ignorance, and disguised by the fabulous accounts of intermediate ages. The true history of it must undoubtedly have subsisted before the fabulous one took place, nor could the former be so totally forgotten and annihilated, as to leave no vestiges, in records or tradition, from which the abilities and industry of Turgot or Rowley might have traced it.

But whatever objections might be urged against Rowley on this head, they will conclude with much greater force against Chatterton, as the supposed relator of this history: Could he, who had never travelled more than a few miles from Bristol, give so accurate a description of the extent and appearance of Salisbury Plain, and the *sheafed head* of Old Sarum? Was he so well acquainted with Cæsar's Commentaries, and the history of that invasion, as to describe his attempt on Britain; or so conversant with our English historians, as to mention the name of the King who opposed him? By what authors was he instructed in the ceremonies of the Druid worship; the titles of the God *Tbor*, or *Tauran*; the times and number of his sacrificial fires; and the victims offered in their temples, with the different ideas of British mythology; which could only be collected from Toland, Stukely, and Borlase, authors not within his reach; or from others, whose language he did not understand?

The lines which express the poet's surprise at the grandeur of this monument, must have been penned by one who had been an eye-witness of its magnificence:

It ne could be the work of human hand;

It ne was reared up by men of claie. Poem 2d, v. 533.

But it has been the misfortune of our author, and the untowardness of criticism, that those parts of his works have been most objected to, which bear the strongest marks of originality.

The reader will pardon the length of a digression, which tends to illustrate the history of that noble British monument, and to vindicate the authenticity of the poem.

V. 330. This line is remarkable for an expressive complication of epithets in the Homericall stile.

De Viponte then, a squier of low degree,
 An arrowe drewe with all his myghte ameine;
 The arrowe graz'd upon the erlies knee,
 A punie wounde, that caufd but littel peine.
 So have I feene a Dolthead place a stone, 335
 Enthoghte¹ to staie a driving rivers course;
 But better han it bin to lett alone,
 It onlie drives it on with mickle force;
 The erlie, wounded by so bafe a hynde,
 Rays'd furyous doyngs in his noble mynde. 340

The Siere Chatillion, yonger of that name,
 Advaunced next before the erlie's fyghte;
 His fader was a manne of mickle fame,
 And he renomde and valorous in fyghte.

¹ *Thinking.*

Chatillion

V. 331. De Viponte is called *a squier of low degree*. This is an expression used by Chaucer; and Mr. Warton says, that there was an old piece with this title, perhaps coeval with that poet. See his observations on Spenser, vol. i. p. 139. The simile, v. 335, seems to be borrowed from Ovid, and it may be observed that both poets have instituted their comparison in the first person.

Sic ego torrentem, quâ nil obstabat eunti
 Lenius, & modico strepitu decurrere vidi:
 At quæcunque trabes, obstructaque saxa tenebant
 Spumeus & fervens, & ab obice seivior ibat.

Ovid. Metam. B. iii. Cap. 7.

So have I seen th' unbroken torrent's force,
 With smooth rapidity pursue its course;
 But when the weir or mound its current stay,
 Redoubled force impells its foaming way.

Virgil has the same simile.

———— Ceu, saxa morantur
 Cùm rapidos amnes, clauso fit gurgite murmur,
 Vicinæque fremunt ripæ crepitantibus undis.

Æn. xi. v. 297.

Chatillion his truſtie ſwerd forth drewe, 345
 The erle drawes his, menne both of mickle myghte ;
 And at eche other vengouſſie ^u they flewe,
 As maſtie dogs at Hocktide ſet to fyghte ;
 Bothe ſcornd to yeelde, and bothe abhor'de to flie,
 Refolv'd to vanquiſhe, or reſolv'd to die. 350

^u *Revengefully.*

Chatillion

V. 349. Theſe two lines have an appearance of modern phraſeology ; but ſuch ideas are common to writers of every age ; and Spenſer has a thought very ſimilar to this :

Both hongred after death, both choſe to win or die.

B. i. C. 6. St. 43.

It may be proper here to obſerve, with regard to this and other ſimilar expreſſions, which may exerciſe the ſpeculation of the critics, that the authenticity of a poem is not to be determined by a few coincidencies in phraſe or ſentiment, nor by too nice an attention to verbal criticiſm on ſingle words ; but by the general complexion and commanding features of the whole ; by the ſentiment and ſtile, the arrangement of the matter, the uniformity of the language, the ſpirit and conſiſtency of the poem. If theſe great characters ſhew it to be the work of the ſame hand, doubts concerning particular paſſages may be eaſily reſolved, by ſuppoſing them to have been errors in the original manuſcript, or elſe miſtakes or even wilful interpolations of the tranſcriber ; for even *theſe*, inſtead of diſcrediting, will ſerve to eſtabliſh the general authenticity of the poem ; otherwiſe the greater object will be made ſubſervient to the leſs, and, from a few ſuppoſed, or even real alterations, the credit of the whole performance would be given to Chatterton, notwithstanding his abilities were confeſſedly unequal to it.

The advocates for ſuch partial alterations ſhould conſider well the trouble and difficulty with which they muſt be made ; nor is it agreeable to the ambitious and deſultory genius of Chatterton, to ſuppoſe that he would have ſubmitted the fire of his youth, and have given up the hours of his amuſement, to improve and embellish the works of another author ; and have ſacrificed at the ſhrine of a dead poet, when he knew himſelf ſo well qualified to receive incenſe as a living one : If we could ſuppoſe him capable of ſubmitting to ſuch a taſk, would he not have exerted the powers of his genius in attempting to excel, or at leaſt to rival his original, by introducing brilliant thoughts and ſtriking images, inſtead of merely ſupplying lacunæ and imperfect rhimes, and modernizing a few antiquated phraſes ; for the paſſages objected

Chatillion hyt the erlie on the hede,
 Thatt splytte eftfoons his crifted helm in twayne;
 Whiche he perforce * withe target covered,
 And to the battel went with myghte ameine.
 The erlie hytte Chatillion thilke a blowe
 Upon his breste, his harte was plein to fee;
 He tumbled at the horses feet alsoe,
 And in dethe panges he seez'd the recer's^y knee:

355

* *Was forced to cover.* y *Horse's.*

Faste

objected to, as most liable to suspicion, are almost all of this kind. It would indeed puzzle the sagacity of the nicest critics to draw the discriminating line between what they acknowledge to be original, and the parts which they suppose to be interpolated; such a distinction has never yet been attempted, and when made, would leave Rowley possessed of every essential merit and beauty in these compositions.

Let it be remembered also, that two poets so distant in their æra, so different from each other in their age and disposition, could not have united their labours in the same poem to any effect, without such an apparent difference in their style, language, and sentiments, as would have defeated Chatterton's intent of imposing his works on the public as the original and entire composition of Rowley.

These hints are addressed to those candid objectors, who, revolting at the indiscriminate charge of forgery against *all the poems*, are willing to adopt this as a middle way, and (as they think) a more easy and rational solution of the difficulty, by giving to Rowley all the merit of the original plan and arrangement, the history, stile, sentiment and metre; but attributing to Chatterton the decorating and modernising of the poetry: Not considering, that by acknowledging the mere existence of Rowley as a poet, they do in effect give up the most material part of their argument. But, on the other hand, it is not asserted that every word, as it stands in Chatterton's manuscript, was penned by Rowley; the transcriber might have supplied some defects in the original manuscript, if there were any; he might have exchanged some few ancient words or phrases for modern ones; but all that could be done of this kind, considered in its fullest extent, could neither entitle him to the merit, nor to the real character of an eminent and original poet.

V. 358. The word *recer* is objected to, [Gentleman's Magazine, 1779] because the breed of race-horses is supposed to be more modern than Rowley's time; but the allusion is not made to any particular breed, but to the swiftness of the horse only. It might be justified, however, from the antiquity and universality of horse-races, though now practised on a different plan.

Faste as the ivy rounde the oke doth clymbe,
So faste he dying gryp'd the recer's lymbe. 360

The recer then beganne to flynge and kicke,
And toste the erlie farr off to the grounde ;
The erlie's squier then a swerde did sticke
Into his harte, a dedlie ghastlie wounde ;
And downe he felle upon the crymson pleine, 365
Upon Chatillion's foullefs corse of claie ;
A puddlie streame of bloude flow'd oute ameine ;
Stretch'd out at length besmer'd with gore he laie ;
As some tall oke fell'd from the greenie plaine,
To live a second time upon the main. 370

The

V. 367. An ignoble epithet, probably intended to distinguish the blood of a horse from the more noble blood of a hero. See the note on v. 170.

V. 369. The simile of the falling oak is enlivened beyond that of Homer; who converts his tree into mere ship-timber, whereas our poet's image gives it a *second life*.

Ἥριπε δ', ὥς ὅτε τις δρυὶς ἥριπεν, ἢ ἀχερωΐς,
'Ἡὲ πίτυς βλωθρῇ, τήν τ' ἔρρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες.
Ἐξέταμον πελέκεσσι νεήκεσι, νηΐον εἶναι.

Il. II. v. 482.

Then as the mountain oak, or poplar tall,
Or pine (fit mast for some great admiral,)
Nods to the axe, and with a groaning sound
It sinks, and spreads its honours on the ground.

Pope, B. xvi. v. 591.

It has been asserted, that Chatterton borrowed his Homericall similies from Pope's translation; but the present instance, amongst many others, will confute that idea. The oak living again on the sea dignifies Homer's image, which Pope's translation had weakened and degraded.

The erlie nowe an horfe and beaver han,
 And nowe agayne appered on the feeld ;
 And manie a mickle knyghte and mightie manne
 To his dethe-doyng fwerd his life did yeeld ;
 When Siere de Broque an arrowe longe lett flie, 375
 Intending Herewaldus to have fleyne ;
 It mis'd ; butt hytte Edardus on the eye,
 And at his pole came out with horrid payne.
 Edardus felle upon the bloudie grounde,
 His noble foule came roushyng from the wounde. 380

Thys Herewald perceevd, and full of ire
 He on the Siere de Broque with furie came ;
 Quod he ; thou'ft flaughtred my beloved squier,
 But I will be revenged for the fame.

Into

V. 375. So Homer,

————— οἷσ'δὲν ἀπὸ νευρῶν ἱάλλεν
 Ἕκτορος ἀντικρὺ, βαλῆεν δὲ εἰς ἴετο θυμός·
 Καὶ τῷ μὲν ῥ' ἀφάρμαθ' ὁ δ' ἀμύμονα Γοργυθίωνα,
 Τὶδὲν ἐν Πριάμειο, κατὰ σῆθος βάλεν ἰφ.

Il. ©. v. 300.

He said, and twang'd the string ; the weapon flies
 At Hector's breast, and sings along the skies ;
 He mis'd the mark, but pierc'd Gorgythio's heart.

Pope, B. viii. v. 365.

The imitation here seems to be very apparent, but it is the imitation of Homer, and not of Pope ; both Homer and Rowley express the intention of the archer, which is dropped by the translator of the Greek poet.

V. 380. Pope and Dryden have this line almost verbatim, but it was scarce possible to convey the idea in other words.

Into his bowels then his launce he thrufte, 385
 And drew thereout a steemie ^z drierie ^a lode ;
 Quod he ; these offals are for ever curst,
 Shall serve the coughs, and rooks, and dawes, for foode.
 Then on the pleine the steemie lode hee throwde,
 Smokyng wyth lyfe, and dy'd with crymfon bloude.

Fitz Broque, who saw his father killen lie, 391
 Ah me ! sayde he ; what woeful fyghte I see !
 But now I must do somethyng more than fighe ;
 And then an arrowe from the bowe drew he.

^z *Steaming.* ^a *Dreadful.*

Beneth

V. 385. Into his bowels then his launce he thrufte,
 And drew thereout a steemie drierie lode.

So Homer,

—— ἔτα δὲ δαρή παρ' ὀμφαλόν· ἐκ δ' ἄρα παῖσαι
 Χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδεις——— Il. Δ. v. 525.

The gushing entrails smok'd upon the ground,
 And the warm life came issuing from the wound.

Pope, B. iv. v. 608.

But the sarcasm with which Hereward follows his blow, may be traced from a more ancient original, 1 Sam. chap. xiii. ver. 44. “Come to me” (says the Philistine to David) “and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the “beasts of the field:” And Homer has more than once used the like expression.

—— σὲ μὲν κύνες ἢ δ' οἰωνοὶ
 Ἐλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς.——— Il. X. v. 335.

And again,

Ἀλλὰ κύνες τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ καὶ πάντα δάσσονται. Il. X. v. 354.

And in another passage,

—— ἀλλ' οἰωνοὶ
 Ὠμήσουσ' ἐρύσσουσι——— Il. Λ. v. 453.

No, to the dogs thy carcase I'll resign. Pope, B. xxii. v. 438.

Thee birds shall mangle and the dogs devour. Ibid. v. 423.

But hungry birds shall bear these balls away. B. ii. v. 510.

Beneth the erlie's navil came the darte ; 395
 Fitz Broque on foote han drawne it from the bowe ;
 And upwards went into the erlie's harte,
 And out the crymfon streme of bloude 'gan flowe.
 As fromm a hatch, drawne with a vehement geir ^b,
 White rushe the burstynge waves, and roar along the
 weir. 400

The erle with one honde grasped the recer's mayne,
 And with the other he his launce besped ^c;
 And then felle bleedyng on the bloudie plaine.
 His launce it hytte Fitz Broque upon the hede ;
 Upon his hede it made a wounde full flyghte, 405
 But peerc'd his shoullder, ghaftlie wounde inferne,
 Before his optics ^d daunced a shade of nyghte,
 Whyche foone were closed ynn a sleepe eterne.

^b Turn, or twist. ^c Dispatched, gave speed to. ^d Eyes.

The

V. 399. *Geir* is derived either from the French word *gier*, or from the Italian *girare*—to turn about. Chaucer uses *gerie* and *gerifull*, *Knight's Tale*, v. 1538, and 1540—and *gerifull violence*, *Troil. B. iv. v. 286*—for *inconstant* or *changeable*, which is analogous to the sense which the word bears in this passage.

V. 406. The wound given by Hereward's lance, has also its original in Homer.

————— δι' ὤμης δ' ἔβριμον ἔγχος.
 Ἐσχεν' ὁ δ' ἐν κοίῃσι πεσὼν ἔλε γαῖαν ἀγοςῶ. Il. Ξ. v. 451.

The driving javelin thro' his shoulder thrust,
 He sinks to earth, and grasps the bloody dust.

See v. 113, of this poem.

Pope, B. xiv. v. 527.

V. 407. Homer has several different ways of expressing this idea.

Τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρέεινὴ νύξ' ἐκάλυψε. Il. E. v. 659.
 ————— τὸν δὲ σκότος ἕσσ' ἐκάλυψε. Il. Δ. v. 526.
 ————— κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλύς. Il. II. v. 344.

Pope

The noble erlie than, withote a grone,
Took flyghte, to fynde the regyons unknowne. 410

Brave Alured from binethe his noble horſe
Was gotten on his leggs, with bloude all ſmore^d;
And now cletten^e on another horſe,
Eftſoons he withe his launce did manie gore.
The cowart Norman knyghtes before hym fledde, 415
And from a diſtaunce ſent their arrowes keene;
But noe ſuch deſtinie awaits his hedde,
As to be fleyen by a wighte ſo meene.
Tho oft the oke falls by the villen's ſhock,
'Tys moe than hyndes can do, to move the rock. 420

Upon du Chatelet he ſerfelie fett,
And peerc'd his bodie with a force full grete;
The afenglave^f of his tylt-launce was wett,
The rolynge bloude alonge the launce did fleet.

^d *Befmeared.* ^e *Alighted.* ^f *The ſteely part of a lance.*

Advauncynge,

Pope accordingly varies his tranſlation.

And ſhades eternal ſettle o'er his eyes. B. iv. v. 527.
His eye-balls darken with the ſhades of death. v. 575.
And ſleep eternal ſeals his ſwimming eyes. B. xi. v. 310.
His ſwimming eyes eternal ſhades ſurround. B. xvi. v. 413.

V. 423. The meaning of the word *afenglave* can hardly be miſtaken, though not explained in our glosſaries. In the 2d poem, v. 176, it is mentioned as the armour of the Norman croſs-bowmen, who

Brave champions eche well learned in the bow,
Their *afenglaves* acroſs their horſes ty'd.

It may be there underſtood of a ſpear, but in the paſſage before us, it ſeems confined to the pointed ſteel at the extremity of the tilt-lance.

Advauncynge, as a mastie at a bull, 425
 He rann his launce into Fitz Warren's harte ;
 From Partaies bowe, a wight unmercifull,
 Within his owne he felt a cruel darte ;
 Clofe by the Norman champyons he han fleine,
 He fell ; and mixd his bloude with theirs upon the
 pleine. 430

Erle Ethelbert then hove^e, with clinic^h just,
 A launce, that stroke Partaie upon the thighe,
 And pinn'd him downe unto the gorie duste ;
 Cruel, quod he, thou cruellie shalt die.
 With that his launce he enterd at his throte ; 435
 He scritch'd and screem'd in melancholie mood ;
 And at his backe eftsoons came out, God wote,
 And after it a crymson streame of bloude :
 In agonie and peine he there dyd lie,
 While life and dethe strove for the masterrie, 440

He gryped hard the bloudie murdring launce,
 And in a grone he left this mortel lyfe.

^e Heaved, lifted. ^h Proper inclination of the body.

Behynde

The *asenglave* of his tylt-launce was wett.

If we recur to the etymology of the word, *ascia* in Latin, *hache* in French, *axe* and *hatchet* in English, have all the same meaning. The old French word *gleave* signified a sword ; so Elfrid, in the tragedy of Locrine, when she was about to kill herself says,

————— My fingers
 Are not of force to hold this *steely glaive*.

The Teutonic knights were also called *port-glaives*, or ensiferi. See Skynner.

The *launcgay* of Sir Thopas, like the *asenglave*, was compounded of two words, expressing different weapons ; viz. *launce*, and *zagaye*, the latter, according to

Behynde the erlie Fiscampe did advaunce,
 Bethoghte¹ to kill him with a stabbynge knife;
 But Egward, who perceevd his fowle intent, 445
 Eftsoons his truſtie fwerde he forthwyth drewe,
 And thilke a cruel blowe to Fiscampe ſent,
 That ſoule and bodie's bloude at one gate flewe.
 Thilk deeds do all deſerve, whoſe deeds ſo fowle
 Will black theire earthlie name, if not their ſoule. 450

When lo! an arrowe from Walleris honde,
 Winged with fate and dethe daunced alonge;

¹ *Thinking.*

And

to Nicot, ſignifies a Moorish lance, longer and more ſlender than a pike.
 See, Mr. Tyrwhitt's note, vol. iv. p. 316.

V. 443. The cowardly attempt of Fiſcamp againſt Earl Ethelbert adds another diſgrace to the Norman name; De Torcies againſt Harold, v. 78. had been revenged on him by Egward: A Norman called *Fefcamp* is mentioned in the 2d poem, v. 331, as ſlain by the valiant Alfwold, and ſigmatized there as the *leekedyſt* or moſt infamous knight of all the Norman throng.

His ſprite was made of malice deſlavate,
 Ne ſhoulden find a place in anie ſonge. v. 333.

Not unlike the character which Homer has given of Therſites:

—— *Δισχιστός δ' ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ Τηλεμάχῳ ἡλθέ.* Il. B. v. 216.

Long had he lived the ſcorn of all the Greeks.

Pope, B. ii. v. 279.

From this ſimilarity in the name and character, the ſame perſon is probably meant in both paſſages, notwithstanding the different accounts of their deaths.

The character here given of this miſcreant might have been afterwards enlarged on by the poet, when he reviſed his ſubject in the ſecond poem, as he has done with regard to Hereward.

As to the treatment which Rowley is ſaid (in the printed Hiſtory of Canning's Life, ſee Warton, vol. ii.) to have received from the wife of Mr. Pelham, who was deſcended from the family of Fiſcamp; that account ſhall be left to plead for itſelf. It does not affect the authenticity of the poem; nor is it neceſſary to believe that every paper which has been produced through Chatterton's hands is an undoubted original of Rowley.

And flewe the noble flower of Powyflonde,
 Howel ap Jevah, who yclepd ^k the stronge.
 Whan he the first mischaunce received han, 455
 With horsemans haste he from the armie rodde ;
 And did repaire unto the cunnyng manne,
 Who fange a charme, that dyd it mickle goode ;
 Then praid Seyncte Cuthbert, and our holie Dame,
 To bleffe his labour, and to heal the fame. 460

Then drewe the arrowe, and the wounde did feck ^l,
 And putt the teint of holie herbies on ;
 And putt a rowe of bloude-stones round his neck ;
 And then did fay ; go, champyon, get agone.
 And now was comynge Harrolde to defend. 465
 And metten with Walleris cruel darte ;
 His sheelde of wolf-skinne did him not attend ^m,
 The arrow pierced into his noble harte ;
 As some tall oke, hewn from the mountayne hed,
 Falls to the pleine ; so fell the warriour dede. 470

His countryman, brave Mervyn ap Teudor,
 Who ⁿ love of hym han from his country gone,
 When he perceevd his friend lie in his gore,
 As furious as a mountayn wolf he ranne.
 As ouphant ^o faeries, whan the moone sheenes bryghte, 475
 In littel circles daunce upon the greene,
 All living creatures flie far from their syghte,
 Ne by the race of destinie be seen ;

^k Was called. ^l Suck. ^m Was not then with him, or did not protect him.

ⁿ The preposition for is omitted. ^o Elf.

For what he be that ouphant faieries ftryke,
 Their foules will wander to Kyng Offa's dyke. 480

So from the face of Mervyn Tewdor brave
 The Normans eftfoons fled awaie aghaste ;
 And left behynde their bowe and afenglave ^r,
 For fear of hym, in thilk a cowart haste.
 His garb fufficient were to meve ^a affryghte ; 485
 A wolf fkin girded round his myddle was ;
 A bear fkin, from Norwegians wan in fyghte,
 Was tytend round his fhoulders by the claws :
 So Hercules, 'tis funge, much like to him,
 Upon his fhoulder wore a lyon's fkin. 490

Upon his thyghes and harte-fwefte legges he wore
 A hugie goat fkin, all of one grete peice ;
 A boar fkin fheelde on his bare armes he bore ;
 His gauntlettts were the fkyynn of harte of greece.
 They fledde ; he followed clofe upon their heels, 495
 Vowynge vengeance for his deare countrymanne ;
 And Siere de Sancelotte his vengeance feels ;
 He peerc'd hys backe, and out the bloude ytt ranne.
 His bloude went downe the fwerde unto his arme,
 In fpringing rivulet, alive and warme. 500

His fwerde was fhorte, and broade, and myckle keene,
 And no mann's bone could ftonde to ftoppe itt's waie ;
 The Normann's harte in partes two cutt cleane,
 He clos'd his cyne, and clos'd his eyne for aie.

^r *Lance.*

^a *Move.*

Then with his fwerde he sett on Fitz du Valle, 505
 A knyghte mouch famous for to runne at tylte;
 With thilk a furie on hym he dyd falle,
 Into his neck he ranne the fwerde and hylte;
 As myghtie lyghtenyng often has been founde,
 To drive an oke into unfallow'd grounde. 510

And with the fwerde, that in his neck yet stoke^r,
 The Norman fell unto the bloudie grounde;
 And with the fall ap Tewdore's fwerde he broke,
 And bloude afreshe came trickling from the wounde.
 As whan the hyndes, before a mountayne wolfe, 515
 Flie from his paws, and angrie vyfage grym;
 But when he falls into the pittie^s golphe,
 They dare hym to his bearde, and battone^t hym;
 And caufe he fryghted them so muche before,
 Lyke cowart hyndes, they battone hym the more. 520

So, whan they sawe ap Tewdore was bereft
 Of his keen fwerde, thatt wroghte thilke great dismaie,
 They turned about, eftsoons upon hym lept,
 And full a score engaged in the fraie.
 Mervyn ap Tewdore, ragyng as a bear, 525
 Seiz'd on the beaver of the Sier de Laque;
 And wring'd his hedde with fuch a vehement gier^u,
 His visage was turned round unto his backe.

^r *Stuck.* ^s *Hollow pit.* ^t *Beat him with flicks; Bastanner. Cotgrave.*

^u *Turn or twist.*

Backe to his harte retyr'd the useles gore,
And felle upon the pleine to rise no more. 530

Then on the mightie Siere Fitz Pierce he flew,
And broke his helm and seiz'd hym bie the throte :
Then manie Nermann knyghtes their arrowes drew,
That enter'd into Mervyn's harte, God wote.
In dying panges he gryp'd his throte more stronge, 535
And from their sockets started out his eyes ;
And from his mouthe came out his blameles tonge ;
And bothe in peyne and anguifhe eftfoon dies.
As some rude rocke torne from his bed of claie,
Stretch'd onn the pleyne the brave ap Tewdore laie. 540

And now Erle Ethelbert and Egward came
Brave Mervyn from the Normannes to assist ;
A myghtie

¶ 536. And from their sockets.

So Homer,

———— τὼ δέ οἱ ὕσσε
———— χαμαὶ πέσον ἐν κοίῃσιν. Il. N. v. 616.

Forc'd from their glassy orbs and spouting gore,
The clotted eye-balls tumbled on the shore.

Pope, B. xiii. v. 775.

Again,

———— ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ χαμαὶ πέσον ἐν κοίῃσιν
Αὐτῷ πρόσθε πεδῶν. ————— Il. Π. v. 741.

The burfling balls dropt fightles on the ground.

Pope, B. xvi. v. 898.

And in another passage,

Τὸν τίθ' ὑπ' ὀφρύος ἔτα κατ' ὀφθαλμοῖο θέμεθλα,
Εκ δ' ὥσε γλήϊνον. ————— Il. Ξ. v. 493.

Full in his eye the weapon chanc'd to fall,
And from the fibres scoop'd the rooted ball.

Pope, B. xiv. v. 577.

A myghtie fiere, Fitz Chatulet bie name,
 An arrowe drew, that dyd them littel list ^x.
 Erle Egward points his launce at Chatulet, 545
 And Ethelbert at Walleris fet his ;
 And Egwald dyd the fiere a hard blowe hytt,
 But Ethelbert by a myfchaunce dyd mifs :
 Fear laide Walleris flat upon the strande,
 He ne deserved a death from erlies hande. 550

Betwyxt the ribbes of Sire Fitz Chatelet
 The poynted launce of Egward did ypafs ^y;
 The distaunt fyde thereof was ruddie wet,
 And he fell breathless on the bloudie grafs.
 As cownt Walleris laie on the grounde, 555
 The dreaded weapon hummed oer his heade,
 And hytt the squier thylke a lethal ^z wounde,
 Upon his fallen lorde he tumbled dead :
 Oh shame to Norman armes ! a lord a flave,
 A captyve villeyne than a lorde more brave ! 560

From Chatelet hys launce Erle Egward drew,
 And hit Wallerie on the dexter cheek ;
 Peerc'd to his braine, and cut his tongue in two :
 There, knyght, quod he, let that thy actions speak—

* * * * *

^x *They cared little for it.* ^y *Pafs.* ^z *Deadly.*

V. 563. So Homer,

—— Διὰ δὲ γλῶσσαν τάρμε μέσσην. Il. P. v. 618.

The tongue it rent.

Pope, B. 17. v. 698.

This wound is followed by a very keen sarcasm on Norman courage, in the person

perfon of Waleri (or St. Valeri, as his name is fpelt in Battle Abbey roll.) His arrow had flain a brave warrior, Howel ap Jevah; but his cowardice is here more remarkably ftigmatized, by being contrafted with the valour of his efquire, who was flain ftanding, whilft his mafter in vain attempted to elude his fate, by cowardly proftitating himfelf on the earth.

Thilk deeds do all deferve, whofe deeds fo fowle

Will black theire earthlie name, if not their foule. v. 449.

END OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS. N°. 1.

BATTLE .

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

N^o. 2.

WE may consider this poem, not as a second part or continuation of the former, but as an improved work of the same author, on the same subject; in which he has diversified many of the historical events, and introduced new personages, but preserved the same stile and metre, and used the same kind of allusions and similies with those in the former poem, beginning with the History of the Battle, and leaving the conclusion imperfect.

It is no common instance of an author's industry, and affection to his own work, when he can condescend to new model a poem in this manner.

But the supposition becomes improbable, when we impute this attempt to a youth of great original genius and spirit, and whose genuine and undisputed productions were of a very opposite tendency. For if he had succeeded in a composition in the ancient style, and upon a subject at present so uninteresting as the Battle of Hastings, is it probable that he should confine himself to a second essay on the same subject, and restrain the impulse and effects of his genius, by recurring to the same history, the same heroes, and the same events? The learning and classical allusions which occur in both poems are sufficient to convince

vince the reader that Chatterton could have no right to either composition.

It is observable, that each stanza in this poem closes with an Alexandrine, though there are but three in the first part, viz. v. 100, 400, and 430; a circumstance which seems to be rather unfavourable to Chatterton's claim; for if he was the author of the former poem, he must be supposed to have taken this for his pattern, and therefore, most probably, would have followed scrupulously the same measure; on the other hand, if they were both written by the same person, it is reasonable to suppose that the author thought the closing with an Alexandrine would give additional grace and dignity to his improved poem.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

N^o. 2.

O H Truth ! immortal daughter of the skies,
Too lyttle known to wryters of these daies,
Teach me, fayre Saincte ! thy passyng worthe to pryze,
To blame a friend and give a foeman prayse.

The

The author of this poem, instead of opening it with a melancholy ejaculation in the ballad stile, boldly invokes, in the Spirit of Pindar, the goddess of Truth to direct his pen with justice and impartiality,

To blame a friend and give a foeman prayse;

alluding probably to the partiality so manifestly shewn in the former poem to the characters of the English, and the reflections so frequently cast on the Normans; both which are easily accounted for on a supposition that Turgot had furnished the materials of the preceding poem: But here, when Rowley speaks in his own name, it behoves him to disavow all such partial ideas, which could neither be justified by his own sentiments, nor by those of the age in which he lived; and this (by the way) furnishes another strong presumption, that Chatterton could not have been the author of the former poem, as he pretended. It is in this spirit of impartiality, that Rowley gives both to Harold and William their respective praise and blame, calling the former

—Englands curfe and pryde; v. 10.

and the latter,

The Normans floure, but Englands thorne.

Tournam, v. 43.

The fickle moone, bedeckt wythe fylver rays, 5
 Leadyng a traine of starres of feeble lyghte,
 With look adigne^a the worlde belowe furveies,
 The world, that wotted^b not it could be nyghte;
 Wyth armour dyd^c, with human gore ydeyd^d,
 She sees Kynge Harolde stonde, fayre Englands curse and
 pryde. 10

With ale and vernage^e drunk his fouldiers lay;
 Here was an hynde, anie an erlie spredde;

^a *Of dignity.* ^b *Knew.* ^c *It should be spelt dyght, i. e. clothed or prepared.*
^d *Dyed.* ^e *A sort of wine.*

Sad

V. 11. This episode represents in true colours the different characters and behaviour of each army on the night preceding the battle; which was far from doing honour to the English name, or to the conduct of Harold:

With ale and *vernage* drunk his fouldiers lay;
 Here was an hynde, anie an erlie spredde.

See Mr. Tyrwhit's note on Vernage, vol. iv. p. 286.

This account might be taken from William Malmesbury, who gives the following character of the English:—"Potabatur in commune ab omnibus: In hoc studio, "noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus totos sumptus absumebant." P. 101.— And the same author has strongly contrasted the behaviour of the Normans on the night before the engagement:—"Itaque utrinque animosi duces disponunt aciem " *paris quisque ritu*: Anglici (ut accepimus) totam noctem insomnem cantibus potibusque ducentes; contra Normanni tota nocte confessioni peccatorum "vacantes."

The picture is also humorously drawn by Jean de Wace, in his Roman de Rou.

Quant la bataille fut mostrè *
 La nuit avant le di quate †
 Furent Engleis forment hatie,
 Mult riant & mult enveisie;

* Mustered.

† The 14th of October, the day of the battle.

Sad keepynge of their leaders natal daie !
 This even in drinke, too morrow with the dead !
 Thro' everie troope disorder reer'd her hedde ; 15
 Dancyng and heideignes^f was the onlie theme ;
 Sad dome was theires, who lefte this easie bedde,
 And wak'd in torments from so sweet a dream.

^f *Romping, or country dances.*

Duke

Tote nuit mangierent & burent
 Mult le veiller demeuer :
 Treper & faillir & chanter
 Lublie crie & *Weiffail*
 Laticome & drinck heil
 Drinc hindrewart and drin to me
 Drinc helf and drinc to me.

The ceremony of the *Wassail cup* is thus described by Robert Le Brunne. See Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 70.

When they are at the ale or feast,
 Ilk man, that lovis quare him think,
 Salle say *Woffeile*, and to him drink ;
 He that biddis shall say *Wassail*,
 The t'other falle say again *Drinkhaille* ;
 That says *Wassile* drinks of the cup ;
 Kiffand his fellow, he gives it up ;
Drinkeille, he says, and drinks thereof,
 Kiffand him in bourd and scoff.

So the king, in Hamlet, is said to take his rowse and to keep *Wassil*. Act i. sc. 3.

V. 13. It is here said that Harold's birth-day was on the 13th of October, the day preceding the battle ; this is also taken notice of by Camden, in his introduction to the Britannia.

V. 16. Dancyng and heideignes was the onlie theme.
 So said Jean de Wace,

Treper, & failler & chanter.

Heydegnes signified a rustic dance, and is called by Drayton *Heydegies*.

The Nereids on Trents brim danced wanton *Heydegies*. B. 26.

Hence the word *Hyden* is given to a romping female, and dancing the *Hyds* seems to be a contraction of the same word.

Duke Williams menne, of comeing dethe afraide,
All nyghte to the great Godde for succour askd and praied. 20

Thus Harolde to his wites ^a that stode arounde ;
Goe, Gyrthe and Eilward, take bills halfe a score,
And search how farre our foeman's campe doth bound ;
Yourself have rede ^b ; I nede to saie ne more.

^a *People; men.* ^b *Counsel; knowledge.*

My

V. 19. This description of the Normans coming from the masse song, who
——— of comeing dethe afraide,

All nyghte to the great Godde for succour askd and praied,
agrees with the account given by Jean de Wace:

Et le Normant & le Franceis
Tote nuit firent oreisons ;
Et furent en affliction :
De lor peches confis se firent
As prouieres se reghierent.

It is observed, that whilst the Normans prayed, the English uttered only barbarous exclamations.

Normans escrierent Deus *ai* *,
La Gens Englesche † *ut* escrie.

V. 21. The poet proceeds in his description on good authority. The sending spies by Harold to explore the Norman camp, as well as the kind reception and entertainment given them by Duke William, are mentioned by Malmfbury, though he does not name the persons employed on that commission: Rowley, however, has very properly assigned that office to Girth, Harold's brother; for William Gemeticensis, p. 35, introduces a dialogue between Harold and him, not unlike that described v. 141; wherein Girth recommends discretion to his brother, warns him of the guilt of perjury, on account of the oath that he had taken to Duke William, offers to lead his troops, and desires him to remain quiet at home: Harold, on the contrary, is indignant at his brother's advice, despises his counsel, and reproaches him for giving it.

* An expression of pain and smart; or it may be understood as a contraction for *aide*, calling upon God for assistance.

† *Ut*, a barbarous shout; derived from the French word *luer*, to cry out.

My brother best belov'd of anie ore ⁱ, 25
 My Leofwinus, goe to everich wite,
 Tell them to raunge the battel to the grore,
 And waiten tyll I sende the heft ^k for fyghte.
 He saide; the loieaul broders lefte the place,
 Succes and cheerfulnes depicted on ech face. 30

Slowelie brave Gyrthe and Eilwarde dyd advaunce,
 And markd wyth care the armies dystant fyde,
 When the dyre clatterynge of the shielde and launce
 Made them to be by Hugh Fitzhugh espyd.
 He lyfted up his voice, and lowdlie cryd; 35
 Like wolfs in wintere did the Normanne yell;
 Girthe drew hys fwerde, and cutte hys burled ^l hyde;
 The proto-slene ^m manne of the fiede he felle;

ⁱ Other. ^k Command. ^l Armed, or thick. ^m First slain man.

Out

V. 25. My brother, best belov'd of anie ore.

Ore is probably a contraction of *other*, as *nerre* is for *nearer*; but *grore*, the corresponding rhyme, is an unintelligible word. It has been suggested, that *ore* might be changed into *one*, and *grore* into *grou*, which signifies a fen or pit, because a ditch is mentioned in Malmesbury's account, which the English, by knowing their ground, avoided; but the Normans fell into it, and were slaughtered in great numbers: But our poet's rhimes are so linked in stanzas, that the change of this single word would require the alteration of three others; and, as he never sacrificed *sense to rhyme*, he has so fortunately interwoven them, as to prevent verbal critics from being too conjectural in their emendations.

V. 38. Fitz Hugh is called the *proto-slene* man of this battle; but a long parley intervenes between his death, and the beginning of the engagement. The simile introduced on the shedding his blood, is of too ancient and original a cast to be the invention of a modern poet: Homer has illustrated the same appearance, in the wound given by Pandarus to Menelaus, by a similar image:

'Ω;

Out streemd the bloude, and ran in smokyng curls,
Reflected bie the moone seemd rubies mixt wyth pearles. 40

A troope of Normannes from the mafs-fonge came,
Roufd from their praiers by the flottingⁿ crie;
Thoughe Girth and Ailwardus perceevd the fame,
Not once theie ftoode abafhd, or thoghte to flie.
He feizd a bill, to conquer or to die; 45
Fierce as a clevis^o from a rocke ytorne^p,

ⁿ Undulating. ^o Cleft. ^p Torn.

That

Ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μίχῃ

Μηνὸς, ἢ Κάερα παρ' ἵον ἔμμεναι ἵππων·

* * * * *

Τοῖσί τοι, Μενελάε, μιάνθη ἄματι μηρῶ

Εὐφύες, κνῆμαί τ', ἢ δὲ σφυρὰ καλὰ ἱπίνεσθε.

Il. Δ. v. 141.

As when some stately trappings are decreed,
To grace a monarch on his bounding feed,
A nymph, in Caria or Mæonia bred,
Stains the *pure ivory* with a *lively red*:
With equal lustre various colours vie,
The shining whiteness and the Tyrian dye.

Pope, B. iv. v. 170.

Virgil has applied this mixture of colours to Lavinia's face, bathed in tears; so happily can the genius of great poets adorn the same image by different allusions.

Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro

Si quis ebur, vel mixta rubent ubi lilia multa

Alba rosa: tales virgo dedit ore colores.

Æn. xii. v. 67.

— Thus Indian ivory shows,

Which with the bordering paint of purple glows,

Or lilies damask'd by the neighbouring rose. Dryden, v. 105.

That makes a vallis wherefoe're it lie ;
 * Fierce as a ryver burstynge from the borne[†];
 So fiercelie Gyrthe hitte Fitz du Gore a blowe,
 And on the verdaunt playne he layde the champyone lowe. 50

Tancarville thus ; alle peace in Williams name ;
 Let none edraw[‡] his arcublaste[§] bowe.
 Girthe cas'd his weppone, as he hearde the fame,
 And vengynge[¶] Normannes staide the flyinge floe.
 The fire wente onne ; ye menne, what mean ye fo 55
 Thus unprovokd to courte a bloudie fyghte ?
 Quod Gyrthe ; oure meanyng we ne care to showe,
 Nor dread thy duke wyth all his men of myghte ;

* In Turgott's tyme Holenwell braſte of crthe so fierce that it threw
 a stone-mell carryng the fame awaie. J. Lydgate ne knowynge this lefte
 out o line.

‡ *Break, or fountain.* † *Draw.* § *Croſs bow.* ¶ *Revengeing.*

Here

V. 48. The original note annexed to this line, supposed to have been inserted by Rowley, is descriptive of the periodical springs known in Kent by the name of *Eyle-bournes*. It implies, that the event there referred to happened in Turgot's time ; and that Lidgate had either translated Turgot's work, or had at least perused, if not copied this poem ; but it may be a question whether *Holenwell* means the famous ebullient spring of that name in Flintshire, or whether this bursting of a river was only the temporary effect of an earthquake : The Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and other historians, mention a violent convulsion of the earth, which happened on the 3d of the ides of August, anno 1089, and consequently in Turgot's time.

V. 51. The Sire de Tancarville, by his calm advice and peaceable disposition, seems to have been intended for the Nestor of the poem :

Seek not for bloude, Tancarville calme replied :

So likewise old Nestor :

Ἀφρήτως, ἀβέμικτος, ἀνέσις ἐστὶν ἐκείῳ,

Ὅς πολέμῳ ἔραται ἐπιδημία, ἐκρυβέντος.

Il. I. v. 63.

Curs'd

Here fingle onlie theſe to all thie crewe
Shall ſhewe what Englyſh handes and heartes can doe. 60

Seek not for bloude, Tancarville calme replyd,
Nor joie in dethe, lyke madmen moſt diſtraught^u;
In peace and mercy is a Chryſtians pryde;
He that dothe conteſtes pryze is in a faulte.
And now the news was to Duke William brought, 65
That men of Haroldes armie taken were;
For theyre good cheere all caties^w were enthoughte^x,
And Gyrthe and Eilwardus enjoi'd goode cheere.
Quod Willyam; thus ſhall Willyam be founde
A friend to everie manne that treades on Engliſh ground. 70

Erle Leofwinus throwghe the campe ypaſs'd,
And ſawe bothe men and erlies on the grounde;
They ſlepte, as thoughe they woulde have ſlepte theyr laſt,
And hadd alreadie felte theyr fatale wounde.
He ſtarted backe, and was wyth ſhame aſtownt^y; 75
Loked wanne^z wyth anger, and he ſhooke wyth rage;

^u *Diſtracted.* ^w *Delicacies.* ^x *Thought of, or provided.*
^y *Extinguiſhed.* ^z *Pale.*

When

Curs'd be the man, who, void of law and right,
Unworthy property, unworthy light,
Unfit for public rule, or private care,
That wretch, that monſter, that delights in war.

Pope, B. ix. v. 87.

V. 75. The ſurpriſe and concern of Leofwin, on ſeeing the drunken ſituation of the Engliſh army, and the effect of thoſe paſſions on his countenance, are expreſſed in terms much reſembling thoſe uſed by Virgil;

—Æſtuat ingens
Imo in corde pudor, mixtoque infania luſu.

Æn. x. v. 870.

When throughe the hollow tentes these wordes dyd found,
Rowse from your sleepe, detratours^a of the age!
Was it for thys the stoute Norwegian bledde?
Awake, ye huscarles^b, now, or waken wyth the dead. 80

As when the shepster^c in the shadie bowre
In jintle slumbers chafe^d the heat of daie,

^a *Traitors.*

^b *Houfe-carles, or menial attendants.*

^c *Shepherd.*

^d *Chafes, or drives away.*

Hears

and serve to introduce one of the most beautiful similes that ever was penned:
The idea is originally Homer's.

ὦς δὲ κύες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσονται ἐν αὐλῇ,
Θηρὸς ἀνέσσαντες κρατερόφρονος, ὅς τε καθ' ὕλην
ἔρχεται δὲ ὄρεσφι πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
Ἀνδρῶν ἢ δὲ κυνῶν, ἀπὸ τέ σφισιν ὕπνος ὄλωλει.

Il. K. v. 183.

So faithful dogs their fleecy charge maintain,
With toil protected from the prowling train;
When the gaunt lions, with hunger bold,
Springs from the mountains towards the guarded fold:
Thro' breaking woods their rustling course they bear,
Loud, and more loud the clamour strikes their ear
Of hounds and men; they start, they gaze around,
Watch every side, and turn to every sound.

Pope, B. x. v. 211.

It may be observed, that Homer and Rowley agree in the circumstances of this simile—the wild beasts attacking the fold—the alarm given by the dogs—the rousing of the shepherds from sleep—their consternation and pursuit of the enemy, to which Rowley has given an additional beauty by the doubling echo of the wolf's roar, and the united surprize, rage, and courage of the shepherds.

Though in general it is to no purpose to quote Hobbes's or Chapman's translation of Homer's similes, yet, in the present instance, it must be observed, that Mr. Pope is the only one of Homer's translators who omits in this simile the circumstance of the shepherds being roused from their sleep.—Hobbes says,

P

They

Hears doublyng echoc wind the wolfin's rore,
 That neare hys flocke is watchynge for a praie,
 He tremblyng for his sheep drives dreeme awaie, 85
 Gripes faste hys burled^d croke, and fore adradde^e
 Wyth fleeing^f strides he hastens to the fraie,
 And rage and prowes's fyres the coistrell^g lad;
 With trustie talbots^h to the battel flies,
 And yell of men and dogs and wolfin's tear the skies. 90

Such was the dire confusion of eche wite,
 That rose from sleep and wallomeⁱ power of wine;
 Theie thoughte the foe by trechit^k yn the nyghte
 Had broke theyr camp and gotten paste the line;

^d Large, or armed. ^e Frighted. ^f Flying. ^g The serving lad. ^h Dogs.
 ⁱ Loathsome. ^k Treachery.

Now

They doubt the worst, *and cannot take their rest*;
 But listning stand, and sleep forsakes their eyes.

B. x. p. 142.

And Chapman,

Then men and dogs stand on their guards, and mightie tumults make,
Sleep wanting weighte to close one winke—So did the captains wake.

p. 134.

This circumstance is a sufficient proof that our poet did *not* copy from Pope's translation.

V. 88. *Coyfrell*—"Every one (of Henry VIII's horse-guards) had an archer, "and a demilance, and a *Coyfrell*, as our history calls it, but being truly Coustiller, or a kind of *ambassas*, or servant belonging to him." Lord Herbert's history of Henry the VIIIth, p. 9.

According to Cotgrave, *Coustillier* signified an esquire of the body, an armour-bearer to a knight, the servant of a man at arms; also a groom of the stable, a horse-keeper; and *Costeroulz* was a nick-name given to certain footmen who served the King of England in their French wars.

"I had rather be a nun a thousand times, than be cumbred with this *Coyfrell*," (alluding to a young serving man) Gaseoigne's Supposes, p. 4.—Spenser speaks of Braggadochio and his *kefrell* *Uill*, B. ii. c. 3. st. 4.—Chaucer uses the word *Coyfrell* for a drinking vessel.

Now here now there the burnysht sheeldes and byllspear shine;
 Throwote the campe a wild confusione spredde; 96
 Eche brad hys armlace ¹ fiker ne desygne,
 The crested helmet nodded on the hedde;
 Some caught a flughorne ^m, and an onfett ⁿ wounde;
 Kynge Harolde hearde the charge, and wondred at the founde.

Thus Leofwine; O women cas'd in stele! 101
 Was itte for thys Norwegia's stubborn fede
 Throughe the black armoure dyd the anlace ^o fele,
 And rybbes of solid brasse were made to bleede?

¹ *Accoutrement for the arms.* ^m *Horn, or military trumpet.* ⁿ *Charge.* ^o *Sword.*

Whyllst

V. 95. Has a redundant foot, and v. 97 wants explanation.

V. 101. So it is observed in the former poem, v. 300.

That many knights were *women* in *men's* geer.

This bold and manly reproof of the army by Leofwin, is not unlike that of Therfites in Homer.

ἽΩ πέπνες γὰρ ἐλέγχε' Ἀχαιῶδες οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀχαιῶν. Il. B. v. 235.

O women of Achaia, men no more! Pope, B. ii. v. 293.

And the substance of his reproof is very similar to that of Tarchon in Virgil.

Quis metus! o nunquam dolituri! o semper inermes

Tyrrheni! quæ tanta animis ignavia venit?

Quo ferrum, quidve hæc geritis tela irrita dextrâ?

At non in Venerem segnes, nocturnaque bella,

Aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi,

Expectare dapes, & plenæ pocula mensæ.

Æn. xi. v. 732.

The army felt the weight of the reproof, and

——— *addawed* hung their head.

Addaw usually signifies to *awaken*, and so it may be understood here. Being *awakened* to a sense of their shame, *they hung down their heads*. Spenser, indeed, uses the word to imply *enslaving*; which idea is generally expressed by other ancient poets by the word *abbaw*.

V. 103. Our poet usually dresses his Saxons and Danes in *black armour*. See Ella, ver. 601 and 740; and song to Ella, v. 28: Probably because it was the

Whylst yet the worldc was wondrynge at the deede. 105
 You souldiers, that shoulde stand with byll in hand,
 Get full of wine, devoid of any rede^r.
 Oh shame! oh dyre dishonoure to the lande!
 He sayde; and shame on everie visage spredde,
 Ne sawe the erlies face, but addawd^s hung their head. 110

Thus he; rowze yee, and forme the boddie tyghte.
 The Kentysh menne in fronte, for strenght renownd,
 Next the Brystowans dare the bloudie fyghte,
 And last the numerous crewe shall presse the grounde.
 I and my king be wyth the Kenters founde; 115
 Bythric and Alfwold hedde the Brystowe bande;
 And Bertrams sonne, the man of glorious wounde,
 Lead in the rear the menged^r of the lande;

^r Counsel. ^s Awakened, or abashed. ^r Mixed troops.

And

plainest accoutrement. But to the more elegant Normans he has given *red armour*; to De Beaumont, v. 297, and to Troyvillian, v. 497 of this poem.

V. 111. The precedence in the English army seems to be settled at the fancy of the poet; for though there may be authority in history for placing the Kentish men in the front of the battle, yet the Bristowans owe their rank to the partiality of their countryman. With regard to their leaders *Alfwold* and *Brittic*, Leland observes, in his *Itin.* vol. vi. p. 85. "That Ailwardus Mean, earl of Gloucester, "and Brietricus his son, were successively lords of Bristol about the time of the "coming in of William the Conqueror;" and why may not Alfwoldus be the same person with this Ailwardus? The honourable manner in which the Bristol bands are here mentioned, is very unlike the ideas of Chatterton, who never mentioned his native city, but with a view of abusing its inhabitants, and ridiculing his best friends in it. The Londoners and Suffex men are the only provincial troops (besides the men of Kent and Bristol) here distinguished from the *menged* of the land: Hereward, who commanded these two corps, and who was to ply with his *menie-men* or attendants, and to *annoy* the skirts of the enemy, was probably the same Earl Hereward, who is so much celebrated in the course of these two poems.

And let the Londoners and Sufflers plie
Bie Herewardes memuine * and the lighte skyrts anie†. 120

He faide; and as a packe of hounds belent ‡,
When that the trackyng of the hare is gone,
If one perchaunce shall hit upon the scent,
With twa redubbed fhuir * the alans run;
So styrrd the valiante Saxons everych one; 125
Soone linked man to man the champyones stooode;
To 'tone for their bewrate † to soone 'twas done,
And lyfted bylls enfeem'd an yron woode;
Here glorious Alfwold towr'd above the wites,
And seem'd to brave the fuir of twa ten thousand fights. 130

Thus Leofwine; to day will Englandes dome
Be fyxt for aie, for gode or evill fstate;
This funnes aunture ‡ be felt for years to come;
Then bravelie fyghte, and live till deathe of date.

* Menie-men, or attendants. † Annoy. ‡ At a stop. * Fury.
† Treachery. ‡ Adventure.

Thinke

V. 121. The simile of the hounds may be traced from Homer, though the two poets have not pursued their sport in the same manner.

“Ὡς δ' ἔτε κερχασσέοντε δῶα κύνες, εἰδότε θήκης,
Ἦ κελεύ', ἢ λαγῶν, ἐπείγεται ἱμμενὲς αἰεὶ
Χῶρον ἀν' ἑλκεῖν, ὃ δέ τε προθήσει μεμνηκώς.

Il. K. v. 36c.

As when two skillful hounds the lev'ret wind,
Or chaie thro' woods obscure the trembling hind;
Now lost, now seen, they intercept his way,
And from the herd still turn the trembling prey.

Pope, B. x. v. 427.

V. 124. *Alan*, according to Mr. Tyrwhit, is a Spanish name for a mastiff; but Mr. Warton supposes it to be a greyhound. It is well defined by *Canis Leporarius*.

Thinke of brave Ælfridus, yclept ^a the grete, 135
 From porte to porte the red-haird Dane he chafid,
 The Danes, with whomme not lyoncel^s ^b coud mate ^c,
 Who made of peopled reaulms a barren waste;
 Thinke how at once by you Norwegia bled,
 Whilſt dethe and victorie for magyſtrie ^d beſted ^e. 140

Meanwhile did Gyrthe unto Kynge Harolde ride,
 And tolde howe he dyd with Duke Willyam fare.
 Brave Harolde lookd askaunte ^f, and thus replyd;
 And can thie fay ^g be bowght wyth drunken cheer?
 Gyrthe waxen hotte; flhair in his eyne did glare; 145
 And thus he faide; oh brother, friend, and kynge,
 Have I deſerved this fremed ^h ſpeeche to heare?
 Bic Goddes hie hallidome ⁱ ne thoughte the thyng.

^a Called, or entitled. ^b Lyons. ^c Match. ^d Maſtery. ^e Contended for.
^f Aſide, or obliquely. ^g Faith. ^h Strange. ⁱ Holy Church.

When

V. 136. The red-hair'd Dane. This peculiarity of complexion is more than once aſcribed to the Danes: So in the ſong to Ella, v. 5.

When Dacya's ſonnes *with hayres of blood-red hue*.

nor is the poet ſingular in the obſervation; for to this day the few Iriſh who are of that complexion, are ſigmatized by their countrymen with the reproach of being Daniſh baſtards. It is obſerved by the author of the “*Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Egyptiens & Chinois*,” that the Egyptians of old held, and the modern Chineſe ſtill hold, all red-haired perſons in the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. The miniſtreſs in Ella, celebrates the *blackneſs* of her lover's hair as a remarkable beauty.

Black his oryne as the winter nighte. v. 851.

V. 148. The oath *by God's high Hallidom* is of great antiquity: Somner applies it to the holy church, and ſo does Sir Thomas More; ſee his works, p. 237. Wilkins, in his Saxon laws, renders it *per Sanctuarium*; but Lye underſtands it to refer to the *holy reliques*. God's *halligdom* may alſo ſignify God's holineſs. Camden ſays (Remains, p. 26.) they called the ſacrament *haligdom*, as holy judgment.

When Toftus fent me golde and fylver flore,
I fcornd hys prefent vile, and fcornd hys treafon more. 150

Forgive me, Gyrthe, the brave Kynge Harolde cryd;
Who can I truſt, if brothers are not true?
Ithink of Toftus, once my joie and pryde.
Girthe faide, with looke adigne ^k; my lord, I doe.
But what ourc foemen are, quod Girth, I'll ſhewe; 155
By Gods hie hallidome ^l they preeſtes are.
Do not, quod Harolde, Girthe, myſtell ^m them ſo,
For theie are everich one brave men at warre.

^k Of dignity. ^l Holy Church. ^m Miſcall.

Quod

V. 151. The converſation between Harold and Girth is partly copied from Malmſbury; eſpecially Girth's miſtaking the Norman ſoldiers for prieſts, becauſe, contrary to the cuſtom of the Engliſh, their upper lips were ſhaven; and that author ſeems to have furniſhed Rowley with the circumſtance of Girth's diſſuading Harold from engaging the Normans:—"Cum (inquit) tantam fortitudinem Normanni prædices, indeliberatum æſtimo cum illo configere, quo et robore & merito inferior habearis. p. 101."

The arrangement of Duke William's army v. 161. is taken from the ſame author:—"Pedites cum arcibus & ſagittis primam frontem muniunt, equites retro diverſis aliis conſiſtunt."

Ordericus Vitalis alſo ſays, lib. iii. p. 501:—"Dux Normannorum pedites ſagittis armatos et baliftis in fronte locavit, item pedites loricatedos ſecundo loco conſtituit—in quorum medio fuit ipſe dux cum firmiſſimo robore unde in omnem partem conſuleret voce & manu."

According to this poem, the firſt line conſiſted of croſs-bow men on foot, the ſecond of light archers on horſeback, armed with a ſpear or *aſſenglaive*, which they tied to their horſes when they diſmounted; and diſcharged their arrows upwards, ſtanding either on the ſide or behind their horſes.

William of Malmſbury alſo mentions the ſubſtance of Duke William's embaiſſy to Harold, by a Monk of Eſſecamp, with the answer and rough treatment given to the embaiſſadour; and the royal ſtandard, as here deſcribed, agrees with the following account of it by the ſame author:—"Rex ipſe poles juxta vexillum ſtabat cum fratribus. Vexillum illud poſt victoriam, Papæ Willhelmus miſit, quod erat in hincis pugnanti ſpectat, ante ſe inquit a arte ſumptum. contextum. P. 101."

Quod Girthē; why will ye then provoke theyr hate?
 Quod Harolde; great the foe, so is the glorie grete. 160

And nowe Duke Willyam mareschalled his band,
 And stretchd his armie owte a goodlie rowe.
 First did a ranke of arcublastries ^a stande,
 Next those on horsebacke drewe the ascendyng flo ^o,
 Brave champyones, eche well lerned in the bowe, 165
 Theyr asenglave ^p acroſſe theyr horses ty'd,
 Or with the loverds ^q squier behinde dyd goe,
 Or waited squier lyke at the horses syde.
 When thus Duke Willyam to a Monke dyd saie,
 Prepare thyfelfe wyth spede, to Harolde haste awaie. 170

Telle hym from me one of these three to take;
 That hee to mee do homage for thys lande,
 Or mee hys heyre, when he deceasyth, make,
 Or to the judgment of Chrysts vicar stande.
 He saide; the Monke departyd out of hande, 175
 And to Kyng Harolde dyd this message bear;
 Who said; tell thou the duke, at his likand ^r
 If he can gette the crown hee may itte wear.
 He said, and drove the Monke out of his fyghte,
 And with his brothers rouz'd each manne to bloudie fyghte.

A standarde made of fylke and jewells rare, 181
 Wherein alle coloures wroughte aboute in ^s bighes,
 An armyd knyghte was ſeen deth-doyng there,
 Under this motte, He conquers or he dies.

^a *Cross-bow men.* ^o *Arrow.* ^p *Lances.* *Lords.*
 ^r *Liking, or choice.* ^s *Jewels.*

This

This standard rych, endazzlynge mortal eyes, 185
 Was borne neare Harolde at the Kenters heade,
 Who charged hys broders for the grete empryze ^c
 That straite the heft ^u for battle should be spredde.
 To evry erle and knyghte the worde is gyven,
 And cries *a guerre* and slughornes ^v shake the vaulted heaven.

As when the erthe, torne by convulsyons dyre, 191
 In reaulmes of darknes hid from human fyghte,
 The warring force of water, air, and fyre,
 Braft ^x from the regions of eternal nyghte,
 Thro the darke caverns seeke the reaulmes of lyght; 195
 Some loftie mountaine, by its fury torne,
 Dreadfully moves, and caufes grete affryght;
 Now here, now there, majestic nods the bourne ^y,
 And awfulle shakes, mov'd by the almighty force,
 Whole woods and forests nod, and ryvers change their course.

^c *Enterprise.* ^u *Command.* ^v *Trumpet, or military horn.* ^x *Burst.*
 ^y *Promontory, or projecting rock.*

So

V. 198. The word *bourne* has various significations. It signifies a *burnished substance*, a *brook*, or a *boundary*. Here it seems applicable only in the last of these senses, implying the *outline* or *boundary* of the rock, answering to the

——— ἀειδαίος ἔχματα πέτρης

in the original, and to the “mountain’s craggy forehead” in Pope’s translation. In this sense it is used by Edgar in *Lear*, who calls the top of Dover cliff

The dread summit of this chalky *borne*. Act iv. sc. 5.

V. 200. The shout of *A guerre* by Harold’s army is the very expression used by Matt. Westminster; *exclamatur ad arma*, p. 223. The respective signals for engagement are mentioned in the preceding poem.

The first onset is illustrated by a most majestic simile, which shews the poet’s wonderful powers of combination, and his unrivalled excellence in the terrific sublime; the elements are called forth to war against each other, and are involved in

Q

one

So did the men of war at once advance, 201
 Linkd man to man, enfeemed ^z one boddie light;

^z *Seemed.*

Above

one general convulsion: ideas which we find no where so forcibly expressed, except in holy scripture. This simile is evidently copied from one in Homer, which is pointed out by Mr. Pope amongst the most sublime in the Iliad.

————— ὀλοαίτερος ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης,
 "Οὔτε κατὰ στεφάνης ποταμὸς χειμάρρους ὥση,
 'Ρηξας ἀσπέτῳ ὄμβρῳ ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης,
 "Υψι τ' ἀναθρόσκων πέτεται, κτυπέει δέ σ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ
 'Ισόπεδον, τότε δ' ἔτι κυλίνδεται, ἐσσύμενός περ.

Il. N. v. 137.

As from some mountain's craggy forehead torn,
 A rock's round fragment flies, with fury borne,
 Which from the stubborn stone a torrent rends,
 Precipitate the pondrous mass descends;
 From steep to steep the rolling ruin bounds,
 At every shock the crackling wood rebounds;
 Still gathering force it smoaks, and, urg'd amain,
 Whirls, leaps, and thunders down impetuous to the plain.

Pope, B. xiii. v. 191.

By comparing the preceding lines in Homer, which gave rise to the simile, with the description which follows in this poem, we shall be convinced that the latter poet had the former in his eye when he wrote these lines.

Mr. Pope remarks on this passage, "that the sound of Homer's words make us hear what they represent, in the noble roughness, rapidity, and sonorous cadence that distinguishes them:" And in these points, our poet will appear not to have wanted the assistance either of Homer or his translator, to give dignity and expression to his similes: Rowley makes his numbers harmonious without weakening the force of his ideas; he is sonorous but not bombast, and can describe those great convulsions of nature in terms more majestic and significant than Mr. Addison's

Wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds.

V. 201. The compactness of the English army, which

Linkd man to man, enfeemed one boddie light,

is Virgil's expression.

Implicuere inter se acies, legitque virum vir.

Æn. xi. v. 632.

Above a wood, yform'd of bill and launce,
 That noddyd in the ayre most straunge to fyght.
 Harde as the iron were the menne of mighte, 205
 Ne neede of flughornes to enrowfe theyr minde;
 Eche shootynge spere yreaden ^a for the fyghte,
 More feerce than fallynge rocks, more swefte than wynd;
 With solemne step, by ecchoe made more dyre,
 One fingle boddie all theie marchd, theyr eyen on fyre. 210

And now the greie-cyd morne with vi'lets drest,
 Shakyng the dewdrops on the flourie meedes,
 Fled with her rosie radiance to the West:
 Forth from the Easterne gatte the fyerie fleedes

^a *Made ready.*

Of

V. 203. The description of their armour is Homer's.

Above a wood appear'd of bill and launce.

Δί' ἵον ἐς πόλεμον πυκινὰ κύνοντο φάλαγγες,

Κυάνας, σάκισιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι περικνῦνται.

Il. Δ. v. 281.

Such and so thick the embattled squadrons flood,

With spears erect, a moving iron wood.

Pope, B. iv. v. 322.

This is correspondent with Malmfbury's account:—"Pedites omnes cum bipedibus, conferta ante se scutorum testudine, impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt."

The description closes with a noble groupe of allusions, expressing the force, expedition, order, and eagerness of the army for engagement.

V. 211. This representation of the morning is equalled only by his own description of the same object in the tragedy of *Ella*, v. 734; nor is it easy to say which of them may claim the preference. The awaiting spirits are here represented, like the Hours of Homer, leading forth the horses of the Sun; who, on seeing the armies preparing for battle, expresses his concern, by veiling his beams behind a cloud, and stopping his driving steeds in their diurnal course: But in a subsequent passage,

Of the bright funne awaytynge spirits leedes: 215
 The funne, in fierie pompe enthron'd on hie,
 Swyfter than thoughte alonge hys jernie gledes ^b,
 And scatters nyghtes remaynes from oute the skie:
 He sawe the armies make for bloudie fraie,
 And stopt his driving steeds, and hid his lyghtsome raye. 220

Kynge Harolde hie in ayre majestic rayfd
 His mightie arme, deckt with a manchyn ^c rare;
 With even hande a mighty javlyn paizde ^d,
 Then furyouse sent it whystlynge thro the ayre.
 It struck the helmet of the Sieur de Beer; 225
 In vayne did brasse or yron stop its waie;
 Above his eyne it came, the bones dyd tare,
 Peercyng quite thro, before it dyd allaie;
 He tumbled, scritchyng wyth hys horrid payne;
 His hollow cuishes ^e rang upon the bloudie pleyne. 230

^b *Glides.* ^c *Sleeve.* ^d *Poised* ^e *Armour for the thighs.*

This

v. 561. we shall see the same cause producing an opposite effect; so happily could our poet apply every idea to adorn his subject. The variety that graces these two descriptions will make the mornings of Homer and Virgil appear insipid in the comparison.

V. 225. De Beer is mentioned here as the first Norman who falls in the battle by Harold's spear, which entered above his eyes. In the former poem, De Beque, the knight of Duke William, is the first person slain by Harold's spear, which wounded him on the ear. The reader will judge whether these two descriptions were not intended for the same person.

V. 230. His hollow cuishes rang upon the bloudie pleyne.

This is also Homer's image.

ἔπεισεν δὲ πρὸν, ἀρῶν δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ

Il. Δ. v. 504.

Pondrous

This Willyam saw, and foundynge Rowlandes fonge
 He bent his yron interwoven bowe,
 Makynge bothe endes to meet with myghte full stronge,
 From out of mortals fyght shot up the floe^f;

^f Arrow.

Then

Pondrous he falls, his clanging arms resound,
 And his broad buckler rings against the ground.

Pope, B. iv. v. 579.

And in another passage of this poem :

He fell, and thunder'd on the place of fame. V. 390.

The *hollow cuisses*, or, as they are called, *the silver cuisses*, v. 328, or the *joint cuisse*, v. 256, were the armour which covered the *thigh*, and hence they took their denomination : Drayton and Pope have used the expression :

The *silver cuisses* first his thighs infold. Pope, B. xix. v. 398.

But the word is to be found in a much more ancient poem, prefixed to Johnson's Dictionary, called *the Death of Zoroas*, which is asserted by that author to be the most ancient piece of poetry that he had met with in blank verse.

V. 231. It is mentioned by Malmſbury that William began the engagement by founding Rowland's song, and celebrating the achievements of that romantic hero to inspire his army with courage:—"Tunc cantilenâ Rolandi inchoatâ ut martium viri exemplum pugnâtorum accenderet." P. 101.—This custom of exciting martial ardour in the soldiers, and of striking terror into the enemy, by a war-song, is of high antiquity, and universal practice among all savage and barbarous nations : The Hunns are said to have charged with the barbarous sounds of *Hiu, hiu*, (see Warton's Dissertation, vol. i.) and the Turks by the united cry of *Allah ekbar*, "God is great;" the Americans have their war-hoop : That of the Christians was *Kyrie eleison*; and Bede observes, lib. i. cap. 19. that the Britons, when attacked by the Picts and Saxons, routed them by ordering the priests and the whole army to cry *Allelujah*. Agreeably to this idea, the chorus in Godwin begins,

When Freedom, dress'd in blood steynd vests,
 To every knight her *warr-song* sung.

But the general subject of these war-songs was the history of some great king or hero. It is observed by Tacitus, that Arminius, the conqueror of Varus, and by Aventinus, that Alexander the Great, Attila, and Brennus, were celebrated in such

Then swyfte as fallynge starres to earthe belowe 235
 It flaunted down on Alfwoldes payncted sheelde;
 Quite thro the silver-bordurd crosse did goe,
 Nor losse its force, but stuck into the feelde;

The

such songs, as well as some of their German heroes; and there was a poetical book of heroes, which Charlemagne took delight in repeating. See Warton's 2d Dissertation. Ingulf says that Hereward's wonderful valour was celebrated in this manner:—"Ejusque gesta fortia etiam Angliam ingressa canerentur."—Probably the example of Charlemagne might bring these historic war-songs into more general use. The historians as well as poets of those times, in order to magnify the valour of their heroes, and to excite admiration in their readers, filled their narrations with the most absurd and incredible stories: Of this kind was the history of Charlemagne, fathered on Archbishop Turpin; and two poems in German, published in the 2d volume of Schilter's Thesaurus, (the one entitled, *Rhythmus de Car. Magni Expeditione Hispan.*; the other, *Fragmentum de bello Car. Magni contra Saracenos*) both copied from the fabulous history of Turpin, and celebrating the achievements of *Roland* and *Oliver*, two of Charlemagne's generals: The former is represented in story as a man of gigantic stature, armed with a sword called *Duranda*, of such well-tempered steel, that he could drive it through a stone; he had also a horn called *Olifanden*, which was heard through the whole camp, and struck great terror into the enemy: It was celebrated by the Islandic poets in their Saga's. Olaus Wormius, in his *Monum. Danica*, p. 380, quotes a passage from one of them, which says it was heard at the distance of twenty French miles, and that he blew it with so much strength, as to force out his brains with the blast.

So Alexander the Great is represented in Adam Davies' poem, as possessed of a wonderful horn.

He blew in horn quyk fans doute,
 His folk him swythe about.

Warton, vol. i. p. 229.

This Roland is stiled in history *Comes Palatinus*, and was one of Charlemagne's twelve peers. Eginhart calls him *Britannici littoris Præfectus*, i. e. Margrave or governor of the circle of Lower Saxony, which lay opposite to Britain; and from the romantic accounts given of his stature, several cities and towns in Lower Saxony (who boasted of having received their freedom through him) erected in their market-places Colossal statues of 15 or 20 feet high to his memory. In that at Bremen he is represented in armour, cloathed in a long robe, but without a helmet: He holds the sword *Duranda* erect in his right hand, and his shield (on which the Ger-

man

The Normannes, like theyr fovrin, dyd prepare,
And shoite ten thoufande floes upryfyng in the aire. 240
As

man eagle is carved) hangs tranſverſly on his breaft : A German inſcription, round the verge of the ſhield, records the freedom granted to the city by Charlemagne.

There are alſo Colossal ſtatues of him at Brandenbury, Hall, Zerbſt, and Belgern in Saxony, and poſſibly in other places: He is repreſented in different attitudes, but generally bare-headed; no wonder then that Duke William ſhould make the atchievements of ſuch a hero an incitement to provoke a martial ſpirit in his foldiers.

Jean de Wace confirms this account, by ſaying that Taillifer, a Norman warrior and a good ſongſter, preceded the duke in the battle, ſinging the praiſes of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver.

Taillifer qui moult bien chantout,
Sorr un cheval qui toſt alout,
Devant le Duc alout chantant,
De Karlemagne & de Rollant,
Et de Olivier & des vaſſals,
Qui morurent en Rouncevals.

In fact, theſe two heroes became the common ſubject of heroic romances; and of ſuch the prologue to the poetic hiſtory of Richard Roy de Angleterre ſays,

Of their deeds men make Romauns,
Both in England and in France;
Of Rowland and of Olyvere,
And of every doufe Pere—i. e. Charlemagne's twelve peeres.

Warton, vol. i. p. 123.

And the prologue of another work alludes to the hiſtory,

Of knights hardy that mochel is leſyngis
Of Rowland and of Olyvere, and of Guy of Warwicke.
Ibidem.

From the contemporary and equally-renowned atchievements of the two former heroes, their names are grown into an Engliſh proverb;

“ *I will give you a Rowland for your Oliver;*”

or in other words, I will give you as good as you bring.

V. 231. When the Normans had ſung their war-ſong, Duke William drew his iron interwoven bow, like Pandarus in Homer.

As when a flyghte of craues, that takes their waie
 In householde armies thro the flanch'd^v skie,
 Alike the cause, or companie or prey,
 If that perchaunce some boggie fenne is nie,

^v *Arched.*

Soon

Ἐλκε δ' ἰμῷ γλυφίδας τὲ λαβὼν, καὶ νεῦρα βόεια·
 Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶν πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σίδηρον·
 Αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς μέγα τόξον ἔτεινε,
 Λίγξε βιὸς, νευρὴ δὲ μίγ' ἴαχεν, ἄλτο δ' οἷστός
 Ὀξύελης, καθ' ὕμιλον ἐπιπλίσθαι μενεαίνων.

Il. Δ. v. 122.

Now with full force the yielding horn he bends,
 Drawn to an arch, and joins the doubled ends;
 Close to his breast he strains the nerve below,
 Till the barb'd point approach the circling bow;
 The impatient weapon whizzes on the wing,
 Sounds the tough horn, and twangs the quiv'ring string.

Pope, B. iv. v. 152.

The discharge of these arrows from William, when he

From out of mortal fight shot up the foe; (v. 234.)

And his followers after his example shot

Ten thousand foes uprising in the air; (v. 239.)

has caused a magazine-critic (Gentleman's Magazine, May 1777) to charge the poem with forgery, and the author of it with ignorance, for giving this direction to the Norman arrows: The objector was not aware that arrows so discharged carried execution into every part of the army; whereas those directed horizontally killed the persons in the first rank only: and, according to Henry Huntingdon, this was done by express order from Duke William:—"Docuit enim Dux Willelmus viros sagittarios, ut non in hostem direxerit, sed in aera sursum cuneum hostilem sagittis excæcarent, quod Anglis magno fuit detrimento." P. 368.

He shot again in the same direction, verse 281, and accordingly his arrow is said to descend like a thundershaft, for it pierced Algar's shield, and stuck in his groyne. v. 286. But immediately after he took his *strong arblaster*, or cross-bow, which he levelled horizontally at the breast of Alric, the brother of Algar; for as he *hoisted his arm*, the arrow passed through it into his side.

V. 241. This shower of descending arrows is compared to falling stars, and
 to

Soon as the muddie natyon theie espie, 245
 Inne one blacke cloude theie to the erth descende ;
 Feirce as the fallynge thunderbolte they fie ;
 In vayne do reedes the speckled folk defend :
 So prone to heavie blowe the arrowes felle,
 And peercd thro brasse, and sente manie to heaven or helle.

Ælan Adelfred, of the stowe of Leigh, 251
 Felte a dire arrowe burnynge in his breste ;
 Before he dyd, he sente hys spear awaie,
 Thenne funke to glorie and eternal reste.

Nevylle,

to a flight of cranes; but as those birds are not inhabitants of these islands, the image must have been brought from a foreign country, and is of classical original. It is Mr. Pope's remark on this simile, "That Homer flew to the remotest part of the world for an image which no reader could have expected;" must not then our English poet have flown to Homer for it? and has he not shewn his address in illustrating the simile with a new image? Homer describes the cranes as making war with the pigmies—Rowley, as bringing destruction on the frogs: Homer's parallel consists in the noise and order with which these birds winged their way: Rowley's similitude is not less just and pertinent as to their numbers, their blackening the sky, and the destruction they brought on their enemies.

Τῶν δ' ὥστ' ὀρύθων πετεῖνων ἔθνεα πολλὰ
 Χηνῶν, ἢ γεράνων, ἢ κύκνων δελιχοδείρων,
 Ἀσίῃ ἐν λαιμῶνι, Καῦσιέεσσι ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα,
 Ἐνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερυγέσσι,
 Κλαγγῆδ' ὁν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λαιμῶν.

Il. B. v. 459.

Nor less their number than the embodied cranes,
 Or milk-white swans in Asia's watry plains,
 That o'er the windings of Cayster's springs
 Stretch their long necks, and clap their rustling wings;
 Now tow'r aloft, and course in airy rounds,
 Now light with noise, with noise the field resounds.

Pope, B. ii. v. 540.

R

And

Neville, a Normanne of alle Normannes beste, 255
 Throw the joint cuiſhe ^h dyd the javlyn feel,
 As hee on horſebacke for the fyghte addreſs'd,
 And ſawe hys bloude come ſmokyng oer the ſteele;
 He ſente the avengynge floe into the ayre,
 And turnd hys horſes hedde, and did to leeche ⁱ repayre. 260

And now the javelyns barbd ^k with deathhis wynges,
 Hurld from the Englyſh handes by force aderne ^l,
 Whyzz dreare ^m alonge, and ſonges of terror ſynges,
 Such ſonges as alwaies clos'd in lyfe eterne.
 Hurld by ſuch ſtrength along the ayre theie burne, 265
 Not to be quenched butte ynn Normannes bloude;
 Where theie came they were of lyfe forlorn,
 And alwaie followed by a purple floude;
 Like cloudes the Normanne arrowes did deſcend,
 Like cloudes of carnage full in purple drops dyd end. 270

^h Armour for the thighs. ⁱ Phyſician. ^k Armed. ^l Dire, cruel.
^m Dreary, terrible.

Nor,

And in the third Iliad,

Ἡὐτε πέρ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει ἔβανόθι περὶ,
 Αἴτ' ἐπεὶ ἔν χαιμῶνα φύγον, καὶ ἀθέσφατον ἄμερον,
 Κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' Ωκεανοῖο ῥοάων,
 Ἀνδράσι Πυγμαλίοισι φόνον κ' κῆρα φέρουσαι.
 Ἡέρια δ' ἄρα ταίγε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρουσαι.

Il. Γ. v. 3.

So when inclement winters vex the plain
 With piercing frosts, or thick-descending rain,
 To warmer seas the cranes embodied flie,
 With noise and order through the midway sky:
 To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
 And all the war descends upon the wing.

Pope, B. iii. v. 5.

Nor, Leofwynus, dydst thou still estande;
 Full soon thie pheon ^a glytted ^o in the aire;
 The force of none but thyne and Harolds hande
 Could hurle a javlyn with such lethal geer ^p;
 Itte whyzzd a ghaſtlye dynne in Normannes ear, 275
 Then thundryng dyd upon hys greave ^q alyghte,
 Peirce to his hearte, and dyd hys bowels tear,
 He closd hys eyne in everlaſtyng nyghte;
 Ah! what awayld the lyons on his creſte!
 His hatchments rare with him upon the ground was preſt.

Willyam agayne ymade his bowe-ends meet, 281
 And hie in ayre the arrowe wynged his waie,
 Deſcendyng like a ſhaſte of thunder fleete,
 Lyke thunder rattling at the noon of daie,
 Onne Algars ſheelde the arrowe dyd aſſaie ^r, 285
 There throghe dyd peerſe, and ſtycke into his groine;
 In grypyng torments on the feelde he laie,
 Tille welcome dethe came in and clos'd his eyne;
 Diſtort with peyne he laie upon the borne ^s,
 Lyke ſturdie elms by ſtormes in uncothe ^t wrythynges torne.

Alrick his brother, when hee this perceevd, 291
 He drewe his ſwerde, his lefte hande helde a ſpeere,

^a Spear. ^o Glided, or glittered. ^p Turn, or manner. ^q A part of armour.
^r Make an attempt. ^s Projecting rock, or brook, or his burniſhed armour. ^t Strange.

Towards

^t The lethal geer, ver. 274; lethal javlyn, ver. 295; lethal anlace, Ella, ver. 1083;
 lethal wound, B. H. ver. 357; are ſo many tranſlations of Virgil's *letalis arundo*,
letale vulnus, &c.

Towards the duke he turnd his prauncyng steede,
 And to the Godde of heaven he sent a prayre;
 Then sent his lethale javlyn in the ayre, 295
 On Hue de Beaumontes backe the javelyn came,
 Thro his redde armour to hys harte it tare,
 He felle and thondred on the place of fame;
 Next with his sward he 'fayld the Seieur-de Roe,
 And braste his sylver helme, so furyous was the blowe. 300

But Willyam, who had seen hys prowesse great,
 And feered muche how farre his bronde ' might goe,
 Tooke a strong arblaster^u, and bigge with fate
 From twangynge iron sente the fleetyng floe^{*}.
 As Alric hoistes^y hys arme for dedlie blowe, 305
 Which, han it came, had been Du Roes laste,
 The swyfte-wyngd messenger from Willyams bowe
 Quite throwe his arme into his fyde ypaste;
 His eyne shotte fyre, lyke blazyng starre at nyghte,
 He grypd his sward, and felle upon the place of fyghte. 310

O Alfwolde, faie, how shalle I synge of thee
 Or telle how manie dyd benethe thee falle;

¹ Fury. ^u Cross-bow. ^{*} Arrow. ^y Lifts.

Not

V. 294. And to the Godde of Heaven he sent a prayre;
 This is frequently done by the warriors of Homer and Virgil, previous to their throwing their spear.

V. 311. This episode in favour of Alfwold is a strong instance of the poet's partiality to his Bristol friends; for he makes one third part of the Normans slain in this battle to have fallen either by his hand, or by those of his Brittowans: The ninth line of this stanza seems to be an interrogation, to which the 10th is an answer. Two stanzas are employed in recounting Alfwold's achievements; he is again introduced at ver. 623, and mentioned to the last as a survivor in the battle.

Not Haroldes felf more Normanne knyghtes did flee,
 Not Haroldes felf did for more praifes call;
 How fhall a penne like myne then fhew it all? 315
 Lyke thee their leader, eche Bristowyanne foughte;
 Lyke thee, their blaze muft be canonical,
 Fore theie, like thee, that daie bewrecke ^z yroughte:
 Did thirtie Normannes fall upon the grounde,
 Full half a fcore from thee and theie receive their fatale wounde.

Firft Fytz Chivelloys felt thie direful force; 321
 Nete did hys helde out brazen fheelde availe;
 Eftfoones throwe that thie drivynge fpeare did peerce,
 Nor was ytte ftopped by his coate of mayle;
 Into his breafte it quicklie did affayle ^a; 325
 Out ran the bloude, like hygra ^b of the tyde;
 With purple ftayned all hys adventayle ^c;
 In fcarlet was his cuiſhe ^d of fylver dyde:
 Upon the bloudie carnage houſe he laie,
 Whylft hys longe fheelde dyd gleem ^e with the fun's ryſing ray,

Next Feſcampe felle; O Chrieſte, howe harde his fate 331
 To die the leckedſt ^f knyghte of all the thronge!
 His ſprite was made of malice dellavate ^g,
 Ne ſhoulden find a place in anie ſonge.
 The broch'd ^h keene javlyn hurld from honde ſo ſtronge
 As thine came thundrynge on his cryſted beave ⁱ; 336

^z Revenge. ^a Attack. ^b Bere of the Severn. ^c Armour. ^d Thigh armour.

^e Shine. ^f Poltroon, ſluggiſh. ^g Diſloyal, unfaithful. ^h Pointed. ⁱ Beaver.

Ah!

V. 335. The *broched* keen javelin, means *ſharp* and *pointed*, like a *broche* or *ſpit*; ſo again, ver. 593, the *broched* lance, and the *ybroched* moon, Godwin 96, becauſe
 with

Ah! neete awayld the brass or iron thonge,
 With mightie force his skulle in twoe dyd cleave;
 Dallyng he shooke out his smokyng braine,
 As witherd oakes or elmes are hewne from off the playne.

Nor, Norcie, could thie myghte and skilfulle lore 341
 Preserue thee from the doom of Alfwold's speere;
 Couldste thou not kenne, most skylld Astrelagoure^k,
 How in the battle it would wythe thee fare?
 When Alfwolds javelyn, rattlynge in the ayre, 345
 From hande dyvine on thie habergeon^l came,

^k *Astrologer.* ^l *Coat of mail.*

Oute

with pointed horns: The *croched* javelin, therefore, mentioned ver. 511, may probably be a mis-spelling for *broched*.

V. 340. The destruction of trees by tempests, and their fall by age or the countryman's axe, are similies equally familiar to Homer and Rowley, but admit no great variety or ornament.

V. 341. The skill of De Norcie in astronomy (which in those days implied a knowledge of future events) could not secure him from Alfwold's spear. Is there not some resemblance between his fate and the history of old Eurydamas in Homer, who, from his practice of interpreting dreams, was reputed to have an insight into futurity, yet could not discover nor avert the fate of his two sons, who were slain by Diomedes:

Υἱὰς Εὐρυδάμαντος, οὐκ ἐροπύλοιο γέροντος·
 Τοῖς οὐκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέρον ἐκρίνατ' οὐείδας,
 Ἀλλὰ σφας κρατερὸς Διομήδης ἐξενάρριξε.

Il. E. v. 149.

Sons of Eurydamas, who, wife and old,
 Could fates foretel, and mystic dreams unfold:
 The youths return'd not from the doubtful plain,
 And the sad father tried his arts in vain:
 No mystic dreams could make their fates appear,
 Though now determin'd by Tydides' spear.

Pope, B. v. v. 190.

Oute at thy backe it dyd thie hartes bloude bear,
 It gave thee death and everlastynge fame;
 Thy deathe could onlie come from Alfwolde arme,
 As diamondes onlie can its fellow diamonds harme. 350

Next Sire du Mouline fell upon the grounde,
 Quite throughe his throte the lethal javlyn preste,
 His soule and bloude came rousshynge from the wounde;
 He closd his eyen, and opd them with the blest.
 It can ne be I should behight ^m the rest, 355
 That by the myghtie arme of Alfwolde felle,
 Paste bie a penne to be counte or expreste,
 How manie Alfwolde sent to heaven or helle;
 As leaves from trees shook by derne ⁿ Autumns hand,
 So laie the Normannes slain by Alfwold on the strand. 360

As when a drove of wolves withe dreary yelles
 Assaile some flocke, ne care if shepster ken't,

^m Name.

ⁿ Melancholy.

Besprenge

V. 359. As leaves from trees shook by derne Autumns hand.

“ Quam multa in fylvis Autumni frigore primo

“ Lapsa cadunt folia.”

Æn. vi. v. 309.

V. 361. In this simile of the wolves, and in those ver. 81 and 631, the poet has shewn great judgment in varying from his original: Homer has expressed the rage of wild beasts by lions and panthers, in several passages of the Iliad, but there is only one or two of them which mentions the fury of wolves: Il. A. ver. 72, and II. ver. 156. Africa, the nurse of lions (being nearly connected with Greece and Asia) probably furnished him with those ideas: But wolves being the inhabitants of these northern kingdoms, and lions unknown in them, unless brought from foreign countries, our poet has judiciously chosen the former for the subject of his allusions, as more conformable to the nature of his country. If these similes had been borrowed by Chatterton, from Pope's translation, is it probable that he would have shewn the same skill in varying the application?

Beipreng^e ^o destructione oer the woodes and delles;
 The shepster fwaynes in vayne theyr lees ^p lament ^q;
 So foughte the Bryflowe menne; ne one crevent ^r, 365
 Ne onne abashd enthoughten for to flee;
 With fallen Normans all the playne besprent,
 And like theyr leaders every man did flee;
 In vayne on every fyde the arrowes fled;
 The Bryflowe menne styll ragd, for Alfwold was not dead.

Manie meanwhile by Haroldes arm did falle, 371
 And Leofwyne and Gyrthe encreasd the slayne;
 'Twould take a Nestor's age to fyng^e them all,
 Or telle how manie Normannes preste the playne;
 But of the erles, whom recorde nete hath slayne, 375
 O Truthe! for good of after-tymes relate,

^o Spread. ^p Sheep-pastures. ^q Lament. ^r Coward.

That

V. 372. Leofwyne and Gyrthe are said to have encreased the number of the slain, by killing their enemies, but not by their own death, though both of them fell in that battle.

V. 373. It is a circumstance in favour of our author's acquaintance with the Iliad, that he mentions more than once the name of Homer, ver. 400 and 442, as well as those of Minerva and Nestor.

V. 375. Having specified by name several Normans who were slain in the battle, he proceeds to honour, with a particular encomium, some of his own countrymen, whom he says

Recorde nete hath slain.

Under this description may be meant those who falling in battle were not recorded in history: The poet therefore undertakes to celebrate their praises; but of the four persons mentioned by him, viz. Adhelm, Alfwold, Hereward, and Harold, the two last only are said to have died in the field.

V. 376. The arrangement of Rowley's plan, and the accuracy of his measure, afford very little scope for critical conjectures or alterations; but the invocation to Truth, previous to his celebrating the achievements of his English heroes, seems to require

That, thowe they're deade, theyr names may lyve agayne,
 And be in deathe, as they in life were, greate ;
 So after-ages maie theyr actions see,
 And like to them æternal alwaie stryve to be. 380
 Adhelm,

require that the address to Turgot, ver. 581, should immediately follow this stanza :
 For who so able to direct the poet in the search of truth, as

That Sun, from whom he oft had caught a beam ? (v. 588.)
 or whose assistance could he so properly invoke, when he professed

The deeds of Englishmen to write, (v. 590.)
 as the Saxon historian, to whose materials he was indebted for the substance of his poem ? As the spirit of Turgot is here said to be accompanied by his loved Adhelm ; how naturally does this circumstance precede the encomiums given to that knight and his son ? How improperly would he profess to *write the deeds of Englishmen*, when two of his most chosen personages had been already celebrated in the preceding stanzas, and when the characters of the other two, viz. Harold and Alfwold, appear less interesting ? Not to add, that the invocation, where it now stands, is unconnected with, and separates the narration of a plain matter of fact contained in the preceding and following stanzas ; in the former of which Duke William commands his soldiers to proceed to a close engagement ; in the latter, Harold is making a proper disposition to meet their attack : But an invocation of Turgot can have nothing to do with either of these events.

Leaving then this conjecture to the judgment of the reader, the character of Adhelm, ver. 381, is made the first object of the poet's encomium ; a connection which must have taken its rise from the munificence of his father to the church of Durham, of which Turgot was Prior, and St. Cuthbert Patron :

—To whom he dyd his goodes resygne,
 And leste hys son, his God's and fortunes knyghte.

But the Saint amply recompensed the son for the generosity of the father, by making him

—in gemot wyse, and greate in fyghte.

The same qualities which Achilles learned from old Phœnix.

Μύθευ τὲ πάντῃς' ἔμεναι, περικτῆρὰ τε ἔργων.

Il. I. v. 443.

He bade me teach thee all the arts of war,
 To shine in councils, and in senates dare.

Pope, B. ix. v. 570.

S

But

Adhelm, a knyghte, whose holie deathles fire
 For ever bended to S^t. Cuthbert's shryne,
 Whose breast for ever burnd with sacred fyre,
 And een on erthe he myghte be calld dyvine;
 To Cuthbert's church he dyd his goodes resygne, 385
 And leste hys son his God's and fortunes knyghte;
 His son the Saincte behelde with looke adigne^s,
 Made him in gemot ^t wyse, and greate in fyghte;
 Saincte Cuthberte dyd him ayde in all hys deedes,
 His friends he lets to live, and all his fomen bleedes. 390

He married was to Kenewalchae faire,
 The fynest dame the sun or moone adave ^u;
 She was the myghtie Aderedus heyre,
 Who was alreadie hastyng to the grave;
 As the blue Bruton, ryfinge from the wave, 395
 Like sea-gods seeme in most majestic guise,

^s *Worthy.* ^t *Counsel.* ^u *Arose upon.*

And

But his patronage was still more important, for

Saincte Cuthberte dyd him ayde in all hys deedes,
 His friends he lets to live, and all his fomen bleedes. (v. 399.)

With him the Spirit of Turgot is poetically associated, in their former beloved retirements near Durham; at other times, as a native of Bristol, it is supposed to haunt the banks of the Severn;

And rowle in ferfely with ferfe Severnes tyde. (v. 585.)

V. 391. The luxuriancy of the poet's fancy is exerted in describing the beauties of Kenewalche, the wife of Adhelm; no less than twenty similes, within the compass of twice as many lines, are applied to express the beauty of her features, the air and graces of her person: Some of these similes are remarkable for their simplicity; others for their justice: In some we may observe a tincture of ancient superstition; others are local, relating to the city and neighbourhood of Durham.

V. 395. The comparison of Kenewalche to a *blue Briton*, seems to be borrowed from Cæsar's account of that people; who observes, that all the Britons painted themselves

And rounde aboute the rifynge waters lave ^x,
 And their longe hayre arounde their bodie flies,
 Such majestie was in her porte displaid,
 To be excelld bie none but Homer's martial maid ^y. 400

White as the chaulkie clyffes of Brittaines isle,
 Red as the highest colour'd Gallic wine,
 Gaie as all nature at the mornynge smile,
 Those hues with pleasaunce on her lippes combine,
 Her lippes more redde than summer evenynge skyne ^z, 405
 Or Phæbus ryfinge in a frostie morne,
 Her breste more white than snow in feeldes that lyene ^a,
 Or lillie lambes that never have been shorne,
 Swellynge like bubbles in a boillynge welle,
 Or new-braсте brooklettes gently whyspringe in the delle.

^x Wasb. ^y Minerva. ^z Sky. ^a Lie.

Browne

themselves with this colour:—"Omnes vero Britanni vitro se inficiunt, quod *ceruleum* efficit colorem." De Bello Gall. lib. 5.—And the *blue Briten* is with great propriety described *as rising out of the sea*, which is of this *cerulean* colour, and is denominated from it.

Amongst the torrent of similies which flows in the following stanzas, some allude to local and legendary anecdotes, which have been lost in the course of time; such as the *greie steel-horn'd goats by Conyan made tame*; whether this Conyan was a Saint, or a Prince is uncertain. There was a Scottish Bishop of Hie, in the 7th century, of that name. *Aurelius Conanus*, a Prince of Powysland, is mentioned by Gildas as living in 546, (see Baxter's glossary, in voce *Aurelius*;) *Malgo Conanus* lived at the end of that century; and *Conan, son of Roderick*, in 755: all remarkable for their warlike exploits; which might be figuratively expressed by *taming the steel-horn'd goats of Wales*.

—Hybernies holy woode,

Where saintes and foules departed masses syng, (v. 423.)

is also unknown, unless St. Patrick's purgatory is alluded to: Some legends relative to these places might have existed, if not in Rowley's, yet at least in Turgot's days; to which period the following description must be referred.

Browne as the fylberte droppynge from the shelle, 413
 Browne as the nappy ale at Hocktyde game,
 So browne the crokyde ^b rynges, that featlie ^c fell
 Over the neck of the all-beauteous dame.
 Greie as the morne before the ruddie flame 415
 Of Phebus charyotte rollynge thro the skie,
 Greie as the steel-horn'd goats Conyan made tame,
 So greie appeard her featly sparklyng eye;
 Those cyne, that did oft mickle pleased look
 On Adhelm valyaunt man, the virtues doomday book. 420

Majestic as the grove of okes that floode
 Before the abbie buylt by Oswald kynge ;
 Majestic as Hybernies holie woode,
 Where fainctes and soules departed masses synge;
 Such awe from her sweete looke forth issuyng. 425
 At once for reveraunce and love did calle ;
 Sweet as the voice of thraflarkes ^d in the Spring,
 So sweet the wordes that from her lippes did falle ;

^b *Crooked.* ^c *Genteelly.* ^d *Thrushes.*

None

V. 421. —The grove of okes that floode

Before the abbie buylt by Oswald kynge,

cannot be literally applied to the abbey of Lindisfarn, erected by that prince on a small barren island, where it is not probable that a grove of oaks ever grew; but it may be true by way of anticipation in respect to Durham; to which place St. Cuthbert's body, after its various removals from Lindisfarn, was finally translated, together with the episcope's fee, at the end of the tenth century; for at that time the spot was so overgrown with wood, that the ancient writers speak of it as an inaccessible forest. — "Erat autem Dunelmum, locus quidem naturâ munitus, sed non facile habitabilis, quem densissima undique sylva totum occupaverat." Leland's Collect. tom. i. p. 330.

None fell in vayne ; all shewed some entent ;
Her wordies did displaie her great entendement.

430

Tapre as candles layde at Cuthberts shryne,
Tapre as elmes that Goodrickes abbie shrove^c,
Tapre as silver chalices for wine,
So tapre was her armes and shape ygrove^f.
As skylful mynemenne^g by the stons above 435
Can ken what metalle is ylach'd^h belowe,
So Kennewalcha's face, ymade for love,
The lovelie ymage of her soule did shewe ;
Thus was she outward form'd ; the sun her mind
Did guilde her mortal shape and all her charms refin'd. 440

^c Shrouded. ^f Graven, or formed. ^g Miners. ^h Closed, confined.

What

V. 431. The three similes applied to Kenewalche's taper arms, might naturally strike the fancy of a Prior of Durham, but would never have entered the imagination of any other poet.

V. 432. *The elms which shrove* or shrouded *Godric's abbey*, give a just idea of *Fincal*, situated in a retired valley surrounded by woods, a few miles distant from Durham, adding a pleasing and romantic feature to Mr. Carr's beautiful improvements at Coſton: Godricus the hermit led a retired life of sixty years in that place, and died in 1170, with so great a reputation for sanctity, that Matt. Paris has written a long and circumstantial account of his life and miracles. It seems that he was a poet also, for the same author has recorded a hymn of his in honour of the Virgin Mary, dictated by herself, and has illustrated the Saxon original with a Latin translation. See also Mr. Tyrwhit's *Essay on Chaucer*, vol. iv. p. 56.

This foundation, however, was of too late a date to be alluded to by Turgot; our poet must therefore have taken it from some other authority.

V. 439. The beauties and accomplishments of Kenewalche are magnified to do the more honour to her husband Adhelin, who

— could leave the bosome of so fayre a dame,
Uncall'd, unaskt, to serve his lorde the kynge ;

and the pen of Rowley might be a very proper vehicle of his fame. It may appear vulgar to a modern ear, accustomed to more civilized and refined notions, that this

commission.

What blazoursⁱ then, what glorie shall he clayme,
 What doughtie Homere shall hys praïses synge,
 That lefte the bosome of so fayre a dame
 Uncall'd, unaskt, to serve his lorde the kynge?
 To his fayre shrine goode subjects oughte to bringe 445
 The armes, the helmets, all the spoyles of warre,
 Throwe everie feaulm the poets blaze the thyng,
 And travelling merchants spredde hys name to farre;
 The stoute Norwegians had his anlace^k felte,
 And nowe amonge his foes dethe-doyng blowes he delte. 450

As when a wolfyn gettyng in the meedes
 He rageth fore, and doth about hym flee,
 Nowe here a talbot, there a lambkin bleeds,
 And alle the grasse with clotted gore doth stree^l;
 As when a rivlette rolles impetuouſlie, 455
 And breaks the bankes that would its force reſtrayne,
 Alonge the playne in fomyng rynges doth flee,
 Gaynſte walles and hedges doth its courſe maintayne;

ⁱ Praïſers. ^k Sword. ^l Strew, or ſcatter.

As

commiſſion ſhould be entrusted to the tongues of travelling merchants. The idea, however, was natural and juſt at the time when this poem was written; the connection with foreign countries being then chiefly carried on by this kind of correſpondence.

V. 441. “No blaſer of her beauty above in the windows.”

Gaſcoigne's Suppoſes, p. 32.

V. 451. The rapidity of Rowley's imagination is a ſtranger to reſpoſe; the mind of the reader can hardly have digeſted the torrent of ſimilies on Kenevalhe's beauty, when he finds the valour of Adhelm celebrated by three alluſions in the courſe of one ſtanza. The firſt only diverſified from thoſe at verſe 81, 361, and 631; and in Ella, ver. 638: The ſecond familiar enough both to Homer and Rowley: And the courſe of the overflowing water, which

Alonge the playne in fomyng ringes doth flee, (v. 457.)

muſt

As when a manne doth in a corn-fielde mowe,
With ease at one felle stroke full manie is laide lowe. 460

So manie, with such force, and with such ease,
Did Adhelm slaughtre on the bloudie playne;
Before hym manie dyd theyr hearts bloude lease ^m,
Ofttymes he foughte on towres of smokynge slayne.
Angillian felte his force, nor felte in vayne; 465
He cutte hym with his swerde athur ⁿ the breaſte;
Out ran the bloude, and did hys armoure ſlayne,
He cloſ'd his eyen in æternal reſte;
Lyke a tall oke by tempeſte borne awaie,
Stretched in the armes of dethe upon the plaine he laie. 470

Next thro the ayre he ſent his javlyn ſeerce,
That on De Clearmoundes buckler did alyghte,
Throwe the vaſte orbe the ſharpe pheone ^o did peerce,
Rang on his coate of mayle and ſpente its mighte.

^m Loſt. ⁿ Athwart, acroſs. ^o Spear.

But

muſt convince every reader, that no one but an accurate obſerver could have deſcribed that effect with ſo much juſtneſs and preciſion.

V. 459. But the ſimile of the reapers mowing down the harveſt is truly Homerial.

‘Οἱ δ', ὥς τ' ἀμνητῆρες ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλοισιν
Ὅγμῳ ἐλαύνουσιν, ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρσεν
Περσῶν, ἢ κριθῶν, τὰ δὲ δρεάγματα τερφία πίττει.

Il. A. v. 67.

As ſweaty reapers, in ſome wealthy field,
Rang'd in two bands, their crooked weapons wield,
Bear down the furrows, till their labours meet,
Thick fall the heapy harveſts at their feet. Pope, B. vi. 89.

And the judicious critic will eaſily diſcover, on comparing theſe paſſages, that Rowley has copied the ſimplicity of Homer, without burthening his ſimile with the unneceſſary expictives of Pope.

But as he drewe hys bowe devoid of arte,
 So it came down upon Troyvillains horſe ;
 Deep thro hys hatchments ' wente the pointed floe ;
 Now here, now there, with rage bleedyng he rounde doth goe.

' *Horſe armour.*

Nor

V. 488. The deſcription of Troyvillian's horſe cannot be copied from the Iliad, becauſe (as Pope has obſerved) cavalry is not mentioned in it; the only uſe to which horſes were applied in the Trojan war, was to draw carriages; and wherever fighting from a horſe is mentioned, it is always to be underſtood of a chariot, or of horſes applied to that ſervice: This deſcription, therefore, muſt have been taken from Virgil; and there are two paſſages in the *Æneid* which ſeem to have furniſhed the idea: Mezentius's wounded horſe is thus deſcribed:

Tollit ſe arrectum quadrupes, & calcibus auras
 Verberat, effuſumque equitem ſuper ipſe ſecutus
 Implicat, ejectoque incumbit cernuus armo.

Æn. x. v. 892.

Seiz'd by unwonted pain, ſurpris'd by fright,
 The wounded ſteed curvets and rais'd upright,
 Lights on his feet before—his hoofs behind
 Spring in the air aloft, and laſh the wind;
 Down comes the rider headlong from his height,
 His horſe came after with unwieldy weight,
 And floundring forward, pitching on his head,
 His Lord's incumber'd ſhoulder overlaid.

Dryden, v. 1279.

So alſo the wounded horſe of Romulus;

Quo ſonipes ic̄tu ferit arduus, altaque jāctat,
 Vulneris impatiens, arrecto corpore crura:
 Solvitur ille excuſſus humi.—— *Æn. xi. v. 638.*

The fiery ſteed, impatient of the wound,
 Curvets, and, ſpringing upwards with a bound,
 His hopeleſs Lord caſts backward on the ground.

Dryden, v. 948.

There is alſo a ſimilar deſcription in the former poem, v. 361.

V. 499. Deep thro hys hatchments wente the pointed floe.

The hatchment covered the horſe's body, and on it the coat armour of the

T

maſter

Nor does he hede his mastres known commands, 471
 Tyll, growen furiose by his bloudie wounde,
 Ereft upon his hynder feete he staundes,
 And throwes hys maistre far off to the grounde.
 Near Adhelms feete the Normanne laie aftounde *, 495
 Besprengd † his arrowes, loofend was his sheelde,
 Thro his redde armoure, as he laie ensoond,
 He peered his swerde ‡, and out upon the feelde
 The Normannes bowels steemd, a dedlie fyghte !
 He opd and closd hys eyen in everlastyng nyghte. 500

Caverd, a Scot, who for the Normannes foughte,
 A man well skilld in swerde and foundyng stryng,
 Who fled his country for a crime enstrote †,
 For daryng with bolde worde hys loiaule kynge,

* Astonished. † Scattered. ‡ Pierced with his sword. * Which was to be punished.

He

master was represented. Thus in the Song to Ella, the horse is called *the hatched steed*; in Ella, v. 27. the *barbed horse*; and in Shakespeare's Richard II. *the barbed steed*: These hatchments are represented in ancient drawings and seals:

V. 500. He opd and closd hys eyen in everlastyng nyghte.

This expression frequently occurs in Homer, with very little variation.

———— τὸν δὲ σκότος ὕσσ' ἐκάλυψε.

Il. Δ. v. 526.

Τὸν δὲ κατ' ἐφθάλμων ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψε.

Il. E. v. 659.

And shades eternal settle o'er his eyes.

His eye-balls darken with the shades of death.

V. 501. Two Welsh warriors were enlisted in the service of Harold; on the other hand, Caverd, a Scot, becomes an auxiliary to the Normans: One of the Welshmen had been obliged to fly his country for murder, as this Scot had done for treason; which is here called a crime *enstrote*, or *enstraffed*, a participle from the German word *straffen*, to punish. See Ludwig's German Dictionary.—The word

He at Erle Aldhelme with grete force did flynge 505
An hevie javlyn, made for bloudie wounde,
Alonge his sheelde afkaunte y the fame did ringe,
Peered thro the corner, then stuck in the grounde;
So when the thonder rauttles in the skie,
Thro some tall spyre the shaftes in a torn clevis^z flic. 510

Then Addhelm hurld a croched javlyn stronge,
With mighte that none but such grete championes know;
Swifter than thoughte the javlyn past alonge,
Ande hytte the Scot most feirclie on the prow^e;
His helmet brasted^b at the thondring blowe, 515
Into his brain the tremblyn javlyn steck^c;
From eyther fyde the bloude began to flow,
And run in circling ringlets rounde his neck;
Down fell the warriour on the lethal strande,
Lyke some tall vessel wreckt upon the tragick sande. 520

^y Slanting, obliquely. ^z The cleft of a rock. ^a Brow, forehead. ^b Burst.
 ^c Stuck.

does not occur in our Anglo-Saxon Glossaries. Caverd, like his countrymen, excelled in backsword, and playing on the harp—*was skilld in swerde, and foundynge strynge.*

V. 509. The simile of thunder is familiar with Rowley, see v. 284 and 610; and in the former poem, v. 509; and in *Ella*, v. 464 and 618.

C O N T I N U E D.

Where fruytleſſ heathes and meadowes cladde in greie,
 Save where derne ^d hawthornes reare theyr humble heade,
 The hungrie traveller upon his waie
 Sees a huge defarte alle arounde hym ſpredde,
 The diſtaunte citie ſcantlie ^e to be ſpedde ^f, 525
 The curlynge force of ſmoke he ſees in vayne,
 Tis too far diſtaunte, and hys onlie bedde
 Iwimpd ^g in hys cloke ys on the playne,
 Whylſte rattlynge thonder forrey ^h oer his hedde,
 And raines come down to wette hys harde uncouthlie bedde.

A wondrous pyle of rugged mountaynes ſtandes, 531
 Placd on eche other in a dreare arraie,

^d *Melancholy.* ^e *Scarcely.* ^f *To be ſpied, or attained.* ^g *Covered, wrapped up.*
^h *Deſtroy.*

It

V. 521. The Continuation of this Poem, produced by Chatterton ſome time after the former part, ſeems to be infered here in its proper place: From the character of Adhelm, the poet paſſes to that of Hereward, and introduces a beautiful epiſode on the origin of Stonehenge, and the ſituation of Old Sarum; differing in ſome particulars from the account given in the former poem, but agreeing in all the material points of deſcription: Some circumſtances omitted in one, are mentioned and enlarged on in the other; and, by this general conſiſtency, prove themſelves to be the work of the ſame hand.

The deſcription of Salisbury Plain is bold and natural, but the reſemblance was more ſtriking when the picture was drawn, before that wide-extended plain had been improved by tillage, and enlivened by inhabitants: The tempeſt which the poet raiſes there, may be compared to the celebrated ſtorm of Pouſſin, well known in the ſchools of painting and engraving; nor can the colouring be heightened by any pencil but his own, as he has painted it in the Ballad of Charity, which is a maſterpiece in its kind.

V. 531. Nor will the reader leſs admire the maſteſtic terms in which he deſcribes Stonehenge; the origin and uſe of which having been already conſidered, require no further illuſtration.

It ne could be the worke of human handes,
 It ne was reared up bie menne of claie.
 Here did the Brutons adoration paye 535
 To the false god whom they did Tauran name,
 Dightynge ⁱ hys altarre with greete fyres in Maie,
 Roastyng theyr vyctualle round aboute the flame,
 'Twas here that Hengyst did the Brytons flee,
 As they were mette in council for to bee. 540

Neere on a loftie hylle a citie standes,
 That lyftes yts scheafted ^k heade ynto the skies,
 And kynglie lookes arounde on lower landes,
 And the longe browne playne that before itte lies.
 Herewarde, borne of parentes brave and wyfe, 545
 Within this vylle fyrste adrewe ⁱ the ayre,
 A blessinge to the erthe sente from the skies,
 In anie kyngdom nee coulde fynde his pheer;
 Now rybbd in steele he rages yn the fyghte,
 And sweeps whole armies to the reaulmes of nyghte: 550

So when derne ^m Autumne wyth hys fallowe hande
 'Tares the green mantle from the lymed ⁿ trees,
 The leaves besprenged ^o on the yellow strande
 Flie in whole armies from the blataunte ^p breeze;
 Alle the whole fiede a carnage-howse he sees, 555
 And fowles unknelled ^q hover'd oer the bloude;
 From place to place on either hand he flees,
 And sweepes alle neere hym lyke a bronded ^r floude;

ⁱ Dressing. ^k Adorned with turrets. ^l Drew. ^m Melancholy. ⁿ Smooth.
^o Scattered. ^p Noisy. ^q Without their funeral knell. ^r Furious.

Then to harde actyon he hys wayne dyd rowse,
In hyffynge ocean to make glair ^b hys browes 570

Duke Wyllyam gave commaunde, eche Norman knyghte,
That beer war-token in a shielde so fyne,
Shoulde onward goe, and dare to clofer fyghte
The Saxonne warryor, that dyd so entwyne,
Lyke the neshe ^c bryon and the eglantine, 575
Orre Cornyssh wraflers at a Hocktyde game.
The Normannes, all emarchialld in a lyne,
To the ourt ^d arraie of the thight ^e Saxonnes came;
There 'twas the whaped ^f Normannes on a parre
Dyd know that Saxonnes were the sonnes of warre. 580

Oh Turgotte, wherefoeer thie spryte dothe haunte,
Whither wyth thie lovd Adhelme by thie fyde,
Where thou mayste heare the fwotie ^g nyghte larke chaunte,
Orre wyth some mokyng ^h brooklette swetelie glide,
Or rowle in ferselie wythe ferse Severnes tyde, 585
Whereer thou art, come and my mynde enleme ⁱ
Wyth such greete thoughtes as dyd with thee abyde,
Thou sonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme,
Send mee agayne a drybblette of thie lyghte,
That I the deeds of Englyshmenne maie wryte. 590

Harold, who saw the Normannes to advaunce,
Seiz'd a huge byll, and layd hym down hys spere;
Soe dyd ech wite laie downe the broched ^k launce,
And groves of bylles did glitter in the ayre.

^b Clear. ^c Weak. ^d Out, or open. ^e Consolidated, thickened. ^f Affrighted.
^g Sweet. ^h Mocking. ⁱ Enlighten. ^k Pointed.

Wyth showtes the Normannes did to battel steere; 595
 Campynon famous for his stature highe,
 Fyrey wythe brasie, benethe a shyrt of lere¹,
 In cloudie daie he reechd into the skie;
 Neere to Kyng Harolde dyd he come alonge,
 And drewe hys steele Morglaien^m sworde so stronge. 600

Thryce rounde hys heade hee swung hys anlaceⁿ wyde,
 On whyche the sunne his visage did agleeme^o,
 Then straynyng, as hys membres would dyvyde,
 Hee stroke on Haroldes sheelde yn manner breme^p;
 Alonge the fiede it made an horrid cleembe^q, 605
 Coupeynge^r Kyng Harolds payncted sheeld in twayne,
 Then yn the bloude the fierie swerde dyd steeme,
 And then dyd drive ynto the bloudie playne;

¹ *Leather, or skin.* ^m *Enchanted sword.* ⁿ *Sword.* ^o *Gleam, or shine upon.*
^p *Furious.* ^q *Noise.* ^r *Cutting.*

So

V. 596. The Normans now produce a fresh champion in the person of Campynon, a compleat coward, though a Goliath both in stature and armour: for he is said to be *fiery in bras*; and Goliath's armour was of the same metal, 1 Sam. chap. xviii.

So Sir Hudibras, in Spenser,

— was (for terror more) all armed in fiery bras.

B. 2. C. 2. St. 17.

V. 598. In cloudie daie he reechd into the skie;
 a literal translation of that passage in Virgil,

Ingrediturque solo, & caput inter nubila condit;

or like the picture of Eris in Homer.

Οὐρανὸν ἐστρέψε κέφα, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆνι βάλε.

Il. Δ. v. 443.

Whilst scarce the skies her horrid head can bound,
 She stalks on earth, and shakes the world around.

Pope, B. iv. v. 516.

So when in ayre the vapours do abounde,
Some thunderbolte tares trees and dryves ynto the grounde.

Harolde upreer'd hys bylle, and furious sente 611
A stroke, lyke thondre, at the Normannes fyde;
Upon the playne the broken brasse besprente '
Dyd ne hys bodie from dethe-doeynge hyde;
He tournyd backe, and dyd not there abyde; 615
With straught oute sheelde hee ayenwarde ' did goe,
Threwe downe the Normannes, did their rankes divide,
To save himselfe lefte them unto the foe;
So olyphautes, in kingdomme of the funne,
When once provok'd doth throwe theyr owne troopes runne.

Harolde, who ken'd hee was his armies staie, 621
Nedeynge the rede " of generaul so wyse,
Byd Alfwoulde to Campynon haste awaie,
As thro the armie ayenwarde * he hies,
Swyfte as a feather'd takel ' Alfwoulde flies, 625
The steele bylle blushynge oer wyth lukewarm bloude;
Ten Kenters, ten Bristowans for th' emprize z
Hasted wyth Alfwoulde where Campynon stood,
Who aynewarde a went, whylste everie Normanne knyghte
Dyd blush to see their champion put to flyghte. 630

As painctyd Bruton, when a wolfyn wylde,
When yt is cale b and blustryng wyndes do blowe,

' Scattered.

' * " Backward.

" Advice, counsel.

' Arrow.

z Enterpryse. b Cold.

Enters

V. 631. This simile is little inferior to the former in the boldness of the image, or the spirit of the description; it seems to be a distant copy of two in Homer, which

U

represent

Enters hys bordelle ^c, taketh hys yonge chylde,
 And wyth his bloude bestreynts ^d the lillie snowe,
 He thoroughe mountayne hie and dale doth goe, 635
 'Throwe the quyk torrent of the bollen ^e ave ^f,

^c Cottage. ^d Sprinkles. ^e Swelling. ^f Wave, or water.

Throwe

represent wild beasts retreating from the pursuit of shepherds, after the destruction of their flocks. See Iliad M. v. 299, and O. 586.

The critics who attack the language of Rowley, are inattentive to the beauties of his poetry, and the force of his expressions; a passage in this simile has been thus questioned: “for his eyne, i. e. before his eyes; but before whose eyes does he mean, the wolf’s or the shepherd’s?” Undoubtedly the shepherd’s. But the expression seems only to imply, that he killed the wolf as soon as he could come within view of him. I am obliged, however, to a very learned friend for a more elegant construction of the phrase; “for his eyne, i. e. in revenge for his child:” Here, as in other passages, “eyne is singular. The idea is most exquisitely classical, perhaps not to be found in any modern author. Thus Quintilian laments the death of his son—*Mihi filius minor quintum egressus annum: Prior alterum ex duobus eruit lumen.*—The note of Colomesius on the passage is learned and curious; “*Lumen hic profilio; usurpavit etiam Aufonius.*

“*Amisum flecti post trina decennia natum*

“*Saucius, & lævo lumine cassus eras.*

“*Festus—Orba est quæ patrem aut matrem, aut filios quasi lumen amisit: Apud*

“*Græcos itidem. Ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀντὶ παίδων. Æschylus in Persis. v. 169.*

“*Ἀμφὶ δ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς φέβος. Ad quem locum scholiastes, ἡγούν ἀμφὶ Ξέρξης;*

“*ὀφθαλμον γὰρ ἔκρινεν καί τε. Quintilian VI. 1. edit. Caperon, p. 347.*

“In the *Œdipus in Colono* of Sophocles, *Œdipus*, then blind, exclaims
 “against *Creon*, who had forced away his daughter from him.

“*Ὅς μ’ ὦ κακιστὲ ψιλὸν ἔμμ’ ἀποσπάσας,*

“*Πρὸς ἔμμασιν τοῖς προσθεν ἑξοίχη εἶα. v. 860.*

“In the *Andromache* of Euripides, when *Menelaus* threatens to kill his son *Molossus*, she says,

“*Εἴς παῖς ἔδ’ ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς εἶου. v. 406.*

“These passages prove that the ancients, by *their eyes*, figuratively meant their children.”

Throwe Severne rollynge oer the fandes belowe
 He skymys aloft^s, and blents^h the beatynge wave,
 Ne styntsⁱ, ne laggess the chace, tyll for hys eyne
 In peccies hee the morthering thief doth chyne. 640

So Alfwoulde he dyd to Campyon haste;
 Hys bloudie bylle awhap'd^k the Normannes eyne;
 Hee fled, as wolffes when bie the talbots chac'd,
 To bloudie byker^l he dyd ne enclyne.
 Duke Wyllyam stroke hym on hys brigandyne^m, 645
 And sayd: Campynon, is it thee I see?
 Thee? who dydst actes of glorie so bewryenⁿ,
 Now poorlie come to hyde thiefselke bie mee?
 Awaie! thou dogge, and acte a warriors parte,
 Or with mie swerde I'll perce thee to the harte. 650

Betweene Erle Alfwoulde and Duke Wyllyam's bronde^o
 Campynon thoughte that nete but deathe coulde bee,
 Seezed a huge swerde Morglaien^p yn his honde,
 Mottrynge a praier to the Vyrgyne:

^s Aloft. ^h Mixes, or opposes. ⁱ Stops. ^k Terrified. ^l War, combat.
^m Armour. ⁿ Shew, exhibit. ^o Sword, or fury. ^p Enchanted sword.

So

V. 649. It has been observed, that the heroes in this poem do not figure as orators, they can, however, take proper opportunities of reproving each other: Duke William's censure of Campynon's cowardice is natural, and the poet's reflection no less just, on that rashness and religious fear, which are excited by cowardice, the first resource of timid minds under any circumstances of distress.

V. 653. He seiz'd a huge swerde *Morglaien* in his honde,
 Mottrynge a praier to the Vyrgyne.

The swords of heroes in romance were dignified with particular names; St. George's was called *Askalon*, Arthur's *Calyborne*, Roland's *Duranda*, and Bevis's

So hunted deere the dryvyng hounds will flee, 655
 When theie dyscover they cannot escape ;
 And feerful lambkyns, when theie hunted bee,
 Theyre ynfante hunters doe theie oft awhape^a;
 Thus stoode Campynon, greeete but hertlesse knyghte.
 When feere of dethe made hym for deathe to fyghte. 660

Alfwoulde began to dyghte^c hymselfe for fyghte,
 Meanewhyle hys menne on everie syde dyd flee,
 Whan on hys lyfted sheelde withe alle hys myghte
 Campynon's swerde in burlie-brande^c dyd dree^d;

^a Terrify. ^c Prepare. ^c In armed fury. ^d Draw, or drive.
 Bewopen

of Southampton *Morglaie*, whence Rowley borrowed the name. The word may be derived from *Mort Glaive*, or *Mortis Gladius*. Geoff. Monmouth says, Lib. i. fol. 266. that Julius Cæsar's sword, which stuck in Nennius' shield, was buried in the tomb of Nennius, and was called *Crocea Mors*, "being mortal to every one who was wounded by it."

In the Dragon of Wantly,
 With *morglaie* in his hand,
 He assaulted the Dragon, I understand.

Percy, vol. iii. p. 279.

and in the poetical legend of Sir Bevis, (ibid. p. 214.)

He smote after, I you saie,
 With his good sword *morglaye*;
 Up to the hilde *morglay* yode,
 Through harte, liver, bone, and bloude.

V. 664. Campynon is said to dree his sword in *burlie brande*, i. e. armed with fury; but *burlie brand* is also used in Godwin, ver. 7, for a *great sword*, and applied in the same sense by a poet more ancient than Rowley or Chaucer. The history of Sir William Wallace, written by Blind Harry, 1361, mentions

His good girdle, and fyne his *burlie brande*:

and in a subsequent passage,

His *burnished brand* braithly in hand he bare.

Warton, vol. i. p. 323 & 328.

The

Bewopen ' Alfwoulde fellen on his knee ; 665
 Hys Bryftowe menne came in hym for to fave ;
 Eftfoons upgotten from the grounde was hee,
 And dyd agayne the touring Norman brave ;
 He graspd hys bylle in fyke a drear arraie,
 Hee seem'd a lyon catchynge at hys preie. 670

Upon the Normannes brazen adventayle "
 The thondrynge bill of myghtie Alfwould came ;
 It made a dentful * bruse, and then dyd fayle ;
 Fromme rattlynge weepens shotte a sparklynge flame ;
 Eftfoons agayne the thondrynge bill ycame 675
 Peers'd thro hys adventayle ^v and skyrts of lare ^z ;
 A tyde of purple gore came wyth the fame,
 As out hys bowells on the feelde it tare ;
 Campynon felle, as when some cittie-walle
 Inne dolefulle terrours on its mynours falle. 680

He felle, and dyd the Norman rankes dyvide ;
 So when an oke, that shotte ynto the skie,
 Feeles the broad axes peersynge his broade fyde,
 Slowlie hee falls and on the grounde doth lie,
 Pressynge all downe that is wyth hym anighe, 685
 And stoppynge wearie travellers on the waie ;

' Stupified. " ^v Armour for the head. * Indented. ^z Skin, or leather.

So

The Testament of Creteis describes Jupiter as having a *burly face*, and a *burly brand*, v. 180 ; and Spenser continually calls a sword a *brond*, a *steely brond*, *brond iron*, *fatal brond*, and *enchanted brond*.

V. 682. The two similes comparing the fall of Campynon to a city wall, and to a large oak, are repetitions of the same images in part 1st, v. 59, and 469, and seem to be copied from Homer.

So fraught^a upon the playne the Norman hie

* * * * *

Bled, gron'd, and dyed : the Normanne knyghtes afound^b
To see the bawfin^c champyon preste upon the grounde. 690

As when the hygra of the Severne roars,
And thunders ugform^d on the sandes below,

^a Stretched out. ^b Astonished. ^c Great, big. ^d Terrible.

The

V. 691. The last, and, as it should seem, most favourite allusion of Rowley, because it is three times mentioned (see ver. 326, and in Ella, 627) is the *Hygra*, or, as it is vulgarly called, *the bore of the Severn*; which consists of a high wall of water, gradually accumulated from the strong influx of the Atlantick ocean into the Bristol channel, and contracted by the narrowing banks on each side, till at last it breaks with fury against them, and on the channel of the river. This phenomenon is so remarkable and peculiar to the Severn, that William of Malmfbury has thought it worthy his notice, and has described it as here represented:—"In eo quotidianus aquarum furor, quod, utrum voraginem vel vertiginem undarum dicam, nescio, fundo ab imo verrens arenas, & conglobans in cumulum cum impetu venit, nec ultra quam ad pontem pertendit; nonnunquam etiam ripas transcendit, & magnâ vi parte terræ circuitâ victor regreditur: infelix navis siquam a latere attigerit. nautæ certe gnari cum vident illam *Higram* (sic enim Anglice vocant) venire, navem obvertunt, & per medium secantes, violentiam ejus elidunt." Lib. iv. de Pontific, p. 283.

The object itself could not be borrowed from Homer, but the effect agrees with his description of storms beating upon the coast; and the following simile bears some resemblance to it.

Ὦς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυχῆϊ κύμα θαλάσσης
Ὅρνυτ' ἐπασσύτερον, Ζεφύρε ὑποκινήσαντ',
Ποντῷ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας
Κυρτὸν ἐὼν κορυφᾶται, ἀποπύει δ' ἀλὸς ἀχνην.

Il. Δ. v. 422.

As when the winds, ascending by degrees,
First move the whitening surface of the seas;
The billows float in order to the shore,
The wave behind rolls on the wave before;

The

The cleembe ^c reboundes to Wedcesters shore,
 And sweeps the black sande rounde its horie prow ^f;
 So bremie ^s Alfwoulde thro the warre dyd goe; 695
 Hys Kenters and Brystowans slew ech fyde,
 Betreinted ^h all alonge with bloudles foe,
 And seemd to swymm alonge with bloudie tyde;
 Fromme place to place besineard with bloud they went,
 And rounde aboute them swarthles ⁱ corse besprente ^k. 700

A famous Normanne who yclepd Aubene,
 Of skyll in bow, in tylte, and handesworde fyghte,
 That daie yn feelde han manie Saxons sleene,
 Forre hee in sothen ^l was a manne of myghte.

^c Noife. ^f Brow. ^s Furious. ^h Drenched. ⁱ Lifeless. ^k Scattered. ^l In truth.

Fyrste

Till with the growing storm the deep arise,
 From o'er the rocks, and thunder to the skies.

Pope, B. iv. v. 478.

Drayton has given a picturesque description of this hygra in the beginning of his seventh canto.

V. 701. A famous Norman called Aubene (but probably not the same person with De Aubignee, mentioned in the former poem, ver. 241. and said to have been slain by Ethelward) is here celebrated *for his skill* “in bow, in tylte, and handesworde fyghte”; three very considerable accomplishments of a warrior in those days; but when compared with Alfwold, the poet makes him only a man of straw. This is the last event recorded in the poem, which does not appear to be drawing to a conclusion: The death of Harold, that great prelude to the event of this decisive battle, and the victory obtained by the Norman army in consequence of it, are yet unsung. How much cause then have we to lament, that the same pen which has so classically adorned the recital of this engagement, should not have completed the poem, by describing the more important and interesting conclusion of that remarkable event!

The remarks on these two poems cannot be closed without taking notice of a circumstance in favour of their authenticity, which merits the reader's
 attention:

Next Eadlyn, Tatwyn, and fam'd Adelred,
Bie various causes funken to the dead.

710

But now to Alfwoulde he oppofynge went,
To whom compar'd hee was a man of ftreⁿ,
And wyth bothe hondes a mightie blowe he fente
At Alfwouldes head, as hard as hee could dree^o;

ⁿ *Straw.* ^o *Drive.*

But

Form.	Verse.	ROWLEY'S LIST.	HISTORIANS LIST.
1—375		De Broque,	{ Brok, <i>W. Wirceftre.</i>
1—391		Fitz Broque,	
2—472		De Clearmondes,	{ Cleremount, <i>Brompton.</i> Cleremaus, <i>B. A. R.</i>
2—596		Campynon,	
1—421		Du Chatelet,	Champaigne, Champeney, <i>B. A. R.</i>
1—543		Fitz Chatulet,	
1—341		Chatillion,	Chaffelein, <i>W. Wirceftre.</i>
2—321		Fitz Chivelloys,	
1—108		Douille Naibor,	Le Sire de Douilly, <i>Stowe and Fox.</i>
2—331		Fefcampe,	{ Pierre de Bailleul, Seigneur de Fifcamp, <i>Holl. Stowe, and Fox.</i>
1—443		Fifcampe,	
1—325		Fitz Botevilleine,	{ Botville, Bertevile, Bertevyley, <i>B. A. R.</i> Boutevillain, <i>Fox.</i> —Butevilein, <i>W. Wirceftre.</i> Botevilayn, <i>Wace.</i>
1—505		Fitz du Valle,	
2—49		Fitz du Gore,	Gover, Goverges, <i>B. A. R.</i>
2—34		Hugh Fitz Hugh,	Ditto, <i>B. A. R.</i> —Fizhu, <i>W. Wirceftre.</i>
1—531		Fitz Pierce,	Fitz Peres, <i>B. A. R.</i> —Fizpers, <i>W. Wirceftre.</i>
1—163		Fitz Port,	{ Le Sire de Port, <i>Stowe and Fox.</i> Chev. de Port, <i>Wace.</i>
1—231		Fitz Salnarville,	
1—426		Fitz Warren,	Le Sire de Salnarville, <i>Stowe and Fox.</i>
1—197		Auffroie de Griel,	Gul. de Garennes, <i>Holl. Stowe, and Fox.</i>
1—272		Hubert,	Greyle, <i>B. A. R.</i>
			{ Paenneldu Montier Hubert, <i>Holl. Fox, W. Wirceftre.</i> Hubert Robert, <i>Stowe.</i>

But on hys payncted sheelde fo bismarlie ^p 715
 Aslaunte ^q his swerde did go ynto the ground ;
 Then Alfwould him attack'd most furyouslie,
 Athrowe hys gaberdyne ^r hec dyd him wounde,

^p *Whimsically.* ^q *Slanting, or acrofs* ^r *Cloak.*

Then

Poem.	Verse.	ROWLEY'S LIST.	HISTORIANS LIST.
2—481	Hue de Longeville,	{	Le Seigneur de Longueville, <i>Holl.</i> Gualtier Guifart Comte de Longueville, <i>Stowe.</i> Gualtier Gifford Comte de Longueville, <i>Fox.</i>
1—526	De Laque,		Le Sire de Lacy, <i>Stowe.</i> —Lacy, <i>B. A. R.</i> —Lachy, <i>Holl.</i>
2—351	Du Mouline,	{	Guillaume des Moulins, <i>Holl. and Fox.</i> Moulinous, <i>Stowe.</i>
2—255	Neville,		Nevile, <i>B. A. R.</i>
2—341	Norcic,		Norice, <i>B. A. R.</i>
1—427	Partaic,	{	Le Vidam de Patays Seigneur de la Lande, <i>Holl.</i> Le Vidam de Partay, <i>Stowe and Fox.</i> Chevalier de Partou, <i>Wace.</i>
1—251	Pikeny,	{	Le Seigneur de Picquigny, <i>Holl.</i> —Pigigny, <i>Stowe.</i> Le Sire de Piquegny, <i>Fox.</i>
2—299	De Roe,		—— Ros, <i>B. A. R.</i>
1—113	Destoutville,	{	Seigneur Destouteville, <i>Holl. Stowe, and Fox.</i> Stoteville, <i>Wace.</i>
2— 51	Tancarville,	{	The Erle of Tanquerville, <i>Holl.</i> —Le Sire de Tan- kerville, <i>Stowe.</i> —Tancarville, <i>Fox.</i> —Tanchar- ville, <i>Wace.</i>
1—497	Sauncelotte,	{	Le Sire de Sanceaulx, <i>Stowe and Fox.</i> Le Sire de Sauncy, <i>Stowe.</i> —Sauncy, <i>B. A. R.</i>
1—278	De Torcie,	{	Le Seneschal de Torchy, <i>Holl. Stowe, and Fox.</i> Le Sire de Torchy, <i>Stowe and Fox.</i>
1—193	De Tracie,	{	Le Seigneur de Traffy, alias Tracy, <i>Holl.</i> Le Sire de Tracy, <i>Stowe, Wace, and Fox.</i>
2—488	Troyvillain,		Treville, <i>B. A. R.</i>
1—331	De Viponte,	{	Gul. de Vipont, <i>Holl.</i> —Vielz Pont, <i>Stowe.</i> —Viez Pont, <i>Fox.</i>
1—451	Walleri,	{	Le Seigneur de St. Walleri, <i>Holl. Wace, and Fox.</i> Le Sire de St. Walery. <i>Stowe.</i>

There

Then soone agayne hys swerde hee dyd upryne',
And clove his cresse and split hym to the eyne. 720

* * * * *

* *Uprise, or lift up.*

There is very little reason, therefore, for the objection started in a letter printed some years since in the St. James's Chronicle, which asserts that this list of Norman warriors was copied by Chatterton from that in Fox's book of Martyrs, which he says was taken from an incorrect edition of Tailleure's Norman Chronicle. As to Mr. Warton's objection to this evidence, "that any modern forger might have collected these names from the lists in the printed books," it would have some weight, if our poet's list corresponded with those of the historians, either in number, order, or spelling: But neither of these is the case; Rowley's list containing only forty-seven names, whereas Hollingshed's has above eight hundred. They do not follow in the same order; some of them are spelt alike, others differently; even the same names are differently spelt in Hollingshed's two lists. It may be inferred, therefore, either that the poet selected the names at his own pleasure from the history in general, or that he might follow some ancient record formerly extant, in which these names were particularly distinguished.—It is certainly a circumstance in favour of the authenticity of the poem, that the personages are real; though it would have been no objection to it, if the names, as well as many of the events therein mentioned, had been suggested only by the poet's imagination.

END OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS. N°. 2.

Æ L L A:

A

TRAGYCAL ENTERLUDE,

OR

DISCOORSEYNGE TRAGEDIE,

WROTENN BIE

THOMAS ROWLEIE;

PLAIEDD BEFORE

MASTRE CANYNGE,

ATTE HYS HOWSE NEMPTE THE RODDE LODGE;

[ALSOE BEFORE THE DUKE OF NORFOLCK,
JOHAN HOWARD.]

PERSONNES REPRESENTEDD.

ÆLLA, bie *Thomas Rowleic*, Preeſte, the Auſthoure.
CELMONDE, *Johan Iſcamm*, Preeſte.
HURRA, Syrr *Thybbotte Gorges*, Knyghte.
BIRTHA, Maſtre *Edwarde Canynge*.

Odherr Partes bie *Knyghtes Mynſtrells*.

THE

T H E

T R A G E D Y O F E L L A.

THE powers of Rowley's genius, as an epic or historical poet, have been displayed in the Battle of Hastings; which appears, both in its plan and conduct, to be a close imitation of Homer's battles: The ideas, characters, and allusions in it being borrowed immediately from the Iliad, and not from any of its translators. But, whatever claim might have been made in favour of Chatterton as the author, founded either on his own unsupported and improbable assertion, or on the supposed possibility of his writing these two poems, assisted by Mr. Pope's translation; no plea of this kind can be urged with regard to any other poem in the collection; and least of all to the dramatic works, or the Tragedy of Ella; which required not only an elevation of poetic genius far superior to that possessed by Chatterton, but also such moral and mental qualifications, as never entered into any part of his character or conduct, and which could not possibly be acquired by a youth of his age and inexperience; I mean, that knowledge and judgment which arises from a proper observation of times, of men, and of manners; from an extensive communication with persons of improved knowledge and experience;

ence; and from such an acquaintance with literature, as can only be obtained by much reading and deep reflection.

This knowledge, and the power of applying it judiciously, must be essentially necessary to any forger of poems, who should attempt to dress them up in a style different from that of the age in which they were produced.—It is not in the power of nature or genius to confer this knowledge; it can only be acquired by time and experience, together with particular circumstances of rank and situation in life.

In the instance before us, Ella is stiled *A Tragical Enterlude*, or a *Discourseyng Tragedie*, written by a priest in the fifteenth century, at a time when tragedies, so called, were nothing more than ballads, without either dialogue or plot, and incapable of representation. The improvement of this plan consisted in making the persons concerned *discourse* for themselves, with the addition of a plot; and causing the action represented to be *really performed* by the party, which in former tragedies was only *said* to be done. The qualities necessary to give grace and beauty to such a representation were—simplicity of idea, sentiment, and expression—natural and obvious images—moral turns and applications, suitable to, and naturally arising from, the subject.—In the dialogue, simplicity without the critical refinements of the modern age—no regular proportion in the length of the speeches—the *dramatis personæ* not numerous—no unnecessary under-character—the part of each obviously marked by the uniformity of their respective speeches and conduct—the plot simple, and inartificially opened in an early part of the play—no complicated contrivance to bring about the catastrophe, which should flow naturally from the principles and conduct of those who are to produce it—the whole should rather be sparing, than too much abounding in events—not too busy in action, nor admitting too great a variety—the principal object of the play should be steadily and uniformly pursued, and the catastrophe unhappy.

Such

Such are the characteristics of the Greek tragedians, who first formed the songs of the poets at the Dionysia into real dramatic performances; and they were more particularly attentive, that the Chorus, which was the old Ode or Poem, and (to please the people) was preserved as part of the Tragedy, should continue to breathe useful, moral, and virtuous sentiments, which the poet with great art contrived to draw out, and apply to the particular circumstances of the characters brought forward on the stage. Many of these are the simple effects of nature, and some of art; of which the most remarkable was, announcing the catastrophe to the audience by an eye-witness, or messenger, and not exhibiting it *coram populo*. This was a refinement of the Athenian poet, who probably consulted the feelings of his audience, more than the impulse and directions of nature: An unhappy catastrophe was generally chosen by them, as best suited to produce a powerful effect on the mind, and therefore preferred, by the great master of the art of poetry, to that in the other extreme.

If the Tragedy of Ella be examined by these rules, it will be found to agree with them almost in every instance—The simplicity, the unity, the moral intent, are too striking not to affect the reader upon the first perusal: A more critical examination of its several parts will justify the conclusion, that it is an *original piece*, written (as it is said to be) at a very early period, when the advances towards poetical perfection in this country were slow and distant. It will appear to be imitative in those parts and points *only*, where the uniformity of nature, and of the thoughts of men in the most distant ages or countries, will reconcile the resemblance: It will be found original in its plot, its character, and events; and the Songs of the Minstrels may be adduced in proof of the moral and pure sentiment of the author.

To this claim of originality, is opposed that of a youth of the age of sixteen, born and bred in indigence, newly discharged from a school, where the intention of the establishment was fully satisfied with reading and writing well. A youth, who spent the

greatest part of his leisure time with company of the same age and principles with himself, admitted to no library, known to or encouraged by no men of learning, but left to struggle, in his way to letters, through difficulties, greater perhaps than have ever been opposed to any genius in this country. The poetical compositions with which he was acquainted, could be only such as fell in the way of a youth so circumstanced; he might have seen Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Pope, and other modern poets; but he had no time to bestow on the study of their beauties: He might also have seen plays represented on the Bristol theatre;—but could the complicated plots of Hamlet and Macbeth have suggested to him one of so pure and simple a form as that of Ella?—Could the latitude of time, and variety of events in the historical plays of Shakespear, have taught him to confine the wildness of that great dramatic poet within the rules of Aristotle, of whom he knew nothing but the name? Could the modern plays suggest to him plans of the purest simplicity? Or where could he learn the nice rules of the Interlude, by the introduction of a Chorus, and the application of their songs to the moral and virtuous object of the performance; still preserving the propriety of their introduction, at the time and in the place where they appear? Could the most experienced critic, apprized of the difficulties which such a forgery required, have succeeded so well in it? And, what is still more wonderful, could an uninformed and illiterate genius have so placed himself with respect to nature, and to the progressive state of learning in a preceding age, as to produce a performance, in invention and description, in language and manner, the same as would have been composed by a person living in that age, without blundering, or indeed forgetting that it was not to be considered as his own? Such attentions were most unlikely to be found in Chatterton, whose genius could not stoop to these minutiae, and whose turn of mind was incapable of pursuing that principle, which pervades these poems; viz. *the improvement of the human mind, by inculcating the precepts of morality.*

morality. Is there a picture more striking to the moralist, than the death of Celmond—the virtue of Birtha, expressed in her pious and charitable wish for Celmond's future fame—or the conduct of Hurra, who, in the pursuit of a barbarous resolution, feels generously for a distressed female; checks his own resentment; prevents the bloody design of his comrades, and restores to the arms of his enemy, his wife—the chaste but unhappy Birtha?

The struggle between Celmond and Birtha afforded, to a warm imagination, the opportunity of indulging his fancy. Poets more chaste and less profligate than Chatterton, have fallen into such snares: But here the idea is not enlarged upon; not a line, nor even a word is introduced, that can offend the most delicate ear: The very apprehension of it is anticipated by Celmond's threat, which, forcing a scream from Birtha, procures her instant deliverance.

It is also a remarkable circumstance in these poems, especially in the dramatic compositions, that we find no exuberance or flight of fancy, no wild or enthusiastic digression on general and favourite topics, such as courage, liberty, patriotism; in which a young and untutored genius would be very apt to indulge his imagination. The sentiments and hints are short and instructive, the conclusions are drawn from facts, the replies are pertinent, and the assent to them is confirmed more by immediate action, than by a long studious harangue about them—a fault often to be found in the modern poets, especially in their tragedies, even upon the most trite and common topics.

Besides the Entroductionne, which serves as a prologue to this tragedy, the two poetic epistles prefixed to it, and addressed to Mr. Canning, contain specimens of the author's abilities in judicious criticism and pleasant raillery; in neither of which does he appear at all inferior to Mr. Pope, and (allowing for the

difference in language and phraseology) not unlike him in the style of his Epistles and Satires. The former of these letters, professed to be written on the subject of *Ella*, was sent as a *Lettre*, to recommend the tragedy to Mr. Canning's approbation; wherein he points out the origin, use, and beauty of poetry, justly lamenting the degenerate and insipid state to which it was reduced in his time.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE TO MASTRE CANYNGE ON ÆLLA.

TYS songe bie mynstrelles, thatte yn auntyent tym,
Whan Reasonn hylt ^a herselfe in cloudes of nyghte,
The preefte delyvered alle the lege ^b yn rhym ;
Lyche peyncted ^c tyltynge speares to please the syghte,

^a Hid, concealed. ^b Law. ^c Painted.

The

V. 1. If it be asked what minstrels the poet here alludes to, it will hardly be supposed that he means those of our own country; they did not usually mention such remote facts of learned history. It is therefore more probable, that he borrowed his ideas from a more classical author, and that he had Horace in his eye, when he penned these lines; by whom we are informed, that the ancient Greek laws were written in verse, and that Orpheus was a priest, a lawgiver, and a poet.

Silvestres homines *facer interpretæ deorum*
Cædibus et victu fædo deterruit *Orpheus*;
Dicitur ob hoc lenire tigres, rabidosque leones.
Dicitur et Amphion Thebææ conditor arcis,
Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blandâ
Ducere quo vellet; fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis;
Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis,
Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno;
Sic honor et nomen *divinis vatibus* atque
Carminibus venit, &c.

De Arte Poet, v. 391.

If Rowley meant to speak of more minstrels than one, Aristophanes has the best claim to a distinction, for to him Horace was indebted for the whole passage: See his *Ranæ*, v. 163.

V. 3. The comparison between the *law delivered in rime*, and the painted tylting spears, is an original, and undoubtedly a very ancient idea. The former was
calculated

The whyche yn yttes felle ^d use doe make moke ^e dere ^f, 5
 Syke dyd their auntyante lee ^g deftlic ^h delyghte the eare.

Perchaunce yn Vyrtues gare ⁱ rhym mote bee thenne,
 Butte efte ^k nowe flyeth to the odher fyde ;
 In hallie ^l preeſte apperes the ribaudes ^m penne,
 Inne lithie ⁿ moncke apperes the barronnes pryde : 10
 But rhym wythe ſomme, as nedere ^o widhout teethe,
 Make pleaſaunce to the ſenſe, botte maie do lyttel ſcathe ^p.

Syr Johne, a knyghte, who hath a barne of lore ^q,
 Kenns ^r Latyn att fyrſt ſyghte from Frenche or Greke,
 Pyghtethe ^s hys knowlachynge ^t ten yeres or more, 15
 To ryngge ^u upon the Latynne worde to ſpeke.

^d Bad. ^e Much. ^f Hurt, damage. ^g Song. ^h Sweetly, rather agreeably.
ⁱ Cauſe. ^k Oft. ^l Holy. ^m Rake, lewd perſon. ⁿ Humble, rather gentle.
^o Adder. ^p Hurt, damage. ^q Learning. ^r Knows. ^s Plucks or tortures, *itches*.
^t Knowledge. ^u *Poring*.

Whoever

calculated to charm the ear, as the latter was to pleaſe the eye ; but the ſeverity or *fell uſe* of both was attended with very diſagreeable conſequences to thoſe who offended againſt either.

V. 11. This may be ſuppoſed to form the poet's apology for the ridicule contained in the following lines, and to imply that he meant only to amuſe his friend Canning, without prejudicing the reputation or character of the perſons here repreſented, ſuppoſing them to be real.

V. 13. Sir John, a pedantic knight, is ſatyriſed for his ſuperficial knowledge and affected love of the learned languages.

V. 15. *Pyghtethe hys knowlachynge*, may ſignify *he itches, or ſtakes the credit of his learning* on his knowledge of the Latin word.—The following line wants ſome correction to make it ſenſe, and the alteration of one letter will ſerve the purpoſe ; inſtead of *To ryngge*, read

Poring upon the Latynne worde to ſpeke.

Whoever spekethe Englysch ys despyfed,
The Englysch hym to please moſte fyrſte be latynized.

Vevyan, a moncke, a good requiem ^x ſynges ;
Can preache ſo wele, eche hynde ^y hys meneynge knowes ;
Albeytte theſe gode guyfts awaie he flynges, 21
Beeynge as badde yn veaſe as goode yn profe:
Hee ſynges of ſeynctes who dyed for yer Godde,
Everych wynter nyghte afreſche he ſheddes theyr blodde.

To maydens, huſwyfes, and unlored ^a dames, 25
Hee redes hys tales of merrymment & woe.
Loughe ^b loudlie dynneth ^c from the dolte ^d adrames ^e ;
He ſwelles on laudes ^f of fooles, tho' kennes ^g hem foe.
Sommetyme at tragedie theie laughe and ſynge,
At merrie yaped ^h fage ⁱ fomme hard-drayned water brynge.

Yette Vevyan ys ne foole, beynde ^k hys lynes. 31
Geofroie makes veaſe, as handycraftes theyr ware ;
Wordes wythoute ſenſe fulle groffſyngelye ^l he twynes,
Cotteynge hys ſtorie off as wythe a ſheere ;

^x A ſervice uſed over the dead. ^y Peaſant. ^a Unlearned. ^b Laugh, *rather laughter*. ^c Sounds. ^d Fooliſh, *or ſtupid*. ^e Churls, *rather dreamers*. ^f Praises. ^g Knows. ^h Laughable. ⁱ Tale, jeſt. ^k Beyond. ^l Fooliſhly, *coarſely, vulgarly*.

Waytes

V. 19. Vevyan, a Monk, is ridiculed for miſtaking his abilities, neglecting the duties of his profeſſion wherein he excelled, in order to amuſe old women and peaſants with the rehearſal of doleful ditties (the tragedies of thoſe days) on the martyrdom of the ſaints ; and nothing can be more original, or humorous, than the deſcription of this Monk and his audience.

V. 24. The word *and* muſt be prefixed to this line, to compleat both the ſenſe and the metre.

V. 32. Jeoffroi is pointed out as a tedious compoſer of inſipid tales. It may be thought an injuſtice done both to Chaucer and Rowley, to ſuppoſe that the fa-
ther

Waytes monthes on nothyng, & hys storie donne, 35
 Ne moe you from ytte kenn, than gyf ^m you neere begonne.

Enowe of odhers ; of myselfe to write,
 Requyryng what I doe notte nowe possesse,
 To you I leave the taske ; I kenne your myghte
 Wyll make mie faultes, mie meynⁿ of faultes, be lesse. 40
 ÆLLA wythe thys I sende, and hope that you
 Wyll from ytte caste awaie, whatte lynes maie be untrue.

^m If. ⁿ Many.

Playes

ther of our English poetry was designed under this name and character ; and yet it seems by no means improbable, that a writer, whose ideas were so sublime and elegant, might not relish the tedious and uninteresting relation of Chaucer's tales : This supposition is rendered still more probable, by the Christian name of Chaucer being used on the occasion, and by Milton's allusion, in his *Penferoso*, to this circumstance, so particularly pointed out by our poet ; viz. the abrupt conclusion of the *Squire's Tale* ; which Milton thus describes :

Or call him up, that left half told
 The story of Cambuscan bold.

If so grave a poet as Milton amused himself by reflecting on this buskin'd tale, why should it be thought unlikely, that Rowley should take notice of it ? especially when he was censuring a false taste, both in learning and poetry ; and notwithstanding he is said, in the printed memoirs of Canning, to have been such an admirer of Chaucer's poetry, that it prevented him from reading his own with pleasure ; (a confession which was well suited to Rowley's modesty,) yet the nicest observer will scarcely discover a feature of similitude between the two poets. In fact, we trace Rowley's ideas in no other author except the inspired writers, and in the Greek and Latin classics. He neither imitates the preceding, nor his contemporary English poets ; and those who lived since his time could not borrow from his works, which for three centuries together were buried in Redcliff church.

The superiority of Rowley's ideas and judgment are exemplified in his observations at the close of this epistle, alluding to a species of dramatical representations, which, under the title of "Mysteries and Miracles," had been exhibited during three preceding centuries, by Monks and Friars, for the amusement and instruction of the populace : The subject of them was generally scripture history, or legends of
 the

Playes made from hallie ° tales I holde unmeete ;
 Lette somme greate storie of a manne be songe ;
 Whanne, as a manne, we Godde and Jesus treate, 45
 In mie pore mynde, we doe the Godhedde wronge.
 Botte lette ne wordes, whyche drooric ° mote ne heare,
 Bee placed yn the fame. Adieu untylle anere °.

THOMAS ROWLEIE.

° Holy. ° Strange perversion of words. *Drooric* in its ancient signification stood for *medesjy*. ° Another.

the saints. The Grey Friars of Coventry excelled in this kind of representation ; two specimens of which appear in Stevens's Supplement to Dugdale's Monast. vol. i. p. 139 ; one called *Ludus Coventriæ*, or the play of Corpus Christi ; the other representing part of the Bible history, wherein Adam and Eve, Noah and the Patriarchs, even God himself, are made the *dramatis personæ*. One of the earliest and most magnificent representations of this kind, was exhibited by the English bishops at Constance, in 1417, to testify their joy on the Emperor Sigismund's return to that council :—" Les Anglois, (as L'Enfant observes,) se signalèrent entre les autres par une spectacle nouveau, ou au moins inusité jusque alors en Allemagne : Ce fut une comédie sacre, que les Evêques Anglois firent représenter devant L'Emperour le Dimanche 31 de Janvier, sur la naissance du Sauveur, sur l'arrivée des mages, & sur le massacre des innocens." P. 440.

This piece was most probably performed in Latin ; and it seems as if the term *Comedy* was then applied to serious scriptural representations, as Dante's poems were called the *Comedy of Hell, of Purgatory, &c.* L'Enfant observes also, that the first profane or classical comedy produced in Germany, was exhibited by Reuchlin, at Heidelberg, anno 1497.

The gross absurdity of these scriptural comedies, could not but give offence to the classical taste of Rowley ; and they are also touched upon with some humour by Ludovicus Vives, in his Comment. on St. Augustin de Civ. Dei. lib. viii. cap. 27 ; who having lived some time in England, had probably seen the absurdity of some of these representations. As he died in 1536, he was not much posterior, either in his age, or sentiments on this subject to Rowley ; who was not only the first to condemn them, but also to produce a tragedy written on the plan which he recommends in this epistle ; and, on supposition of its being genuine, is acknowledged by Mr. Warton to be the most ancient regular drama extant in the English language.

LETTER TO THE DYGNE MASTRE CANYNGE.

S TRAUNGE dome ytte ys, that, yn these daies of oures,
 Nete ^a butte a bare recytalle can hav place;
 Nowe shapelie poesie haft losse yttes powers,
 And pynant hystorie ys onlie grace;
 Heie ^b pycke up wolfsome ^c weedes, ynstedde of flowers, 5
 And famylies, ynstedde of wytte, theie trace;
 Nowe poesie canne meete wythe ne regrate ^d,
 Whylste prose, & herehaughtrie ^e, ryse yn estate.

^a Nought. ^b They. ^c Loathsome. ^d Esteem. ^e Heraldry.

Lette

This Letter, addressed to the *dygne Mastre Canynge*, seems prefixed to *Ella* without sufficient authority; for it has no apparent connection with the subject of that tragedy; nor is it probable that Rowley would address two poetic epistles to his friend on the same subject: It might have accompanied some other poem presented to his patron, which, by the tenor of the letter, should seem to have been rather of the historic than dramatic kind; for he connects the cause of History with that of Poetry, considering them under one united view, and attributing the neglect and decline of poetry, to the predominant passion for heraldry and pedigrees.

Nowe poesie canne meete wythe ne regrate,

Whylste prose, and herehaughtrie, ryse yn estate. V. 7.

He laments the fate of History, at that time dwindled into a dry recital of uninteresting events, such as usually composed the Chronicles of those times—and thus far every reader will approve the poet's censure; but his love for invention, so distinctly marked in all his works, takes a bold step in this Letter, wherein he professes himself more concerned for the *graces*, than for the *truth* of history; ridiculing those wise *greybarbes* (as he calls them) who demand the authority of ancient writers for the authentication of historical facts; such as Asse, Ingulf, Turgot,

Lette kynges, & rulers, whan heie gayne a throne,
 Shewe whatt theyre grandfieres, & great granfieres bore, 10
 Emarſchalled armes, yatte, ne before theyre owne,
 Now raung'd wythe whatt yeir fadres han before ;
 Lette trades, & toune folck, lett fyke ^f thynges alone,
 Ne fyghte for fable yn a felde of aure ^g;
 Seldomm, or never, are armes vyrtues mede^h, 15
 Shee nillynge ⁱ to take myckle ^k aie dothe hede.

A man aſcaunſe ^l upponn a piece maye looke,
 And ſhake hys hedde to ſtyrre hys rede ^m aboute ;
 Quod he, gyf I aſkaunted ⁿ oere thys booke,
 Schulde fynde thereyn that trouthe ys left wythoute ; 20
 Eke, gyf ^o ynto a vew percaſe ^p I tooke
 The long beade-rolle of al the wrytynge route,

^f Such. ^g Or, in heraldry. ^h Reward. ⁱ Unwilling. ^k Much.
^l Obliquely. ^m Wiſdom, council. ⁿ Glanced. ^o If. ^p Perchance.

Aſſerius,

Turgot, and Bede, whom he very undeſervedly and contemptuouſly points out under the character of

The long beade-rolle of al the wrytynge route ; (v. 22.)
 nor is he aſhamed openly to avow, that he and his friend Canning ſometimes gave a looſe rein to their poetic ſteed, and diſdaining to be chained to one paſture, interſperſed their facts with poetic fiction ; cleaning them from old ruſt (as he calls it) and making them wear a new and different face ; or, to ſpeak in his own words,

Soared above the truth of hiſtory. V. 40.

This declaration appears like an apology for the Battle of Haſtings ; which, altho' founded in true hiſtory, and illuſtrated with ſome authentic facts from ancient writers, contains alſo many others, which are the ſole production of the poet's fancy ; it being profeſſedly his deſign to pleaſe his patron's ear, who ſtudied ſenſe more than language, and preferred *dygne and wordie thoughts* to the fetters of metre and the jingling of rhyme.

V. 18. This is not unlike the deſcription of Sidrophel in Hudibras ;

Who having three times ſhook his head,
 To ſtir his wit up, thus he ſaid.

Afferius, Ingolphus, Torgotte, Bedde,
Thorow hem ^a al nete lyche ytte I coulde rede.—

Pardon, yee Graiebarbes ^r, gyff I saie, onwife 25
Yee are, to flycke so close & bysmarelie ^s
To hystorie; you doe ytte tooe moche pryze,
Whyche amenused ^t thoughtes of poesie;
Somme drybblette ^u share you shoulde to yatte ^x alyse ^v,
Nott makynge everyche thyng bee hystorie; 30
Instedde of mountynge onn a wynged horse,
You onn a rouncey ^z dryve yn dolefull course.

Cannyng & I from common course dyffente;
Wee ryde the stede, botte yev to hym the reene;
Ne wylle betweene crased molterynge bookes be pente, 35
Botte soare on hyghe, & yn the sonne-bemes sheene;
And where wee kenn somme ihad ^a floures besprente,
We take ytte, & from oulde rousste doe ytte clene;
Wee wylle ne cheynedd to one pasture bee,
Botte sometymes soare 'bove trouthe of hystorie. 40

^s Them. ^r Greybeards. ^a Curiously, *capriciously*. ^t Lessened. ^u Small.

^x That. ^v Allow. ^z Cart-horse, *Hackney-horse*. ^a Broken, *scattered*.

Saie,

Ben Johnson has also a similar expression in the comedy of “Every Man in his Humour:”—“Edward Knowell.—’Slight, he shakes his head like a bottle, to “feel an’ there be any brain in it.” Act iv. Scene 2.—But it does not follow that these are plagiarisms either from Johnson or Butler; for the idea connected with the action, like others annexed to various gestures of the body, is founded in nature, and established by ancient and general custom, and therefore at all times open to every man’s observation.

V. 37. *Ihad* means *scattered* or *separated*, not *broken*, which would be an improper epithet in this passage. Mr. Warton has quoted a line from Robert le Brunne, in which the word *shad* occurs; and adds, *shad is separated*. vol. i. p. 166.

Saie, Canynge, whatt was vearfe yn daies of yore ?
 Fyne thoughtes, and couplettes fetyvelie ^b bewryen ^c,
 Notte fyke as doe annoie thys age so fore,
 A keppened ^d poyntelle ^e restynge at eche lyne.
 Vearfe maie be goode, botte poesie wantes more, 45
 An onlist ^f lecturn ^g, and a songe adygne ^h;
 Accordynge to the rule I have thys wroughte,
 Gyff ytt please Canynge, I care notte a groate.

The thyng yttself moſte bee yttes owne deſenſe;
 Som metre maie notte pleaſe a womannes ear. 50
 Canynge lookes notte for poeſie, botte ſenſe;
 And dygne, & wordie thoughtes, ys all hys care.
 Canynge, adieu! I do you greete from hence;
 Full ſoone I hope to taſte of your good cheere;
 Goode Byſhoppe Carpynter dyd byd mee ſaie, 55
 Hee wyſche you healthe and ſelineſſe for aie.

T. ROWLEIE.

^b Elegantly. ^c Declared, expreſſed, *displayed*. ^d *Studied*. ^e A pen, uſed metaphorically, as a muſe or genius. ^f Boundleſs. ^g Subject, *lecture*. ^h Nervous, worthy of praiſe.

V. 42. It ſhould ſeem by this obſervation, that our more ancient poetry was compoſed in couplets, which probably is true; to which is oppoſed

The *keppened* poyntelle reſtynge at eche line;

meaning the dull and careful poet (*kepen* ſignifying to take *care*) who made his ſenſe terminate with each verſe, inſtead of extending it to

An onliſt lecturn, or a ſonge adygne;

that is to ſay, a boundleſs or extenſive ſubject, properly dignified by good poetry.

V. 50. It may be thought a wild conjecture, to ſuppoſe this line had a particular view, and was meant as an apology to Canning's wife for his poems on the Battle of Haſtings, a ſubject ſo little intereſting or agreeable to a female reader. But the conjecture will be candidly excuſed, though it ſhould not be approved.

V. 55. From the manner in which Biſhop Carpenter is mentioned at the cloſe

of this letter, we may conclude that it was written from Westbury, the favourite retirement and burial-place of that Bishop, and which he honoured by adding its name to his episcopal titles; styling himself Bishop of Worcester and Westbury. Though it is reasonable to suppose that the friend of Canning might have passed some time with the good bishop at this place, yet it is highly improbable that Chatterton should have been acquainted with that circumstance, or have applied his art and attention to introduce it into the poem, merely to give an air of plausibility to the account.

John Carpenter was made Bishop of Worcester in 1443. He is said, by some, to have resigned his see: However that be, he spent a great part of his time at Westbury, from which place there is an instrument in the Episcopal Register at Exeter, bearing date July 29th 1474: The time of his death is uncertain, but it appears by his Register, that he consecrated a chapel contiguous to his cathedral church, on the 8th of June 1476, at which time his Register ends: He is therefore supposed to have died soon after. Bishop Alcock, his successor, was appointed in 1477. Though Bishop Carpenter died at Northwich in Worcestershire, yet he was buried at Westbury, where he enlarged, and partly rebuilt the college, founding a chapel there for six priests and as many almsmen: Some further mention will be made of him in the observations upon the poem on our Lady's Church.

TRAGEDY OF ELLA.

THE title-page to *Ella* will furnish another argument in favour of its authenticity ; for it is stiled a *Discoorseynge Tragedie*, directing us to the æra when the rhythmical tales, (before called Tragedies) first assumed a regular dramatic form. That name had been usually given to ballads and interludes composed on melancholy subjects ; such as *Chevy Chase*, the *Battle of Otterburn*, and some of Chaucer's *Historical Tales* ; to which may be added, the *History of Sir Charles Bawdin*, expressly called a Tragedy by its author. On the other hand, merry historical tales in verse were stiled *Comedies* ; and, by the preceding quotation from *L'Enfant* and *Dante*, it seems that sacred histories, dramatically represented, were also called by that name. Chaucer is celebrated by his friend *Lidgate*, for his compositions in both kinds :

My Master Chaucer with fresh *Comedies*,
Is dead, alas ! cheif poet of Britaine,
That whilom made ful piteous *Tragedies*.

And indeed Chaucer himself gives this definition of the word :

Tragedy is to tell a certain story,
As old bokis makin ofte memory
Of hem that stode in grete prosperite,
And be fallen out of her high degree.

Prol. to *Monks Tale*.

Of such tragedies as these his Monk says,
—— he had an hundred in his cell.

and

and the name was continued to this kind of poetry so late as the 16th century.

In those ancient tragical interludes, though several persons were introduced, yet the story was generally told by the poet only. Lidgate has given a curious description of a man rehearsing one of these ancient Tragedies (as they were then called).

And this was tolde and redde by the poete :
 And while that he in the pulpet stode,
 With deadlye facè, all devoyd of blode,
 Syngynge his dities with tressles al to rent,
 Amydde the theatre, shrowded in a tent,
 There came out men, gafffull of their cheres,
 Disfygured their faces with vyseres,
 Playing by fygnès in the people's fyght,
 That the poete songe hath on height:
 So that there was no maner discourdaunce,
 Atween his dities and their countenaunce.
 For lyke as he aloftè dyd expresse,
 Wordes of joyè or of hevinessè,
 So craftely they could them transfygure.

Lidgate's *Siege of Troy*, Book ii. Chap. 10. and Warton's
Hist. of Ancient Poetry, vol. ii. p. 94.

This description is very suitable to the account before given of Vevyan the poet, in the Epistle to Canning; but in the *Dis-corsfyng Tragedie* (which was an improvement of the drama) each person spoke his speech, and acted his part, without any apparent interposition of the poet.

This Tragedy is said to have been *plaiedd before Mastre Canynge* (and perhaps by his request) *atte hys howse nemyte the Rodde Lodge*, probably so called from its vicinity to *Redeliff* church, and from the colour of the rock on which both were built. The name and situation of this house could not have been the invention of
 Chatterton.

Chatterton; for it is called, in some unpublished papers of Rowley, relating to Canning's life, *the Redd lodge*, and said to be situated "in Redcliff-street, not far from the church, where he entertained Edward the IVth, and accompanied him from thence on the water, when he visited Bristol, in the first year of his reign." But as this testimony may be thought equally suspicious with the tragedy itself, we may further appeal to the uncontroverted evidence of William de Wircestre; who, describing the walls and towers which surrounded Bristol, thus speaks of Canning's house or tower.

"Memorandum.—In mansione pulcherrimâ de le Bak ex posteriore parte de Radclyf-strete, super aquam de Avyn est pulcher Turris per Willelmum Cannyngis ædificata; continet 4 fenestras vocatas Bay windowes ornatissimo modo cum cameris; continet circa 20 virgas, in longitudine 16 virgas." p. 254.

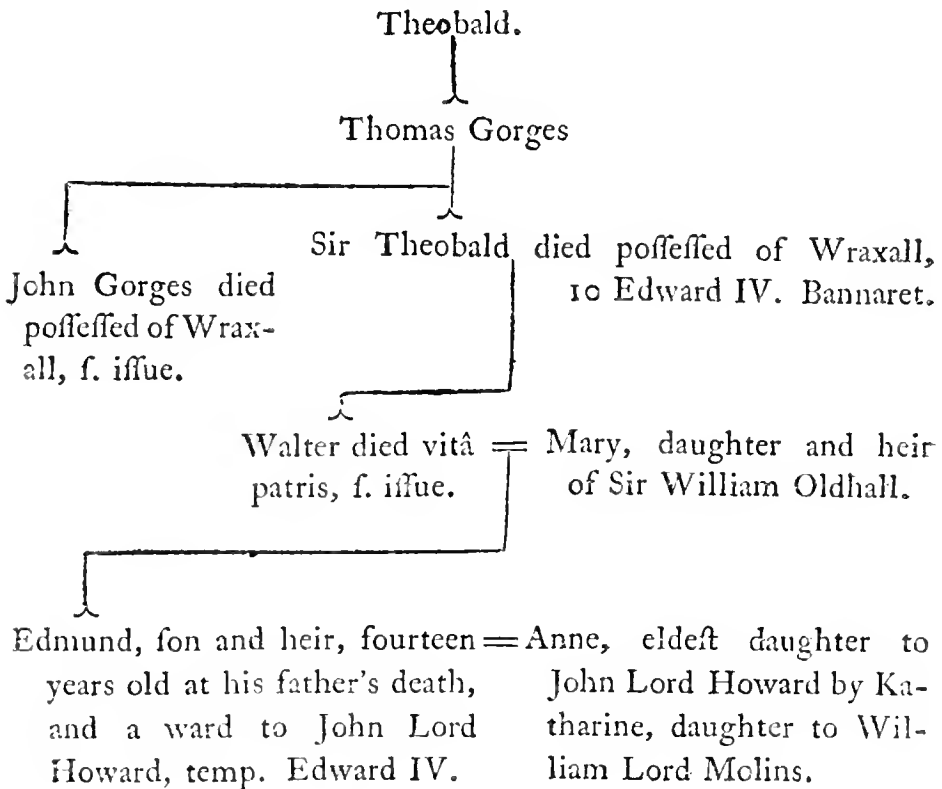
The site and property of the house is also ascertained by several authentic deeds of conveyance relating to it, in Mr. Barrett's possession.

The play was represented a second time *before Johan Howard Duke of Norfolk*. This part of the title, by being printed between crotchets, might be suspected as a modern addition; but Mr. Catcot, who furnished the copy from which the play was printed, says that it is all written in Chatterton's hand, and apparently at the same time. A very probable reason, however, may be assigned for the presence of the Duke of Norfolk at this representation. He was a man of great weight and credit in the three successive reigns of Henry the VIth, Edward the IVth, and Richard the IIIrd; by the last of whom he was created Duke of Norfolk in 1483, and was slain fighting with his master at the Battle of Bosworth. Whilst he was only John Lord Howard, in the tenth year of Edward the IVth, he became guardian to Sir Edmund Gorges, grandson and heir of Sir Theobald Gorges, who died that year: In consequence of this connection, Sir Edmund afterwards married Anne, the eldest daughter of that nobleman,

by Katherine, daughter of William Lord Molins*. As Sir Theobald had acted a part in this tragedy, and probably distinguished himself on the occasion, it is not improbable that Sir Edmund, his grandson, might have had a share in the second representation, and that his father-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk, might be present to do honour to his performance; which consequently must have been exhibited between the years 1483 and 1485.

The pedigree of Gorges, in the Heralds-office, will explain this alliance more satisfactorily.

Theobald, younger son of Theobald Russell, married an heiress of Gorges, and took that name.



* Dugd. Bar. vol. ii. page 267.

It may be objected, that if this part of the title was written subsequent to the creation of the Duke of Norfolk in 1483, how could the tragedy have been deposited with Rowley's other papers in Redcliff church, by Canning, who died in 1474? But is it necessary to suppose that Canning's papers were lodged there before his death, or indeed to define the exact period of that deposit? It might be accounted for in this manner:—William de Wircestre, about the year 1480, speaks of some public works performed by the executors of Canning, in pursuance of his will; viz. a fountain of freestone near St. Peter's church, *noviter erectum & fundatum de bonis Willelmi Canynge*; and an hospital in Lewen's Mead, erected *de bonis Willelmi Canynge, Decani Collegii de Westbury, circa annum 1478*. These works could not have been finished, and the accounts of the executors who completed them finally lodged in Redcliff church, till several years after Canning's death: Might not then Rowley's papers be deposited at the same time as Canning's, and with them a later copy, or at least a later title to the same copy of the play?

The persons concerned in this tragedy are numerous; viz. the Priest, Egwine, Coernyke, soldiers, and minstrels; besides the dramatis personæ, under the title of the *Personnes representedd*, who are only four, viz. Ella, *bie Thomas Roweie, Preeſte, the auſthoure*; Celmonde, *bie Johan Iſcamm, the poet*, who is here stiled *preeſte*; Hurra *bie Syrr Thybbotte Gorges, knyghte*; and Birtha *bie Maſtre Edwarde Canynge*, who seems, by the female part assigned to him, to have been a youth, and probably a relation of William Canning, before whom the play was represented. No actor's name is assigned to the character of Magnus, though he bears so considerable a part in the play.

The three first-mentioned actors were the intimate and convivial friends of Canning. As to Iſcamm, we must refer to Rowley for his character; who says of him, in his "List of "skilfulde Painters and Carvellers,"

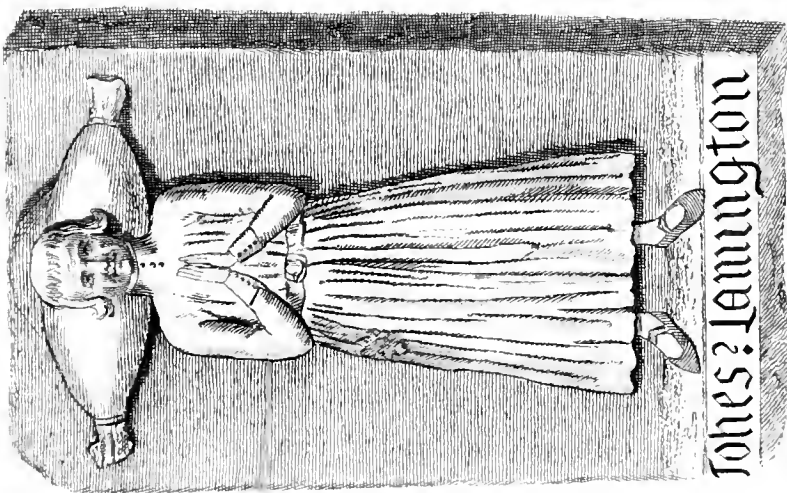
"John Iſcamme now liveth, a poet good;"

and in his Emendals, or notes on Turgot's History of Bristol, (a manuscript in Mr. Barrett's hands) he quotes two copies of his verses, the former of which relates to Lamington the pirate; of whom he gives the following account:

“ Johannes Laymyngetone, Esquier, was of the famylie of the
 “ Fitz-Bernards, and by comaund of Kynge Henrie, when prynce,
 “ employed in honourable fervitude; but hee yspent so fast, that
 “ he wasted one hundrede markes a yeere, and then token evyl
 “ corfes: He was discovered, and put in warde, beyng condemned
 “ to die, but was pardoned by the Kynge, and made a banyshde
 “ man; nevertheless, he staid in Englande, and plaied his former
 “ knaveries: Thus, as aforesayd, beyng agayne taken, he was
 “ agayne condemned, but Kynge Henrie dyd him pardon, but
 “ withaul requested him to lead a godlie life, and reere the
 “ chyrchs of ouer Ladie, founded by Syr Symon de Burton, (as yee
 “ maie see at large in mie Rolle calde Vita de Simon de Burtonne)
 “ the spyre of which was sunken down and all in rewin; but he was
 “ not quyck in dispaytch of the same; whereupon Kynge Henrie
 “ sayd, that unless he dyd sette thereabowte swotelie, he should
 “ dyen algate the release: This make him fore adradde, and est-
 “ soon he pulled downe Burtonnes chyrche even to the grownde;
 “ but lefte the chamber of oure Ladie, ybuylden by his cognome-
 “ sake *Lamington*, ycleped Lamingtons ladies chamber, stande
 “ secure, saying aftertymes maie think ytt mie warke, if I dyen
 “ before this is edone; thinkeynge to possels the renome of another,
 “ who was a good man, *and a preeße*—But havynge pulled downe
 “ he was in ne haste to buyld up agayne, complaynyng ne stone
 “ of large shape was to be ygotten; and at laste, havynge stone, he
 “ buylden, and then pulled down, till the Yorkyfts beganne to be
 “ at warre; then lefte he the chyrch, of which was onlie ybuilden
 “ a wall three elles in heyght and three in lengeth, of so sleighte
 “ a warke, that a man mighte pushe the same downe with eise:
 “ Hee goeynge to the Yorkyftes was sleyne in battel, and buried in
 “ the common barrow, a meet dome for so great a ungrace.—Then
 “ dyd

“ dyd the vykar of Chryste issue a brevet for rebuylden the fayd
 “ chyrche: But the eyes of the natione were employed on the
 “ Yorkyfts and Lancasters, so that it laie in rewyn; till the fa-
 “ vourite of Godde, the friend of the Chyrche, the companion of
 “ Kynges, and the father of his natyve citty, the greete and
 “ good William Canynge, out of love to the good thynges of
 “ Heaven, and despisals of these of earthe, beganne to ybuyld the
 “ fame, not where Burtonnes stode, but on a newe place, em-
 “ ploieyng ne one stone that was not his own.”

This account is confirmed by a remarkable circumstance which happened not many years since.—In the year 1762, on pulling down an old school-house, which stood in Redcliff church-yard, on the north side of the church, an ancient grave-stone was discovered, with the recumbent figure of a priest in relief; his hands joined in the posture of prayer, his head resting on a cushion, and at his feet *Jobes ? Lampington* in Gothic letters. This monument, as represented in the annexed engraving.



is still to be seen in Redcliff church ; and there can be no doubt but that it belongs to the priest of that name mentioned in the preceding account. Although this monument might have come under Chatterton's observation, as being visible in his time, yet it cannot be supposed, that so uninteresting a piece of antiquity could have induced him to fabricate the history connected with it—much less to support its credibility by additional forgeries ; for if the history of Lamington be an invention of Chatterton, the verses relating to him, which are ascribed to Iscamme, must have been the produce of the same brain ; as well as the part assigned to Lamington, in the poem called the *Parliament of Sprytes*, wherein he is introduced as the builder of a church in Bristol. This monument, therefore, bears an authentic testimony to some part at least of Rowley's *Emendals*, and proves that the whole could not be the fiction of Chatterton. It would be impossible, indeed, in a history of this kind, to ascribe a part of it to any one author, without concluding him to have been the writer of the whole. But supposing the story to be either doubtful or fictitious, Rowley was certainly better qualified, by his learning and poetic abilities, to dress up such a fable, than a youth totally uninstructed in all branches of learning, and a stranger to every part of history which lay out of the beaten track of our English compilers.

Rowley observes, also, that the Vicar of Christ issued a brevet for the rebuilding Redcliff church ; now it is remarkable that Mr. Barrett found no less than three indulgences granted in the thirteenth century by different Bishops for this purpose, deposited in a trunk in the room over Redcliff church, after it had been ransacked by other persons : One of these is granted by John Bishop of Ardfert, in 1232 ; who, tho' he had been deprived of his see some years before, continued still to exercise episcopal functions, and lived at the abbey of St. Albans *. Another indulgence

* See Sir James Wace's Hist. of the Irish Bishops, and Matthew Paris's Hist. of the Abbots of St. Albans.

was granted by Robert Burnell, Bishop of Wells, in 1274; and a third by Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, in 1285.

The story of Lamington, according to Rowley, “cannot be more deftly shewn than in the pleasaunte discoorfes of Maystre John a. Iscam, hight the *merrie Tricks of Lamyngetowne*; of whych take ye the whole, which I metten with in my journeyes for Maystre Canynge.”

DISCOURSE I.

“A rygourous doome is myne, upon my faie :
 “Before the parent starre, the lyghtsome sonne,
 “Hath three tymes lyghted up the cheerful daie,
 “To other reaulmes must Laymingtonne be gonne,
 “Or else my flymfe thredde of lyfe is spunne ;
 “And shall I hearken to a cowarts reede,
 “And from so vain a shade, as lyfe is, runne ?
 “No ! flie all thoughtes of runynge to the Queed^a ;
 “No ! here I’ll staie, and let the Cockneies see,
 “That Laymyntone the brave, will Laymyngetonne still be.

II.

“To fyght, and not to flee, my fabatans^b
 “I’ll don, and girth my swerde unto my fyde ;
 “I’ll go to ship, but not to foreyne landes,
 “But act the pyrate, rob in every tyde ;
 “With Cockneies bloude Thamysfis shall be dyde,
 “Theire goodes in Bristowe markette shall be folde.
 “My bark the laved^c of the waters ryde,
 “Her fayles of scarlet and her sterc of golde ;
 “My men the Saxannes, I the Hengylt bee,
 “And in my shyppe combyne the force of all their three.

III.

L. “Go to my trustie menne in Selwoods chace,
 “That through the lesfel^d hunt the burlad^e boare,

^a The devil. ^b Boots. ^c Lord. ^d Bulkes. ^e Armed.

“Tell

“ Tell them how standes with me the present case,
 “ And bydde them revel down at Watchets shore,
 “ And saunt ^e about in hawlkes and woods no more;
 “ Let every auntrous ^f knyghte his armour brafe,
 “ Their meats be mans fleshe, and theyre beverage gore,
 “ Hancele ^g, or Hanceled, from the human race;
 “ Bid them, like mee theyre leeder, shape theyre mynde
 “ To be a bloudie foe in arms, gaynst all makynde.

R. “ I go my boon companions for to fynde. [*Ralph goes out.*]

III.

“ Unfaifull Cockneies dogs! your God is gayne.
 “ When in your towne I spent my greete estate,
 “ What crowdes of citts came flockynge to my traine,
 “ What shoals of tradefmenne eaten from my plate,
 “ My name was alwaies Laymyngeton the greate;
 “ But whan my wealth was gone, yee kenned mee not,
 “ I stooode in warde, ye laughed at my fate,
 “ Nor car’d if Laymyngeton the great did rotte;
 “ But know ye, Curriedowes ^h, ye shall soon feele,
 “ I’ve got experience now, altho’ I bought it weele.

IV.

“ You let me know that all the worlde are knaves,
 “ That lordes and cits are robbers in disguise;
 “ I and my men, the Cockneies of the waves,
 “ Will profite by youre lessions and bee wise;
 “ Make you give back the harvest of youre lies;
 “ From deep fraught barques I’le take the myfers soul,
 “ Make all the wealthe of every ^{*} my prize,
 “ And cheating Londons pryde to Dygner Bristowe rolle.

^e Saunter. ^f Adventurous. ^g Cut off. ^h Flatterers.

* The word *one*, or *man*, must be here supplied, in order to compleat the sense and the verse.

The following speech is put into Lamington's mouth, in the poem called the Parliament of Sprytes :

LAMYNGTON speaketh.

Lette alle mie faultes bee buried ynn the grave,
 Alle obloquyes be rotted with my duste ;
 Lette hym fyrst carpen that ne wemes * have,
 Tys paste mannes nature for to bee aye juste.
 Butte yette in sothen to rejoyce I muste,
 That I dyd not immeddle for to buylde ;
 Sythe thys quaintyfied place so gloriouse,
 Seemynge alle chyrches joyned yn one guylde,
 Has now supplied for what I had † donne,
 Whyche to my ‡ Cierge is a gloriouse sonne.

But to return to Iscamme. The following dialogue, said in the MS. to be *between Master Philpot and Walworth Cockneies*, is subjoined to Iscamme's poem on Lamyngton :

PHIL. God ye God den §, my good naighbour, howe d'ye ayle;
 How does your wyfe, man ! what never affole ?
 Cum recititate vivas, verborum mala ne cures.

WAL.

* *Faults*—see Mr. Tyrwhit's Glossary.

† The word *not* must be here supplied.

‡ *Wax taper*—The expression of all churches joyned yn one guylde is undoubtedly an ancient and original idea.

§ This salutation, which should be written *God ye good Den*, is more than once used by Shakespear :

In Love's Labour Lost, the clown says,

God dig you den all. Act iv. Sc. 1.

That is to say, *God give you a good evening*; for *dig* is undoubtedly a mistake for *give*.

So in the Dialogue between the Nurse and Mercutio, in Romeo and Juliet, Act ii. Sc. 5. the former says,

God ye good morrow, gentlemen ;

WAL. Ah, Maſtre Phyllepot, evil tongues do ſaie,
That my wyfe will lyen down to daie :
Tis ne twaine moneths fyth ſhee was myne for aie.

PHIL. Animum ſubmittere noli rebus in adverſis,
Nolito quadam referenti ſemper credere.
But I pity you, nayghbour, is it ſo?

WAL. Quæ requirit miſericordiam mala cauſa eſt.
Alack, alack, a ſad dome mine in fay,
But oft with cityzens it is the caſe ;
Honeſta turpitude pro bonâ
Cauſâ mori, as auntient penſinen fayſe.

This dialogue is not produced either for the merit or beauty of its compoſition, but becauſe it contains a variety of evidence, tending to confirm the authenticity of theſe poems. In the firſt place, this ſort of macaronic verſe of mixed languages, is a ſtile uſed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Dante has ſome of theſe amongſt his *Rime*, (P. 226. Vol. 2d. Venice 1741.) which are compoſed of French, Italian, and Latin, and conclude thus :

“ Namque locutus ſum in linguâ trinâ.

Skelton, who lived not long after Rowley, has alſo poems in the ſame kind of verſe. Secondly, the correctneſs of the Latin, and the propriety of the anſwers in Engliſh, ſhew it to have been written at leaſt by a better ſcholar than Chatterton. Thirdly, the low humour of the dialogue, although ſuited to the taſte of that early

to which the latter replies,

God ye good den, fair gentlewoman.

And in the Exmoor Courtſhip,

Good den, good den ;

which the Gloſſariſt on that pamphlet properly explains by the wiſh of *a good evening* ; and Mr Steevens obſerves on the paſſage in *Love's Labour Loſt*, that this contraction is not unuſual in our ancient comic writers, and quotes the play called the *Northern Laſs*, by R. Brome, 1633, for the following phraſe :

God you good even.

and illiterage age, could be no object of imitation to a modern poet. But it is a most remarkable circumstance, that he has introduced his two Cockneies under the names of two most respectable aldermen of the city of London, who lived about the year 1380, Sir William Walworth and Sir John Philpot; men of such distinguished reputation, not only in their own city, but also in the whole kingdom, that the first parliament of Richard the Second, in granting a subsidy to that king, made it subject to the controul and management of these two citizens. (Walsingham, p. 200. Rapin, vol. i. p. 454 and 458.)

Sir John Philpot is said by Stowe to have been a considerable benefactor to the city, and Philpot-lane still bears his name: Sir William Walworth is also recorded with honour, for having resolutely attacked and killed the rebel Wat Tyler in the king's presence: Though the names of these respectable aldermen are dishonoured in the present application, yet the particular mention of them shews that the writer of this dialogue was no stranger to the history of London at that period; which is more than can with the least degree of probability be said of Chatterton.

Ifcamm was esteemed by Canning a good actor, as well as a good poet; which appears by a letter written to Rowley by Canning, when he was rebuilding Redcliff church:—"Now for a wondrous
" pyle to astounde the eyne: Penne an enterlude to be plaiedd
" uponne layeyng the fyrste ston of the buyldynge and wriete
" parte for Ifcamme; such ys hys defyre."

In consequence of this request, Rowlie prepared an interlude, which is still extant in Mr. Barrett's possession, entitled, "A most
" merrie Entyrlude plaied by the Carmelyte Freeres at Mastre
" Canynge his greete house, before Mastre Canynge and Bilhoppe
" Carpenterre on dedycatyng the chyrche of our Ladie of Red-
" cliff; hight *The Parlyamente of Sprytes*;" wroten by T. Rowlie and J. Ifcam.

It is a circumstance which gives an air of originality to the title

of this poem, that Chaucer has written one with a similar name; the printed editions, indeed, call it *The Assemblée of Foules*; but Lidgate, and Chaucer himself, stile it *The Parliament of Foules*:

“ *Of foules also he wrote the Parliament.*”

(Lidgate's Prologue to the Fall of Princes. See also the Legend of Good Women, v. 419.)

It consists of an introduction of eighteen lines by Queen Mabbe; a dedication to Joannes Carpenterre by T. Rowlie, consisting of thirty-two lines; which is followed with the speeches of the Sprites of Nimrod, by Iscam; of Assyrians, in unequal measure and stanza's; of Ella, Brytryc, and Fitz Harding the founder of the Augustinian convent; of Gaunt, the founder of the almshouse called after his name; Burton, the founder of Redcliff church; Lamyngeton, who undertook to rebuild it; Framptone, the founder of St. John's church; the Knight Templars, who built a church in the suburb of St. Thomas; and one Segowen, the supposed founder of St. Thomas's church: The name of this last person is not to be found in any record, nor could Mr. Barrett discover the least traces of it in any MS. relating to the history of Bristol. He examined Chatterton very strictly on this subject; who told him, that, according to Rowley's account, he was an *Elenge*, a foreign merchant, a Lombard, and a great usurer; and that he was the founder of St. Thomas church in that city. This account of Chatterton is countenanced by a passage in Rowley's *List of skillde Painters, &c.* where “ *Adelisia, a fine “ embroiderer, is said to be buriedde in St. Thomas church, near “ Segowen, on the outside.*” The manner in which this is mentioned does not look like a forgery; and it was not unusual, in those early days, for the founder of a church to be buried on the outside of it. These benefactors mention their respective works at Bristol, but acknowledge them to be inferior to what Canning had done to Redcliff church. The whole poem contains about

two

two hundred and thirty lines; in the notes another interlude is quoted, by the name of *The Apostate*, and said to be written by Canning.

The poetry of this interlude is far inferior to the printed works of Rowley; possibly a great part of it might have been penned by Ifscham. The specimen given of it in Lamington's speech, with that which follows in the person or sprite of Fitz Harding, will enable the reader to judge of its merit, and afford some convincing proofs of its originality, especially in the allusion to a fact, long buried in oblivion, till it was accidentally discovered by Mr. Barrett in the original record. It seems that Robert Fitz Harding, about the end of the twelfth century, brought, at his own expence, a supply of water through pipes, for the benefit of Redcliff church. The grant containing this benefaction is now in Mr. Barrett's possession; and John, who was Abbot of St. Augustine's from 1186 to 1215, is a witness to the deed; the authenticity of which cannot be questioned, and it is almost impossible that Chatterton, or indeed any other modern writer, should have known the fact, unless they had seen the deed.

SPRYTE of FYTZ HARDYNGE speeketh.

I.

From royalle parents * dyd I have retaynyng,
The redde-hayred Dane confeste to be mie Syre;
'The Dane, who often throwe thys kyngdom drayninge,
Woulde marke theyre waie athrough wyth bloude and fyre.

* "Roger de Berkleie, temp. conquest, being shorn a Monk, Robert Fitz Harding obtained a grant of the Castle and Honour of Berkley, from Henry fill Imperatricis; whereupon his descendants assumed that surname. Harding, his father, is said by some to have been the youngest son to one of the kings of Denmark, by others, "ex Regiâ profapiâ Regum Danicæ ortus." Harding, his father, is also said to have come over with William the Conqueror, and to have been at the Battle of Hastings." Dugdale's Baron, vol. i. p. 350.—See also the Cronicle of Tewkesbury Monastic. t. i. p. 155.—Leland says, in his Collectanea, vol. i. p. 621. "That Robert Fitz Harding was sunne and heir to the younger brother of the King of Denmark."

As stopped ryvers alwaies rise moe hygher,
 And Rammes stones † bie oppofures stronger bee;
 So theie when vanquished dyd prove moe dyre,
 And for one Peyfan^a theie dyd threescore fleie:
 From them of Denmark's royalle bloude came I,
 Welle mighte I boaste of mie gentilitie.

II.

*The pypes maie founde, and bubble forth my name,
 And tellen what on Radcliff fyde I dyd;
 Trinitye Colledge ‡ ne agrutche^b mie fame,
 The fayrest place in Bristol ybulded;
 The royale bloude that threw mie veins flydde,
 Dyd tyncte mie harte nythe manie a noble thoughte;
 Lyke to mie mynde, the mynster yreared,
 Wyth noble carvel workmanshippe was wroughte,
 Hie at the deys, like a King on his throne,
 Dyd I take place, and was myself alone, &c.*

Sir Theobald Gorges, the third principal actor in this play, (author of the Minstrells Song, v. 208, and one of Canning's convivial friends) was descended from the family of the Ruffels, who, on marrying the heiress of the Gorges family, assumed that name. In the eighth year of Edward the IVth, he alienated the manor of Kingston Russel, in the parish of Long Briddy,

† *Rammes stones*, probably mis-spelt for *rammed stones*, or stones forced together.

^a *Paganus*, or *Peasant*. ^b *Grudge*.

‡ Leland explains also, in his *Itinerary*, vol. vii. p. 85, this expression about Trinity College, by saying, that the Fraternity of the Calendars at Bristol (called, in a patent 34 Edw. iii. m. 11. the Prior and Brethren *Collegii Kalendarum*, See Tanner's *Monast.*) was first kept at the church of the *Trinitye*, since at All-Hallows, but was removed thither by Robert Earl of Gloucester and Robert Fitz Harding. Leland also calls it *Fanum Augustini, nunc Trinitatis*. Is it credible that either of these circumstances should have come to the knowledge of Chatterton?

Dorsetshire; (Hutchins's Hist. of Dorsetshire, vol. i. p. 299) and in the tenth year of that king, was possessed of the manor of Georgef-land, in the parish of Sturminster Marshall, which he held of the King in chief; (vol. ii. p. 125.) but his connection with Mr. Canning probably arose from his estate at Wraxall, in Somersetshire, eight miles distant from Bristol, where he was buried, and where the family afterwards settled. His son Walter dying without issue, during his father's life, Edmund, his grandson and next heir, was found by the inquisit post mortem, to be fourteen years old at his grandfather's death; and was knighted 5th Henry VIIth, at the creation of the Prince of Wales. (Anstis's Essay, Append. p. 39.) By Sir Theobald's alienation of his family estate at Kingston Russel, it seems as if his circumstances were not in a flourishing condition; which is confirmed by the introductory account, which says, "that he mortgaged his family jewels to "Mr. Canning for 160 l." His monument is still visible in Wraxall church, consisting of a flat stone, with the following inscription engraved round the verge in Gothick letters:

Here lythe Syr Tybbot Gorges Knyghte and Bannerett,
of whose soule God have mercy. Amen.

122A

i. e.—1468.

See Dr. Morton's alphabets of Arabia and Persia, from the year 900.

It is remarkable, that the Christian name is here spelt in the same manner as in the poems: Does not this monument, and the historical facts connected with it, add credit to the account here given? and how could Chatterton have collected, and so accurately put together, the circumstances of Sir Theobald's history?

When we view Canning accompanied with these three poets, whose agreeable conversation he has celebrated in the *Account of his Feast*, can we forbear drawing the parallel between this party, and that of Mæcenas with his three friends, Virgil, Horace, and Varius,

Varius, united by the similar ties of Friendship, Genius, and Poetry? The comparison, however, will be much to the advantage of Mr. Canning, who not only equalled Mæcenas in liberality, and in the patronage of literature, but was also a better man, and a superior poet.

Mæcenas, according to Seneca, Ep. 114, was as affected and effeminate in his stile, as he was in his dress; and his compositions were as dissolute as his manners.

“ Quomodo Mæcenas vixerit, notior est, quam ut narrari nunc debeat; quomodo ambulaverit, quam delicatus fuerit, quam cupierit videri, quam vitia sua latere noluit. Quid ergo? Non oratio ejus æque soluta est, quam ipse discinctus?” The quotations given by Seneca from his works justify the censure. Velleius Paterculus says of him, that he was, “ Vir otio ac mollitiis pene ultra faminam fluens.” Lib. ii. sect. 88. How different is the poetry of Canning, in its subject, harmony, and excellence? But to proceed with the play.

The Introduction is very applicable to the subject of the Tragedy, from which a moral instruction is drawn, and a laudable ambition excited after that everlasting fame, which crowns the memory of heroes, who have saved their country by the valour of their arms. Their faults (as the poet truly observes) are buried with them, whilst their names are perpetuated with honour to the latest posterity.

ELLA, the hero of this Tragedy, is supposed to have been Governor of Bristol castle, or (as he is here called) *Warden of the Castle flete*, towards the close of the Saxon Monarchy, when the kingdom was so much infested by the Danes, against whom he headed the Saxon forces, and gave them a signal defeat at *Watchet* in Somersetshire.

It will add little to the merit of the poem, or to the satisfaction of the reader, to determine whether Ella was a real or only an imaginary personage. The name is undoubtedly Saxon; but our historians record no such person: The unpublished History
of

of Bristol, ascribed by Rowley to Turgot, mentions, indeed, a long succession of governors, from the earliest Saxon period down to Robert Earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry the first; amongst whom Ella stands as one of the most distinguished characters: He was undoubtedly such in the poet's esteem; for he has not only made him the hero of this Tragedy, but has also penned an Ode to his honour, and which he styles

The best performance of his lyttel wytte.

Chall. to Lydgate.

Conscious of his wanting authentic history to support the character of Ella, he puts this question, in his poem on Canning;

Why is thy action left so spare in story?

History, however, affords some foundation for the subject of the play. The Saxon Chronicle, Huntingdon, and Hoveden, agree, that in the year 918, the Danes, who infested the British Channel, under the conduct of their Earls Hroald and Ohter, were attacked and beaten by forces sent from Hereford and Gloucester, in which engagement, (according to the Saxon Chronicle) Hroald, and the brother of Count Ohter were killed; and the Danish troops being surrounded, attempted twice to escape, once to the east of *Wiced*, and another time at *Perloc*. Magnus was a name very common among the Danes; one of whom, descended of the blood royal, is buried in St. John's church at Lewes in Suffex; and by his epitaph in Leonine verses, published by Camden in his Britannia, it appears that he became an anchorite there.

Conditur hic miles, Danorum Regia Proles

Magnus nomen ei, magnæ nota progeniei;

Deponens Magnum sed moribus induit agnum,

Præpete pro vitâ fit parvulus Anachorita.

Camden has not copied this inscription justly; he reads *prudential*, in the third verse, instead of *sed moribus*.

The Saxon Chronicle observes further, that Watchet was laid

waste by the Danes in 987: They also committed great ravages there and in the neighbourhood in 997.

Watchet is a very ancient corruption of its original Saxon name *Weced*, or *Weced Port*, which it seems to have retained to Lambard's time. See his *Topography*, in v. *Weced* and *Holme*.—Rowley, indeed, calls it *Wedecester*, but upon what authority does not appear, unless he chose to add the ancient name of *Cester* to give a dignity to the found.

The scene is laid at Bristol and Watchet; the former being the place of Ella's residence and marriage, the latter the scene of engagement; the whole transaction is included within the space of three days. The Tragedy opens with Ella's wedding-day: In the evening he is summoned to join the army: On the next day, "having done his mattynes and his vows," he engages, defeats the Danes, and is wounded at Watchet.—Celmond attempts his act of treachery against Birtha that night; and on the succeeding morning she is conveyed to her distracted Lord, expiring, not under the wounds that he had received from his enemies, but from those he had given to himself, in which the distress of the Tragedy consists. See v. 1195 and 1210.

ENTR ODUCTIONNE.

SOMME cherifaunce ^a it ys to gentle mynde,
 Whan heie have chevyced ^b theyre londe from bayne ^c,
 Whan theie ar dedd, theie leave yer name behynde,
 And theyre goode deedes doe on the earthe remayne;
 Downe yn the grave wee ynhyne ^d everych steyne, 5
 Whylest al her gentlenesse ys made to sheene,
 Lyche fetyve ^e baubels ^f geafonne ^g to be seene.

ÆLLA, the wardenne of thys ^h castell ⁱ stede,
 Whylest Saxons dyd the Englyfche sceptre swaie,
 Who made whole troopes of Dacyan men to blede, 10
 Then feel'd ^k hys eyne, and seeled hys eyne for aie,
 Wee rowze hym uppe before the judgment daie,
 To saie what he, as clergyond ^l, can kenne,
 And howe hee fojourned in the vale of men.

^a Comfort. ^b Preserved, *redeemed*. ^c Ruin. ^d Interr. ^e *Elegant*. ^f Jewels.
^g Rare. ^h Bristol. ⁱ Castle. ^k Closed. ^l Taught, *learned*.

CELMONDE, att BRYSTOWE.

BEFORE yonne roddie sonne has droove hys wayne
 Throwe halfe hys joornie, dyghte ^a yn gites ^b of gouldé,
 Mee, happelefs mee, hee wyllle a wretche behoulde,
 Miefelfe, and al that's myne, bounde ynne myschaunces chayne.

Ah! Birtha, whie, dydde Nature frame thee fayre? 5
 Whie art thou all thatt poyntelle ^c canne bewreene ^d?
 Whie art thou nott as coarfe as odhers are?—
 Botte thenn thie foughle would throwe thy vyfage sheene,
 Yatt shemres ^e onn thie comelie femlykeene ^f
 Lyche nottebrowne cloudes, whann bie the sonne made redde,
 Orr scarlette, wythe waylde ^g lynnen clothe ywreene ^h, 11
 Syke ⁱ woulde thie spyte upponn thie vyfage spredde.

^a *Cloathed.* ^b Robes, mantles. ^c A pen. ^d Exprefs. ^e *Shines.*
^f Countenance, *appearance.* ^g *Chosen.* ^h Covered. ⁱ Such.

Thys

The first scene opens with a soliloquy of Celmond, exhibiting, in very natural colours, a strong conflict in his mind between love and despair. The tender expostulation about her beauty, in the sixth line,

Whie art thou all thatt poyntelle canne bewreene?

is artfully answered by himself, and illustrated by two very natural similies; one copied from nature, the other from the drefs of the times.

V. 11. *Wailde* cloth, that is to say, *choice* and *fine*. It is applied in this sense to wine and meats in the complaint of Creseis;

For

Thys daie brave Ælla dothe thyne honde & harte
Clayme as hys owne to be, whyche nee ftomm hys moſte parte.

And cann I lyve to ſee herr wythe anere ⁱ ! 15
Ytt cannotte, muſte notte, naie, ytt ſhalle not bee.
Thys nyghte I'll putte ſtronge poyſonn ynn the beere,
And hymm, herr, and myſelfe, attenes ^k wyll flea.
Aſſyſt mee, Helle ! lett Devylls rounde mee tende,
To flea mieſelfe, mie love, & eke mie doughtie ^l friende. 20

Æ L L A, B I R T H A.

Æ L L A.

Notte, whanne the hallie prieſte dyd make me knyghte,
Bleſſyng the weaponne, tellynge future dede,

ⁱ Another. ^k At once. ^l Mighty.

Howe

For *wailed* wine and metis thou had tho,
Take mouldid bread, pirace, and ſider four : v. 29.

And *outwaile*, in the Teſt of Creſeis, v. 129, ſignifies the outcaſt, i. e. *what is not choſen*. In this ſenſe the word *walis* occurs in many paſſages of Gawin Douglas's Virgil : In the preſent inſtance it may imply that kind of transparent fineneſs, under which the ſcarlet cloth might be ſeen ; reſembling her bluſhes appearing through the whitenefs of her ſkin. It was alſo uſual in theſe days to wear ſtriped garments, of different colours : Gower deſcribes ſome ladies richly attired,

In kirtles and in copies riche,
Thei were clothed al aliche ;
Departed even of white and blue. p. 70. a.

V. 17. This deſperate reſolution of Celmond is perfectly conſiſtent with his chaaracter ; and the method of adminiſtering the poiſon no leſs ſuited to the language and manners of that age.

V. 21. Amongſt the three happy and honourable events of Ella's life, previous to his marriage, one was his receiving the honour of knighthood, which, among the Saxons, was attended with great ſolemnity, and is particularly deſcribed by Ingulf, p. 70. The candidate having applied to ſome Biſhop or Abbot, was prepared,
the

Howe bie mie honde the prevyd ^m Dane shoulde blede,
Howe I schulde often bee, and often wyne, ynn fyghte;

Notte, whann I fyrste behelde thie beauteous hue, 25
Whyche strooke mie mynde, & rouzed mie softer soule;
Nott, whann from the barbed ⁿ horse yn fyghte dyd viewe
The flying Dacians oere the wyde playne roule,
Whan all the troopes of Denmarque made grette dole ^o;
Dydd I fele joie wyth fyke reddoure ^r as nowe, 30
Whann hallie preest, the lechemanne ^r of the soule,
Dydd knytte us both ynn a caytyfinede ^r vowe:
Now hallie ^s Ælla's felyness ^r ys grate;
Shap ^u haveth nowe ymade hys woes for to emmate ^w.

^m Hardy, valorous, *well tried*. ⁿ Armed. ^o Great lamentation. ^r Violence.

^s Physician. ^r Binding, enforcing, *captive*. ^s Happy. ^r Happiness. ^u Fate.

^w Lessen, decrease, *or be destroyed, or quenched*.

BIRTHA.

the day before his consecration, by the exercise of fasting, prayer, confession, absolution, and watching the whole night in the church. The next day he offered his sword on the altar, which was blessed by the ecclesiastic, and by him laid on the neck of the knight—"Gladium super altare offerret, & post Evangelium "sacerdos benedictum gladium collo militis cum benedictione imponeret."—So likewise John of Salisbury, *De Nugis Curialium*, l. vi. c. 10. "Inolevit consuetudo solennis, ut, eâ ipsâ die quâ quisque militari cingulo decoratur, ecclesiasticam solenniter adeat, gladioque super altare posito & oblato, quasi celebri professione factâ, se ipsum obsequio altaris devoteat, & gladii id est officii sui jugem Deo spondeat famulatum."—But the Normans, according to Ingulf, abhorred this ceremony, accounting all persons so created to be tame and degenerate knights.

V. 23. Prevvd Dane, does not signify *hardy*, but *approved, tried, established*: So Lidgate, in his Ballade of good Council,

Of Judith the *prevvd* stableness.

BIRTHA.

Mie lorde, and huſbande, fyke a joie ys myne; 35
 Botte mayden modeſtie moſte ne foe faie,
 Albeytte thou mayeſt rede ytt ynn myne eyne,
 Or ynn myne harte, where thou ſhalte be for aie;
 Inne ſothe, I have botte needed ^x oute thie faie ^y;
 For twelve tymes twelve the mone hathe bin yblente ^z, 40
 As manie tymes hathe vyed the Godde of daie,
 And on the graſſe her lemes ^a of fylver ſente,
 Sythe thou dydſt cheefe ^b mee for thie ſwote to bee,
 Enactynge ynn the ſame moſte faiefullie to mee.

Ofte have I ſcene thee atte the none-daie feaſte, 45
 Whanne deysde ^c bie thieſelfe, for wante of pheeres ^d,
 Awhylſt thie merryemen dydde laughe and jeaſte,
 Onn mee thou ſemeſt all eyne, to mee all eares.

^x *Rewarded.* ^y Faith, ^z Blinded. ^a Lights, rays. ^b *Chufe.* ^c *Seated.*
^d Fellows, equals.

Thou

V. 40. This reduplication of numbers is frequent with Rowley and other ancient poets: Thus Alfwold

Braved the fuir of *two ten thousand* fights. B. H. ii. v. 130.

Twayne of twelve years han lemed up her mind. Metam. v. 31.

And Spencer,

For now *three moons* have changed *twice their* form,

And have been *thrice* hid underneath the ground.

B. i. c. 8. ft. 38.

And Cynthia had *thrice three times* fill'd her crooked horns.

B. ii. c. 1. ft. 53.

So the King-player, in Hamlet, begins his ſpeech in this bombaſt ſtile.

Full thirty times has Phœbus' car gone round

Neptune's ſalt waſh, and Tellus' orbed ground;

And *thirty dozen* moons, with borrowed ſheen,

About the world have times *twelve thirties* been.

Act iii. Sc. 1st.

V. 46. *Deysde bie thieſelfe*, i. e. ſeated diſtinct from the reſt of the company.

Thou wardest ^d mee as gyff ynn hondred feeres,
 Alest ^e a daygnous ^f looke to thee be fente, 50
 And offrendes ^g made mee, moe thann yie compheeres ^h,
 Offe scarpes ⁱ of scarlette, & fyne paramente ^k;
 All thie yntente to please was lyffed ^l to mee,
 I faie ytt, I moſte ſtreve thatt you ameded ^m bee.

Æ L L A.

Mie lyttel kyndneſſes whyche I dydd doe, 55
 Thie gentleneſs doth corven ⁿ them foe grete,
 Lyche bawſyn ^o olyphauntes ^p mie gnattes doe ſhewe;
 Thou doest mie thoughtes of paying love amate ^q.
 Botte hann mie ætyonns ſtraughte ^r the rolle of fate,
 Pyghte ^s thee fromm Hell, or broughte Heaven down to thee,
 Layde the whol worlde a falldſtole ^t atte thie feete, 61
 On ſmyle woulde be ſuffycyll ^u mede ^x for mee.

^d *Watchest.* ^e *Left.* ^f *Disdainful.* ^g *Presents, offerings.* ^h *Equals, companions.*
ⁱ *Scarfs.* ^k *Robes of scarlet.* ^l *Bounded, limited, confined.* ^m *Rewarded.*
ⁿ *Figure, or represent.* ^o *Large.* ^p *Elephants.* ^q *Destroy.* ^r *Stretched.*
^s *Plucked.* ^t *Kneeling-stool.* ^u *Sufficient.* ^x *Reward.*

I amm

V. 51. *Compheeres, fellows*; so the word *pheeres* or *feers* is often used; v. 202, and 518, and often by Gascoigne and other poets.

V. 55. Ella modestly estimates the disproportion of his own merit to that of Birtha, by that of a *gnat* to an *elephant*. The scriptural comparison is between a *gnat* and a *camel*; but it is observable, that *Olfand* is the Saxon name for a *camel*, and is used in the Saxon version of the Bible. See also Junius's curious note, in his Etymol. voce *Lopſter*.

V. 61. We may admire another beautiful contrast here, between the loftiness of Ella's ideas as a warrior, and the humility of them as a lover. The *faldſtool* differed from the *footſtool*; the former being placed *before*, and the latter *under* the feet. The ceremonial of the royal coronations mentions a *faldſtool* placed before the King and Queen, on which they might kneel. A modern writer, not aware of the difference, would probably have called it a *footſtool*, as the more common expression, and conveying nearly the same idea.

I amm Loves borro'r, & canne never paie,
Bott be hys borrower styll, & thyn, mie swete, for aie.

B I R T H A.

Love, doe notte rate your ahevmentes ^v foe finalle; 65
As I to you, fyke love untoe mee beare;
For nothyng paste wille Birtha ever call,
Ne on a foode from Heaven thynke to cheere.
As farr as thys frayle brutylle ^z flesch wyll spere ^a,
Syke, & ne fardher I expecte of you; 70
Be notte toe slacke yn love, ne overdeare;
A smalle fyre, yan a loude flame, proves more true.

Æ L L A.

Thie gentle wordis doe thie volunde ^b kennè
To bee moe clergionde ^c thann ys ynn meyncte ^d of menne.

Æ L L A, B I R T H A, C E L M O N D E,
M Y N S T R E L L E S.

C E L M O N D E.

Alle bleßynges showre on gentle Ælla's hedde! 75
Oft maie the moone, yn sylverr sheenyng lyghte,
Inne varied chaunges varied bleßynges shedde,
Besprengenge ^e far abrode mischaunces nyghte;
And thou, fayre Birtha! thou, fayre Dame, so bryghte,
Long mayest thou wyth Ælla fynde muche peace, 80
Wythe felyness ^f, as wyth a roabe, be dyghte,
Wyth everych chaungynge mone new joies encrease!

^v Services. ^z Brittle, frail. ^a Allow. ^b Memory, understanding, disposition.
^c Better instructed. ^d Many. ^e Scattering. ^f Happiness.

I, as

V. St. This seems to be a scriptural allusion, reminding the reader of that passage
D d in

I, as a token of mie love to speake,
Have brought you jubbes^z of ale, at nyghte youre brayne to
breake.

Æ L L A.

Whan fopperes pafte we'lle drenche youre ale foe ftronge, 85
Tyde^h lyfe, tyde death.

C E L M O N D E.

Ye Mynftrelles, chaunt your fonge.

^z *Jugs.*

^h *Betide, or happen.*

Mynftrelles

in the Pfalms, civ. 2.—“Thou deckeft thyfelf with light as it were with a
“garment;”—and in Job xxix. 14. “I put on righteoufnefs, and it cloathed me;
“my judgment was as a robe and a diadem.”

V. 84. The *jubbes* of ale feem to be too vulgar a conclufion for fo elegant
a fpeech; nor is Ella's return of the compliment more refined, or, as he expreffes it
at v. 237;

And then in ale and wine be drenched every wee.

Chaucer fpeaks of

——— *jubbes* of Malvasie,

And eke another full of fine Vernage.

But the fupposed indelicacy of thefe expreffions (which by the way proves their
originality) arifes in a great meafure from the luxury of fubfequent ages, and the
importation of more elegant liquors: But drunkennefs was the predominant fin
both of the Germans and Anglo Saxons. See Keyfler's Antiq. p. 154, and 363;
and Huntingdon, as before quoted.

V. 86. *Tyde lyfe, tyde death*, a familiar expreffion, and repeated v. 138 and 291.
So the ancient ballad called the Hiftory of St. George;

Betyde me weal, betyde me woe,

I'll try to eafe the pain. Percy, vol. iii. p. 218, 220.

And in Sir Thopaz, v. 3379.

Betide, what fo betide.

V. 87. The Minftrells fong is here properly introduced, as entertainments of this
kind were generally accompanied with vocal and inftrumental mufick. This cuftom,
as Dr. Percy obferves (Reliques of Ancient Poetry, Preface to vol. i.) commenced

Minstrelles Song, bie a Manne and Womanne.

M A N N E.

Tourne thee to thie Shepsterr ⁱ fwayne ;
 Bryghte fonne has ne droncke the dewe
 From the floures of yellowe hue ;
 Tourne thee, Alyce, backe agayne.

90

ⁱ Shepherd.

W O M A N N E.

from the earliest times among the Northern nations, and continued in use till the time of Queen Elizabeth, when it declined in reputation.

The songs of those Minstrells were of various kinds, but always suited to the occasion : Some were martial and historic, recording battles fought, and conquests gained by their warriors : Others, of a festal nature, celebrated the praises of love and friendship : Sometimes they were penned in a pastoral stile, describing the pleasures and amusements of a country life ; whilst others were melancholy ditties, or funeral dirges, sung in memory of their deceased friends. Our poet has given a specimen of his abilities in all these different kinds of composition : Of the first sort are the Minstrells song in the Tournament, on William the Conqueror ; the song to Ella ; and the chorus in Godwin : In the second stile is the Minstrells song in the Tournament, v. 161, and the three in Ella which follow, v. 160 : Of the third kind is the dialogue between the man and woman, v. 203 ; and to the last may be referred the Roundelai, v. 843.

Some of these songs are interspersed with prudent advice and lessons of morality, serving the same purpose with the Chorus in the Greek Tragedies : And the poet has shewn a particular attention and judgment in adapting the subject of his songs to the circumstances of the persons before whom they were to be performed ; of which the second song in the Tournament is an instance, v. 161.

But the song which follows is merely a pastoral eclogue, composed in heptasyllabic four-line stanza's alternately rhiming : The simplicity of its ideas, and the harmony of its numbers, must please every poetic and musical ear ; and the ease with which it has been transposed, with very little variation, into smooth and harmonious modern poetry *, shews the justice of the poet's ideas, in speaking the language of nature.

It is penned, indeed, much in the stile of the twenty-seventh Idyll of Theocritus (or rather of Moschus) ; the argument to which suggests two remarks, both very applicable to the use made of this and the other Minstrells songs in this

* And printed in the *Magazines*.

W O M A N N E.

No, bestoikerre ^h, I wyllc go,
 Softlie tryppynge o'ere the mees ⁱ,
 Lyche the fylver-footed doe,
 Seekeynge sheltterr yn grene trees.

M A N N E.

See the mofs-growne daifey'd banke
 Pereynge ^k ynne the streme belowe ;

95

^h Deceiver. ⁱ Meadows. ^k *Appearing*.

Here

tragedy. "Singularis suavitas est, et facilitas hujus Idyllii.—Præcipuus in hoc "Idyllio locus est, antithesis commodorum et incommodorum conjugii." Isaac Casaubon calls it, "*melitissimum carmen*." Compare v. 115, 116 of this Dialogue, with v. 52, 54, and 58 of the Idyll.

Shepster fwayne, you tare mie gratche.

————— ἱμάτα κάλᾳ μιαίνεις.

————— You dirty my fine cloaths.

Τὰμπέχονον ποικίτας ἐμὸν ῥάκος,

You have torn my garments.

Φῶ ρῶ καὶ τὴν μίτραν ἀπέσχισες

Alas, alas, you have also torn off my girdle.

And v. 117, 118, with v. 18 of this Idyll.

Leave mee fwythe, or I'llc alatche.

Μὴ ᾽πιβάλῃς τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ εἰσέτι χειλος ἀμύξω.

Unhand me, or I'll scratch your face.

So again, v. 119 of the Dialogue, with v. 45 of this Idyll.

See! the crokyngc brionie

Rounde the popler twyfte hys spraie.

Δεῦρ' ἴδε πῶς ἀνθεῦσιν ἐμαὶ ῥαδυναὶ κυπάρισσοι.

See how my taper cypress-trees do thrive.

They who compare the song with the Idyll, will discover the traces of imitation, and admire the art and delicacy with which our English poet has treated the subject.

Here we'llie fyttē, yn dewie danke;
Tourne thee, Alyce, do notte goe.

W O M A N N E.

I've hearde erste ¹ mie grandame faie,
Yonge damoyfelles schulde ne bee, 100
Inne the fwotie moonthe of Maie,
Wythe yonge menne bie the grene wode tree.

M A N N E.

Sytte thee, Alyce, fyttē, and harke,
Howe the ouzle ^m chauntes hys noate,
The chelandree ⁿ, greie morn larke, 105
Chauntynge from theyre lyttel throate.

W O M A N N E.

I heare them from eche grene wode tree,
Chauntynge owte fo blatauntlie ^o,
Tellynge lecturnyes ^p to mee,
Myfcheefe ys whanne you are nygh. 110

M A N N E.

See alonge the mees fo grene
Pied dailies, kyngē-coppes ^a fwote;
Alle wee see, bie non bee seene,
Nete botte thepe fettes here a fote.

W O M A N N E.

Shepfter fwayne, you tare mie gratche ^r, 115
Oute uponne ye! lette me goe.

¹ Formerly. ^m The black-bird. ⁿ Gold-finch. ^o Loudly. ^p Lectures.

^a Butter-flowers. ^r Apparel.

Leave mee swythe ¹, or I'lle alatche ¹.
 Robynne, thys youre dame shall knowe.

M A N N E.

See! the crokyng ^u brionie
 Rounde the popler twyfte hys sprae; 120
 Rounde the oake the greene ivie
 Florryschethe and lyveth aie.

Lette us seate us bie thys tree,
 Laughe, and fynge to lovyng ayres;
 Comme, and doe notte coyen ^x bee; 125
 Nature made all thynges bie payres.

Drooried ^y cattes wylle after kynde;
 Gentle doves wylle kyfs and coe:

W O M A N N E.

Botte manne, hee moſte bee ywrynde ^z,
 Tylle fyr preeſte make on of two. 130

Tempte mee ne to the foule thyng;
 I wylle no mannes lemanne ^a be;
 Tyll fyr preeſte hys ſonge doethe fynge,
 Thou ſhalt neere fynde aught of mee.

¹ Immediately. ² Accuſe. ^u Creeked, twiſting. ^x Coy. ^y Courtied. ^z Separated.
^a Adſtreſs.

M A N N E.

V. 125. The Promptuar-parvul explains the word *coy* by *modest*, in the ſame ſenſe as is affixed to it here; Gaſcoigne alſo uſes it in the modern ſenſe; though the learned editor, by putting a *qu.* to the word in the index, ſeems to doubt whether there be authority for this ſignification,

And how *content* was coined out of *coy*. Gaſcoigne's Reporter, p. 104.

By

M A N N E.

Bie oure ladie her yborne ^b,
 To-morrowe, foone as ytte ys daie,
 I'lle make thee wyfe, ne bee forfworne,
 So tyde me lyfe or dethe for aie.

135

W O M A N N E.

Whatt dothe lette, botte thatte nowe
 Wee attenes ^c, thos honde yn honde,
 Unto divinistfe ^d goe,
 And bee lyncked yn wedlocke bonde ?

140

M A N N E.

I agree, and thus I plyghte
 Honde, and harte, and all that's myne ;
 Good fyr Rogerr, do us ryghte,
 Make us one, at Cothbertes shryne.

145

B O T H E.

We wylle ynn a bordelle ^e lyve,
 Hailie ^f, thoughe of no estate ;
 Everyche clocke moe love shall gyve ;
 Wee ynn godeneffe wylle bee greate.

150

^b *The Virgin's son.* ^c At once. ^d A divine. ^e A cottage. ^f *Happy.*

Æ L L A.

By the way, he uses the adjective as a substantive, which is not uncommon with our ancient poets.

V. 150. *To be great in goodness*, is objected to as an expression more modern than Rowley's time; but the idea is natural, and as ancient as goodness itself: Nor could it be conveyed in more comprehensive terms. It is equally suitable to the genius of Rowley's and of Pope's Shepherd.

Æ L L A.

I lyche thys fonge, I lyche ytt myckle well;
 And there ys monie for yer fyngeyne nowē;
 Butte have you noone thatt marriage-bleffynge telle?

C E L M O N D E.

In marriage, bleffynge are botte fewe, I trowe.

M Y N S T R E L L E S.

Laverde^s, we have; and, gyff you please, wille fynge, 155
 As well as owre choughe-voyses^h wylle permytte.

Æ L L A.

Comme then, and see you fwotelieⁱ tune the ftrynge,
 And stret^j, and engyne^k all the human wytte,
 Toe please mie dame.

M Y N S T R E L L E S.

We'lle strayne owre wytte and fynge.

Mynstrelles Songe.

F Y R S T E M Y N S T R E L L E.

The boddynge flourettes blofhes atte the lyghte; 160
 The mees be fprengedⁱ wyth the yellowe hue;
 Ynn daifeyd mantels ys the mountayne d;ghte^m;

^s Lord. ^h Or raven voices. ⁱ Sweetly. ^j Stretch. ^k Wrack.

^l Sprinkled. ^m Cloathed.

The

V. 160. This song in four parts (a dialogue or responsive Hymn in the stile of the Greek Chorus) is introduced to celebrate the blessings of matrimony; which Celmond, with great propriety of character, supposes to be very few.

The powers of imagery and description are here exerted, to prove that the beauties of nature, and pleasures of innocence, are not complete without female society, for,

Albeytte alle ys fayre, there lackethe somethynge styll.

The

The nesh ^a yonge coweslepe bendethe wyth the dewe ;
 The trees enlesed ^o, yntoe Heavenne straughte ^p,
 Whenn gentle wyndes doe blowe, to wheftlyng dynne ^q ys
 broughte. 165

The evenyng commes, and brynges the dewe alonge ;
 The roddie welkynne ^r sheeneth to the eyne ;
 Arounde the alestake ^r Mynstrells synge the songe ;
 Yonge ivie rounde the doore poste do entwyne ;
 I laie mee onn the grasse ; yette, to mie wylle, 170
 Albeytte alle ys fayre, there lackethe somethynge styлле.

SECONDE MYNSTRELLE.

So Adam thoughtenne, whann, ynn Paradyse,
 All Heavenn and Erthe dyd homage to hys mynde ;
 Ynn Womman alleyne mannes pleasaunce lyes ;
 As Instrumentes of joie were made the kynde. 175
 Go, take a wyfe untoe thie armes, and see
 Wynter, and brownie hylles, wyll have a charme for thee.

THYRDE MYNSTRELLE.

Whanne Autumpne blake ^s and sonne-brente doe appere,
 With hys goulde honde guylteynge ^t the falleynge lese,

^a Tender. ^o Full of leaves. ^p Stretched. ^q Sound. ^r Sky. ^s Maypole.
^t Naked, rather yellow. ^u Gilding.

Bryngeynge

The same doctrine is enforced by the second Minstrell, whose description of Adam's superiority, expressed v. 173,

All heavenn and erthe dyd homage to hys mynde,
 is not exceeded by any passage in Milton.

V. 178. The song of the third Minstrell is warm and mellow, as the season which it describes, affording a beautiful picture of autumnal fruitfulness.

The subject is resumed by the second Minstrell, on a more philosophical plan ; he reasons on the difference between angelic and human beings, shewing, from the

Bryngeynge oppe Wynterr to folfylle the yere, 180
 Beerynge uponne hys backe the riped ^a shefe;
 Whan al the hyls wythe woddie fede ys whyte;
 Whanne levynne-fyres ^x and lemes^y do mete from far the fyghte;
 Whan the fayre apple, rudde as even skie,
 Do bende the tree unto the fructyle ^z grounde; 185
 When joicie ^a peres, and berries of blacke die,
 Doe daunce yn ayre, and call the eyne arounde;
 Thann, bee the even foule, or even fayre,
 Meethynckes mie hartys joie ys steynced ^b wyth somme care.

SECONDE MYNSTRELLE.

Angelles bee wroghte to bee of neidher kynde; 190
 Angelles alleynne fromme chafe ^c defyre bee free;
 Dheere ys a fomwhatte evere yn the mynde,
 Yatte, wythout wommanne, cannot styllled bee;
 Ne feyncte yn celles, botte, havynge blodde and tere ^d,
 * Do fynde the spryte to joie on fyghte of womanne fayre: 195
 Wommen bee made, notte for hemselfes, botte manne,
 Bone of hys bone, and chyld of hys desire;
 Fromme an ynutyle ^e membre fyrste beganne,
 Ywroghte with moche of water, lyttle fyre;

^a Ripened. ^x Flashes of lightning. ^y Flames. ^z Fruitful. ^a Juicy. ^b Alloyed,
 stupified, made heavy. ^c Hot. ^d Health, or constitution. ^e Useless.

Therefore

origin, nature, and end of the female creation, that the happiness of both sexes consisted in their union; and that the man, being joined or *takeld* to an *angel* or woman, partook of angelic joy; for so the word *tackelod* seems to be most naturally explained: The burthen of the song, however, is an injunction to marry, whether the consequence of it be happiness or misery.

V. 194. *Blodde and tere*; Chatterton explains the latter of these words by *bealth*; it rather signifies *the human constitution*; or, according to Bishop Douglass's Glossarist,

Therefore theie ſeke the fyre of love, to hete 200
 The milkyneſs of kynde, and make hemſelfes complete.
 Albeytte, wythout wommen, menne were pheeres^f
 To ſalvage kynde, and wulde botte lyve to ſlea,
 Botte wommenne eſte^g the ſpyghte of peace ſo cheres,
 Tochelod^h yn Angel joie heie Angeles bee; 205
 Go, take thee ſwythynⁱ to thie bedde a wyfe,
 Bee bante^k or bleſſed hie, yn proovyng marriage lyfe.

Anodber Mynſtrelles Songe, bie Syr Thybbot Gorges.
 As Elynour bie the green leſſelle^l was ſyttynge,
 As from the ſones hete ſhe harried^m,

^f *Fellows, equals.* ^g *Often.* ^h *Tackeld, or joined to.* ⁱ *Quickly.* ^k *Curſed.*
^l *Buſh, or brake.* ^m *Hurried, haſtened.*

She

Gleſſariſt, to digeſt, or concoct in the ſtomach; and thence metaphorically applied to bear or digeſt an affront, injury, &c.

V. 208. The ſong of Syr Thybbot Gorges differs in its meaſure from every other in the collection; being compoſed in four-line ſtanza's of eleven and nine ſyllables, alternately rhiming; a meaſure ſometimes uſed by ancient poets, but not by Chaucer: Deſdemona's ſong in Othello is not much unlike it.

The poor ſoul ſat ſinging by the ſycamore tree, &c.

This meaſure is not uncommon in modern ballads. The ſtanza's might be formed into ſix lines, by dividing them thus:

Mie huſbande, Lorde Thomas,
 a forreſter boulde,
 As ever clove pynne, or the baſkette,
 does no cheryfauncys
 from Elynour houlde,
 I have ytte as ſoone as I aſke ytte:

The ſubject is an experimental encomium on matrimony, which the preceding Minſtrelles had celebrated only in theory. It preſents an entertaining picture of the occupations and amusements of a Knight and his Lady in the country, according to the ſtile of living in thoſe days: The Knight engaged in hunting and other exerciſes of activity: the Lady in domeſtick and æconomical employments, encouraging induſtry both by her command and example. The picture is natural,

She sayde, as here whyt the hondes whyne hosen was knyttynge,
 Whatte pleasure ytt ys to be married!

211

A41e

but the description wants the softness and delicacy of Rowley's pencil, as well as the smoothness and harmony of his numbers. The third line has been charged with anachronism, for giving an earlier date to the art of knitting stockings, than is allowed by Stowe; who speaking, in his *Chronicle*, of the dress which prevailed in Queen Elizabeth's reign, p. 869, says, "that in 1564, William Rider, an apprentice with Thomas Burdett, at the Bridge foot, chanced to see a pair of *knit worsted stockings* in the lodging of an Italian merchant who came from Mantua; borrowed them, and caused others to be made by them; and these were *the first worsted stockings* made in England." But *silk knit stockings*, according to the same author, p. 867, were of an earlier date; for he says, "That in the second year of that Queen (1560) her silk-woman, Mrs. Montague, presented her Majesty with a pair of *black silk stockings* for a new-year's gift; which pleased her so well, that she sent for Mrs. Montague, and asked here where she had them, and if she could procure her any more: She replied, that she had made them on purpose for the Queen, and that she would set more in hand; and from that time the Queen wore no more cloth stockings. He adds, that King Henry wore only cloth hose, cut of ell-broad taffeta, or that by great chance there came a pair of *long Spanish silk stockings* sent him for a great present; and that Edward the VIth had a present of that kind made to him." But an earlier æra is assigned to this art by Chambers's Dictionary; which says, "that though it is difficult to assign the origin of this art, yet it is commonly attributed to the Scots, on this ground, that the first works of this kind came from thence; and on this account the *company of stocking-knitters*, established at Paris in 1527, took for their patron St. Fiacre, who is said to be the son of a king of Scotland."—If this Scotch art was so far advanced in a foreign country at the beginning of the sixteenth century, can there be a doubt of its being known in England half a century earlier? At least the art of knitting, and weaving bone lace, was more ancient than Queen Elizabeth's time; for Shakespeare speaks of *old* and *antick* songs, which

The spinsters and the *knitters* in the sun,
 And the free maids that *weave their thread with bone*,
 Did use to chaunt.——Twelfth Night, Act ii. sc. 4.

But the art of *knitting hosen* may be traced back to the beginning of the sixteenth century at least, by the authentic testimony of John Palgrave, instructor in the French tongue to the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry the VIIth; who, in his "Eclaircissement de la langue Françoisse, printed in 1530," thus explains the several meanings of the word *knit*:

" 1st.

Mie hufbande, Lorde Thomas, a forrefter boulde,
As ever clove pynne, or the baskette,

Does

“ 1st. I *knitt* a knott—Je noue.—2d. I *knytt* as a matt-maker *knytheth*—Je
“ tys—J’ay *tyllé*—*tyftre*. He can *knitt* netts well—Il *ſcayt* bien *tyftre* des *raytz*.
“ —3d. I *knitt* bonnetts or *hofen*—Je *laſſe*. She that *ſytteth* *knyttinge* from
“ morrow to eve can ſcantly win her bread—Celle *qui ne fait que laſſer* depuis
“ matin, *juſqu’au ſoyre*, a grant *peyne* peut elle *gagner* ſon *payn*.—4th. I *knytt*
“ or bind together—Je *annexe*.”

As, therefore, the expreſſion of *knitting hofen* is uſed by Palsgrave, there can be little doubt but it obtained in Rowley’s time, eſpecially as the ſenſe is not neceſſarily confined to *the preſent mode of knitting ſtockings*; for it might only imply *lacing*, agreeably to the French explanation of Palsgrave; but it was certainly much more than *faſtening* or *binding together*, which he mentions as a different ſenſe of the word.—*Hofen*, or ſtockings, of whatever materials made, (before knitting was invented) were neceſſarily to be cut, ſhaped, and faſtened to the leg. Eleanor might in this manner have been *knitting her white hofen*, and preparing them for wear.—Gaſcoigne, in his ſatire called the Steel of Glaſs, p. 296, deſcribes one part of the finery of dreſs in his time, viz. Anno 1579, as conſiſting

In *ſilk knitt hoſe* and Spaniſh leather ſhoes.

It is a part of Sir Thomas’s character, that he was

———A forrefter boulde,
As ever clove pynne or the baskette;

alluding probably to his ſkill in archery and backſword, two principal amuſements of gentlemen in thoſe days, and both connected with the character of a forrefter. The *pin* was the center of a butt or ſhield erected as a mark for the archers; and the cleaving it with the arrow ſhewed the perfection of the archer’s ſkill. In alluſion to this, in a trial of archery, (Love’s Labour Loſt, Act v. ſc. 1.) Coſtard ſays of Marcia, “ Then will ſhe get the upſhot *by cleaving the pin*.”—So likewiſe Drayton deſcribes the excellence of Robin Hood’s bowmen;

Of archery they had the perfect craft,
With broad arrows or butts, or prick or roving ſhaft;
At marks full forty ſcore they uſed to prick and rove,
Yet higher than the breſt for conqueſt never ſtrove;
Yet at the furtheſt mark a foot could hardly win,
At long buttes, ſhort and Hoyles, each one *could cleave the pin*.

The *Basket* ſeems to relate to the backſword, in which Caverd the Scot is ſaid to have

Does no cheryfauncys ^a from Elynour houlde,
 I have ytte as soone as I aske ytte. 215

Whann I lyved wyth mie fadre yn merrie Clowd-dell,
 Tho' twas at my liefe ^o to mynde spyynyng,
 I styll wanted somethynge, botte whatte ne coulde telle,
 Mie lorde fadres barbde ^p haulle han ne wynnyng.

Eche mornynge I ryse, doe I sette mie maydennes, 220
 Somme to spyun, somme to curdell ^q, somme bleachynge,
 Gyff any new entered doe aske for mie aidens,
 Thann fwythynne ^r you fynde mee a teachynge.

Lorde Walterre, mie fadre, he loved me welle,
 And nothyng unto mee was nedeyng, 225
 Botte schulde I agen goe to merrie Cloud-dell,
 In sothen ^s twoulde bee wythoute redeyng.

^a *Comfort.* ^o *Choice.* ^p *Hung with armour.* ^q *Card.* ^r *Immediately.*
^s *In truth.*

Shee

have excelled, (*Battle of Hastings*, N^o. 2. v. 512.) The shields with which they protected themselves, or the guard that surrounded the wrist of their sword-arm, were made of basket or wicker work; and it shewed the strength and dexterity of the combatant, to cleave it with the sword.

V. 219. The idea of a *barbed hall*, or a hall in a gentleman's country seat hung round with armour, is not yet antiquated or obsolete, and is well described in the *Ballad of the Old Courtier*:

With an old hall hung about with pikes, guns, and bows,
 With old swords and bucklers that had born many shrewd blows.

And the javelin is said to be *barbed* (or armed) with deathes wynges, B. H. N^o. 2. v. 271. With submission, therefore, to the learned editor's objection, why is not the term *barbed hall*, as just as that of *barbed horse*, v. 27 of this poem, and in

Shee fayde, and lorde Thomas came over the lea,
 As hee the fatte derkynnes ¹ was chacynge,
 Shee putte uppe her knyttynge, and to hym wente shee; 230
 So wee leave hem bothe kyndelie embracynge.

Æ L L A.

I lyche eke thys; goe ynn untoe the feaste;
 Wee wylle permytte you antecedente ¹ bee;
 There fwotelie fynge eche carolle, and yaped ² jeaste;
 And there ys monnie, that you merrie bee; 235
 Comme, gentle love, wee wylle toe spoufe-feaste goe,
 And there ynn ale and wyne bee dreyncted ³ everych woe.

ÆLLA, BIRTHA, CELMONDE, MESSENGERE.

M E S S E N G E R E.

Ælla! the Danes ar thondrynge onn our coaste;
 Lyche scolles ⁴ of locusts, caste oppe bie the sea,
 Magnus and Hurra, wythe a doughtie hoaste, 240
 Are ragyng, to be quanfed ⁵ bie none botte thee;
 Haste, swyfte as levynne ⁶ to these royners flee:
 Thie dogges alleyne can tame thys ragynge bulle.

¹ Young deer. ² To go before. ³ Laughable. ⁴ Drowned. ⁵ Swarms.

⁶ Stilled, quenched. ⁷ Lightning.

Haste

Shakespeare's Richard II; and the *unbarbed* or unarmed *sconce* of Coriolanus, which he was so unwilling to shew before the Roman senate, because it had been usually covered with his helmet? Sir Thomas Hanmer has thus explained the word. Dr. Johnson, from a different etymology, calls it his *unshaven* head: But would that appearance have been particular at Rome in the time of Coriolanus?

V. 238. The transition from the feast to the alarm on the Danes approach, is a dramatic beauty: The armies of the latter are compared to *scolles of locusts*; a scriptural allusion, which speaks of them as *armies*, and describes, in terms of the greatest horror, their devastation of the fruits of the earth. Nahum iii. 15.

Haste swythyng, fore ^a anieghe the towne theie bee,
And Wedecesternes rolle of dome ^b bee fulle. 245

Haste, haste, O Ælla, to the byker ^c flie,
For yn a momentes space tenne thousand menne maie die.

Æ L L A.

Befhrew thee for thie newes ! I moſte be gon.
Was ever lockleſs dome ſo hard as myne !
Thos from dyſportyſmente ^d to warr to ron, 250
To chaunge the ſelke veſte for the gaberdyne ^e !

^a Before. ^b Judgment, or fate. ^c Battle. ^d Enjoyment. ^e Military cloak.

B I R T H A.

V. 251. The *Gabardine* (which is here put by way of antithesis to a *ſilk veſt*, alluding to a ſtate of war and difficulty, as oppoſed to a life of eaſe and luxury) was not, as Chatterton has explained it (Tournament, v. 88.) a *piece of armour*, but a *coarſe cloak*, worn chiefly by the ſoldiers to protect them from cold ; and ſo it is explained by Skynner : It was probably worn alſo by inferior perſons : *Shylock*, in the Jew of Venice, charges Antonio with having ſpit upon his *Jewiſh Gabardine* ; and if Chatterton had been as well acquainted with Shakeſpeare, as his advocates are willing to ſuppoſe, he would not have called any part of a Jew's dreſs at Venice, a *piece of armour*. Camden, in his Remains (title Apparel) ſpeaks of a *ſhort Gabberden*, called a *Court Pie*, worn in the time of Richard II ; which Chaucer alſo deſcribes as the dreſs of his clerk of Oxenford.

Full thread bare was his everiſt *courtepy*.

Skynner calls it a ſhort veſt that does not reach to the feet ; but Mr. Tyrwhit, on the authority of Kilian, derives it from the German words *Kort curtus & Piſe penula coactilis ex villis craſſioribus*. See Tournament, v. 88.—Butler had the ſame idea of a Gaberdine, when, in Talgol's wound, he meant to burleſque the Prince of Poets, perhaps on the wound given by Mars to Diomede ;

———— The ſhot let fly
At random 'mong the enemy,
Pierc'd Talgol's *gaberdyne*, and, grazing
Upon his ſhoulder in the paſſing,
Lodg'd in Magnano's braſs habergeon ;
Who ſtraight A ſurgeon, cry'd, a ſurgeon !
He tumbled down, and, as he fell,
Did murder, murder, murder yell.

Hudibras, p. i. c. 3. v. 535.

B I R T H A.

O! lyche a nedere ^f, lette me rounde thee twyne,
 And hylte ^g thie boddie from the schaftes of warre.
 Thou shalte nott, must not, from thie Birtha ryne ^h
 Botte kenn the dynne of slughornes from afarre. 255

Æ L L A.

O love, was thys thie joie, to shewe the treate,
 Then grofſſythe ⁱ to forbydde thie hongered guesſes to eate?
 O mie upſwalynge ^k harte, whatt wordes can ſaie
 The peynes, thatte paſſethe ynn mie ſoule ybrente?
 Thos to bee torne uponne mie ſpouſelle daie, 260
 O! 'tys a peyne beyond entendemente ^l.
 Yee mychtie Goddes, and is yor favoures ſente
 As thouſ faſte dented ^m to a loade of peyne?
 Moſte wee aie holde yn chace the ſhade content,
 And for a bodykyn ⁿ a ſwarthe ^o obteyne? 265
 O! whie, yee ſeynctes, oppreſs yee thos mie ſowle?
 How ſhalle I ſpeke mie woe, mie fremen ^p, mie dreerie dole ^q?

C E L M O N D E.

Sometyme the wyſeſte lacketh pore mans rede ^r.
 Reaſonne and counynge wytte eſte flees awaie.
 Thanne, loverde, lett me ſaie, wyth hommaged drede 270
 (Bieneth your fote ylayn) mie counſelle ſaie;

^f Adder, or ſerpent. ^g Hide, cover. ^h Run. ⁱ Rudely, uncivilly. ^k Swelling.

^l Comprehenſion. ^m Feined, faſtened. ⁿ Body, ſubſtance. ^o Ghoſt, or ſpirit.

^p Strange. ^q Grief, diſtreſs. ^r Counſel.

Gyff

So Thomas Drant, in his tranſlation of Horace's Epistles, printed 1567, thus renders Ep. i. v. 96.

My cote is bare, my *gaberline* amis.

Gyff thos wee lett the matter lethlen [‘] laie,
 The focmenn, everych honde-poyncte [‘], getteth fote.
 Mie loverde, lett the speere-menne, dyghte for fraie,
 And all the sabbataners [“] goe aboute. 275
 I speke, mie loverde, alleyne to upryse
 Your wytte from marvelle, and the warriour to alyse [“].

Æ L L A.

Ah! nowe thou pottest takells [’] yn mie harte;
 Mie foulghe dothe nowe begynne to see herfelle;
 I wylle upryse mie myghte, and doe mie parte, 280
 To flea the focmenne yn mie furie felle.
 Botte howe canne tynge [“] mie rampynge [“] fourie telle,
 Whyche ryfeth from mie love to BIRTHA fayre?
 Ne coulde the queede [“], and alle the myghte of Helle,
 Founde out impleasaunce [“] of fyke blacke a geare [“]. 285
 Yette I wylle bee miefelfe, and rouze mie spryte
 To ætce wythe rennome, and goe meet the bloddie fyghte.

B I R T H A.

No, thou schalte never leave thie BIRTHA’s fyde;
 Ne schall the wynde uponne us blowe alleyne;

[‘] Still, dead. [‘] Minute, or hour. [“] Booted soldiers. [“] To free, or deliver.

[’] Arrows, darts. [“] Tongue. [“] Furious. [“] The devil. [“] Unpleasantness.

[“] Nature, fort.

I, lyche

V. 273. The *honde point*, means the index of a clock, and such were in use in Rowley’s time.—In the Nonnes Priests Tale, mention is made of a “Clock or “Abbey Horloge:” Ric. de Wallingford, Abbot of St. Albans, gave, in 1328, a clock to the Abbey Church, “*the like whereof was not to be seen in England.*” Willis’s Hist. of Mitred Abbies, in Leland’s Collectan. vol. vi. p. 134.

V. 275. The *Sabatoners*, mentioned again v. 584, were *booted soldiers*, answering to Homer’s ἐκχυμένους Ἀχαιοί. Lidgate uses the word *Sabaton* for a soldier’s boot; and *salot* is the modern French name for a slipper.

I, lyche a nedre ^c, wylle untoe thee byde; 290
 Tyde ^f lyfe, tyde deathe, ytte shall behoulde us twayne.
 I have mie parte of drierie dole and peyne;
 Itte brasteth ^g from mee atte the holtred ^h eyne;
 Ynne tydes of teares mie swarthyng ⁱ spryte wyll drayne,
 Gyff drerie dole ys thynce, tys twa tymes myne. 295
 Goe notte, O Ælla; wythe thie Birtha staie;
 For wyth thie semmlykeed ^k mie spryte wyll goe awaie.

Æ L L A.

O! tys for thee, for thee alleyne I fele;
 Yett I muste bee mieselfe; with valoures gear
 I'lle dyghte ^l mie hearte, and notte ^m mie lymbes yn stele, 300
 And shake the bloddie swerde and steyned spere.

B I R T H A.

Can Ælla from hys breaste hys Birtha teare?
 Is shee so rou ⁿ and ugsomme ^o to hys fyghte?
 Entrykeynge ^p wyght! ys leathall warre so deare?
 Thou pryzeft mee belowe the joies of fyghte. 305
 Thou scalte notte leave mee, albeytte the erthe
 Hong pendaunte bie thie swerde, and craved for thy morth ^q.

Æ L L A.

Dydest thou kenne howe mie woes, as starres ybrente ^r,
 Headed bie these thie wordes doe onn mee falle,

^c Adder. ^f Happen. ^g Bursteth. ^h Hidden. ⁱ Dying, departing
^k Countenance. ^l Dress, or prepare. ^m Fasten. ⁿ Horrid, grim. ^o Terrible.
^p Deceitful. ^q Death. ^r Burnt.

Thou

V. 307. Should not the word *my* be substituted here instead of *thy morth*?
 “I will not leave you, though the whole world hung pendant on your sword,
 and demanded my death.”

V. 308. The simile of burnt and falling stars, is founded on an ancient
 F f 2 idea,

Thou woulde stryve to gyve mie harte contente, 310
 Wakyng mie slepyng mynde to honnoures calle.
 Of felynesse ¹ I pryze thee moe yā all
 Heaven can mee fende, or counyng wytt acconyre,
 Yette I wyll leave thee, onne the foe to falle,
 Retournyng to thie eyne with double fyre. 315

B I R T H A.

Moste Birtha boon ¹ requeste and bee denyd ?
 Receyve attenes ² a darte yn felynesse and pryde ?
 Doe staie att leaste tylle morrowes sonne apperes.

Æ L L A.

Thou kenneste welle the Dacyannes myttec powere ;
 Wythe them a mynnute wurchethe bane for yeares ; 320
 Theie undoe reaulmes wythyn a fyggle hower.
 Rouze all thie honnoure, Birtha ; look attoure ^{*}
 Thie bledeyng cuntrye, whych for hastie dede
 Calls, for the rodeyng ³ of some doughtie power,
 To royn ² yttes royners, make yttes foemenne blede. 325

B I R T H A.

Rouze all thie love ; false and entrykyng ⁴ wyghte !
 Ne leave thie Birtha thos uponne pretence of fyghte.

Thou nedeft notte goc, untill thou haste command
 Under the fygnette of our lorde the kyng.

¹ *Happines.* ² *Ask a favour.* ³ *At once.* ⁴ *Round about.*
⁵ *Riding, or command.* ⁶ *Ruin.* ⁷ *Deceitful.*

Æ L L A.

idea, that starrs were gradually consumed by their own fire, and then fell on the earth.—Thus Spenser says,

That moken starrs do drop like weeping eyes.

F. Q. B. i. C. 6. St. 6.

Æ L L A.

And wouldest thou make me then a recreande^b? 330
 Hollie Seyncte Marie, keepe mee from the thyng!
 Heere, Birtha, thou hast potted double stynge,
 One for thie love, anodher for thie mynde.

B I R T H A.

Agylted^c Ælla, thie abredynge^d blynge^e.
 Twas love of thee thatte foule intentte ywrynde^f. 335
 Yette heare mie supplicate, to mee attende,
 Hear from mie groted^g harte the lover and the friende.
 Lett Celmonde yn thie armour-brace^h be dyghteⁱ;
 And yn thie stead unto the battle goe;
 Thie name alleyne wylle putte the Danes to flyghte, 340
 The ayre thatt beares ytt woulde presse downe the foe.

Æ L L A.

Birtha, yn vayne thou wouldest mee recreand^k doe;
 I moeste, I wylle, fyghte for mie countries wele,
 And leave thee for ytt. Celmonde, fwestlie goe,
 Telle mie Brystowans to [be] dyghte yn stele; 345
 Tell hem I sorne to kenne hem from afar,
 Botte leave the vyrgyn brydall bedde for bedde of warre.

Æ L L A, B I R T H A.

B I R T H A.

And thou wylt goe: O mie agroted^l harte!

Æ L L A.

Mie countrie waites mie marche; I muste awaie;
 Albeytte I schulde goe to mete the darte 350

^b *Coward.* ^c *Offended.* ^d *Upbraiding.* ^e *Cease* ^f *Disclosed.* ^g *Swollen.*

^h *Suit of armour.* ⁱ *Dressed.* ^k *Coward.* ^l *Swollen.*

Of certen Dethe, yette here I woulde notte staie.
 Botte thos to leave thee, Birtha, dothe affwaie ^m
 Moe torturynge peynes yanne canne be fedde bie tyngue,
 Yette rouze thie honoure uppe, and wayte the daie,
 Whan rounde aboute mee songe of warre heie syng. 355
 O Birtha, strev mie agreeme ⁿ to accaie ^o,
 And joyous see mie armes, dyghte oute ynn warre arraie.

B I R T H A.

Difficile ^p ys the pennaunce, yette I'lle strev
 To keepe mie woe behyltren ^a yn mie breaste.
 Albeytte nete maye to mee pleasaunce yev ^r, 360
 Lychе thee, I'lle strev to sette mie mynde atte reste.
 Yett oh! forgeve, yff I have thee dystreste;
 Love, doughtie love, wyll beare no odher swaie.
 Juste as I was wythe Ælla to bleste,
 Shappe ^s foullie thos hathe snatched hym awaie. 365
 It was a tene ^t too doughtie to bee borne,
 Wydhoute an ounde ^u of teares and breaste wyth fyghes ytorne.

Æ L L A.

Thie mynde ys now thiefelfe; why wylte thou bee
 All blanche, al kyngelie, all foe wyfe yn mynde,

^m Put me to the trial. ⁿ Torture. ^o Affwage. ^p Difficult.
^a Hidden. ^r Give. ^s Fate. ^t Pain, or torment. ^u Flood.

Alleyne

V. 355. The war songs to be sung round Ella were those of victory, and differed from the war song at the prelude of an engagement.—The *long warr shield* of the Saxons, mentioned more than once, v. 374, and B. H. 2. v. 330, agrees with the shape of the early shields engraved in Strutt's Antiquities, and other ancient representations. It will be unnecessary to observe with what wonderful art and dramatic skill the parting scene between Ella and Birtha is worked up, as every reader must discover its merit.

Alleyne to lett pore wretched Ælla see, 370
 Whatte wondrous bighes * he nowe muſte leave behynde ?
 O Birtha fayre, warde † everyche commynge wynde,
 On everych wynde I wyll a token ſende ;
 Onn mie longe ſhilde ycorne ‡ thie name thoul't fynde.
 Butte here commes Celmonde, wordhie knyghte and friende.

Æ L L A, B I R T H A, C E L M O N D E *ſpeaking.*

This Bryſtowe knyghtes for thie forth-comynge lynge †; 376
 Echone athwarte hys backe hys longe warre-ſhield dothe flynge.

Æ L L A.

Birtha, adieu ; but yette I cannotte goe.

B I R T H A.

Lyfe of mie ſpryte, mie gentle Ælla ſtaie.
 Engyne ‡ mee notte wyth fyke a drierie woe. 380

Æ L L A.

I muſte, I wyll ; tys honnoure calſ awaie.

B I R T H A.

O mie agroted † harte, braſte, braſte ynn twaie.
 Ælla, for honnoure, flyes awaie from mee.

Æ L L A.

Birtha, adieu ; I maie notte here obaie †.
 I'm flyynge from mieſelfe yn flying thee. 385

B I R T H A.

O Ælla, houſband, friend, and loverde, ſtaie.
 He's gon, he's gone, alaſ ! percaſe he's gone for aie.

* Jewels. † Watch. ‡ Engraved. † Stay. ‡ Torture. † Swelling, or ſwollen.
 † Wait.

CELMONDE.

Hope, hallie ^c fuster, sweepeynge thro' the skie,
 In crowne of goulde, and robe of lillie whyte,
 Whyche farre abrode ynne gentle ayre doe flie, 390
 Meetyng from dystaunce the enjoyous fyghte,
 Albeytte efte thou takest thie hie flyghte
 Hecket ^f ynne a myste, and wyth thyne eyne yblente ^g,
 Nowe comest thou to mee wythe starrie lyghte;
 Ontoe thie veste the rodde sonne ys adente ^h; 395

^c *Holy*. ^f Wrapped closely, covered. ^g *Blinded*. ^h Fastened.

The

V. 388 This soliloquy of Celmond is indisputably one of the most distinguished passages in the play for its lofty ideas, powerful imagery, and poetic expression; nor is it, in point of reasoning, unlike or unequal to Shakespeare. The reader will examine, with great pleasure, its various beauties.

Though the character of Celmond doth not imply much acquaintance with the graces of Christianity, yet the appellation of *sister*, seems to connect *Hope* with the virtues of *Faith* and *Charity*. How graceful and majestic is her attitude, sweeping through the skie! With what emblematical justice is she arrayed in a robe of lillie white, fair and thin as the air which she is supposed to inhabit! The crowns of gold allude to those rich and pleasing prospects which open themselves to her votaries, who frequently enjoy them only in imagination.—To Celmond she revealed herself *wythe starrie light*: Not with those faint and feeble rays, which only lessen the obscurity of night; but with the brightness and glory ascribed to those heavenly luminaries in scripture. Her robe, which seems to include the whole firmament, is gilded with the warmth of the sun, painted with the blossoms of spring, and with the beauties of summer; and her *Aumere* (the meaning of which word will be explained and justified hereafter) may with equal propriety be applied either to the robe itself, or to the border which is supposed to surround it. How far does Spenser's description of *Hope* fall short of our poet's image!

With *Fear* went *Hope* in rank; a handsome maid,
 And of a chearful look, and lovely to behold:
 In silken samite she was light array'd,
 And her fayre locks were woven up in gold.
 She always smiled.

B. iii. C. 12. St. 8.

The Sommer tyde, the month of Maie appere,
Depycte wythe skyllead honde upponn thie wyde aumereⁱ.

I from a nete^k of hopelen^l am adawed^m,
Awlapedⁿ atte the fetyvenefs^o of daie;
Ælla, bie nete moe thann hys myndbruche^p awed, 400

Is gone, and I moſte followe, toe the fraie.

Celmonde canne ne'er from anie byker^q ſtaie.

Dothe warre begynne? there's Celmonde yn the place.

Botte whanne the warre ys donne, I'll haſte awaie.

The reſte from nethe^r tymes maſque muſt ſhew yttes face. 405

I ſee onnombered joies arounde mee ryſe;

Blake^s ſtondethe future doome, and joie dothe mee alyſe^t.

O honnoure, honnoure, whatt ys bie thee hanne?

Hailie the robber and the bordelyer^u,

ⁱ Robe or girdle. ^k Night. ^l Hopeleſſneſs, or ſmall hope. ^m Awakened. ⁿ Aſtoniſhed.

^o Agreeableneſs. ^p Firmneſs of mind. ^q Battle. ^r Beneath. ^s Naked, or open.

^t Sets me free. ^u Cottager.

Who

V. 398. A *nete of hopelen* means a night of deſpair, or rather of ſmall hope. *Hopelen* is the diminutive of hope.

V. 400. The *myndbruche* of Ella, like that of Canning and of Truth, (ſee *Storie of Canning*, ver. 74 and 145) probably means *firmneſs* and *fortitude*; but Cowel explains the word by *ambition*.

V. 408. The confidence of Celmond's character is wonderfully ſupported in this ſoliloquy; wherein he appears no leſs brave than wicked and treacherous: His diſquiſition on Honour, is in the ſtile of Shakeſpeare, and ſpeaks the language of a man not wholly loſt to its feelings, nor inſenſible of reaſon; but firmly reſolved not to obey its dictates:

—Video meliora, proboque,

Deteriora ſequor.

Agitated by ſuch a convulſion in his mind, he compares himſelf to a mountain torn by a tempeſt, v. 416. and in that reſpect leſs happy than the robber or the peaſant, (*Bordelyer*) the former inſenſible to the dictates of honour, the latter unacquainted

G g

with

Who kens ne thee, or ys to thee bestanne ^w, 410
 And nothyng does thie myckle gastnefs ^x fere.
 Faygne woulde I from mie bosomme alle thee tare.
 Thou there dysperpellest ^y thie levynne-bronde ^z;
 Whylest mie foulgh's forwyned ^a, thou art the gare ^b;
 Sleene ys mie comforte bie thie ferie honde; 415
 As sonne talle hylle, whann wynds doe shake the ground,
 Itte kerveth ^c all abroade, bie brasteynge ^d hyltren ^e wounde.

Honnoure, whatt bee ytte? tys a shadowes shade,
 A thyng of wychencref ^f, an idle dreme;
 On of the fonnis ^g whych the clerche have made 420
 Menne wydhouthe sprytes, and wommen for to fleme ^h;
 Knyghtes, who este kenne the loude dynne of the beme ⁱ,
 Schulde be forgarde ^k to fyke enfeeblunge waies,
 Make everych acte, alyche theyr foules, be breme ^l,
 And for theyre chyvalrie alleyn have prayfe. 425
 O thou, whatteer thie name,
 Or Zabalus ^m or Queed ⁿ,
 Comme, steel mie fable spryte,
 For fremde ^o and dolefulle dede.

^w *Opposed, left.* ^x *Terribleness.* ^y *Scatterest.* ^z *Lightning.* ^a *Withered.*
^b *Cause.* ^c *Cutteth.* ^d *Bursting.* ^e *Hidden.* ^f *Witchcraft.* ^g *Devices.*
^h *Affright.* ⁱ *Trumpet.* ^k *Lost.* ^l *Furious.* ^{m n} *The devil.* ^o *Strange.*

MAGNUS,

with its precepts; he therefore invokes the devil, under the ancient titles of *Zabalus* and *Queed*, to harden his heart against all sensibility and compunction. *Queed*, in Robert Gloucester, signifies *evil*, or *the devil*. See the Glossary to that work.

V. 426. This invocation should have been written in two lines, not in four, making the stanza to close with two Alexandrines instead of one; there is another instance of a redundant foot in v. 710.

MAGNUS, HURRA, and HIE PREESTE,
wyth the ARMIE, neare Watchette.

MAGNUS.

SWYTHE ^p lette the offrendes ^a to the Goddes begynne, 430
To knowe of hem the issue of the fyghte.
Potte the blodde-*steyned* sword and pavyes ^r ynne;
Spreade swythyng all arounde the hallie lyghte.

^p Quickly. ^a Offerings. ^r *Shields*.

HIE

V. 430. The scene of the Danish enchantment, like that of the witches in Macbeth, exhibits a picture of northern superstition. This in Ella, however, is dignified by more noble ideas.

Shakespeare has presented to his readers a disgusting combination of unnatural objects, well suited to the invocation of evil spirits: Rowley, on the other hand, in his account of this religious sacrifice, offers *blodde-steyned swords* and *shields*, as the most grateful tribute to the Danish Deities. *Pavvis* is an old French word for a *shield*; which seems to be the meaning of the word in this passage, and so it may be understood, v. 647.

Lette bloddie teares bie all your *paves* be wepte.

But the long *Pavade*, which Chaucer's Miller wore at his belt, and which is there joined with a knife and bodkin, as offensive weapons, seems to determine the meaning of it to a *sword* or *dagger*; Skynner explains it by *pugio*; and Mr. Tyrwhit calls it an *offensive weapon*, but does not determine of what kind, vol. iv. p. 248. Menage supposes the word to be derived from the city of Pavia, as pistols were denominated from Pistoia, where they were first made.

The ceremony of putting the *blodde-steyned swords* into the sacrifice may be illustrated by a circumstance mentioned by Asler, the writer of Alfred's Life, and by Ethelward, the Saxon Historian; who say, "that the Danes swore a peace with "that king on their *holy armillæ*; an oath which they had never taken before." To which Strutt, in his Account of Ancient Customs, adds, "that these armillæ "were stained with the blood of their sacrifices;" and it is no improbable supposition, that the swords accompanied the armillæ on such occasions.

The objects of the high-priest's invocation, are the power and influence exercised

HIE PREESTE *syngeth.*

Yee, who hie yn mokie ^s ayre
 Delethe seafonnes foule or fayre, 435
 Yee, who, whanne yee weere agguylte ^t,
 The mone yn bloddie gyttelles ^u hylte ^v,
 Mooved the starres, and dyd unbynde
 Everyche barriere to the wynde;
 Whanne the oundyng ^x waves dyfstreste, 440
 Stroven ^y to be overest ^z,
 Sockeyng ^a yn the spyre-gyrte towne,
 Swolteryng ^b wole natyones downe,
 Sendyng dethe, on plagues astroyde,
 Moovyng lyke the erthys Godde; 445
 To mee send your heste ^c dyvyne,
 Lyghte eletten ^d all myne eyne,
 Thatt I maie now undeuyse ^e
 All the actyonnes of th'empprise ^f.

[falleth downe and ofte ryseth.]

^s Dark, cloudy. ^t Offended. ^u Mantels, or cloathing. ^v Hid, covered. ^x Watery, swelling. ^y Striving. ^z Uppermost. ^a Sucking. ^b Overwhelming. ^c Command.
^d Enlighten. ^e Explain. ^f Enterprize.

Thus

by their Deities over the heavenly bodies, the elements, and seasons, the winds and the waters, in the desolation of cities and countries, and in the destruction of their inhabitants: Compleating the magnificence of the image by

Sendyng dethe on plagues astroyde,
 Moovyng lyke the erthys Godde.

V. 449. *Eft* signifies *often*, and *afterwards*; it is used here in the latter sense: So Gascoigne, D. Barth. p. 120.

But such as once have felt the scorching fire,
 Will feldom *eft* to play with flame desire.

If

Thus sayethe the Goddes; goe, yssue to the playne; 450
Forr there shall meynthe of mytte menne bee slayne.

M A G N U S.

Whie, foe there evere was, whanne Magnus foughte.
Efte have I treynted ^a noyance ^b throughe the hoaste,
Athorowe swerdes, alyche the Qued dystraughte,
Have Magnus preffynge wroghte hys foemen loaſte ⁱ. 455

^a Scattered. ^b Annoyance, loſt. ⁱ Loſt.

As

If this addreſs of the high-prieſt, with the reſt of his prayer, is directed to the Deities in general, the words *lyghte eletten* may be underſtood as a Pleonaſmus, *i. e. enlighten my eyes with light*; from the Saxon word *Alyhtnyſſe*, illumination: But it may be an addreſs either to the *Sun*, as *the fountain of light*, or to *light* in general; and then the word *eletten* will ſignify to *alight*, or *deſcend upon his eyes*, from the Saxon word *Alihtan*—*deſcendere ab equo*. So *eletten*, B. H. 1. v. 413, ſignifies that *Alured lighted upon*, or found by chance another horſe.

V. 450. The answer of the gods to the high-prieſt is truly oracular, dark, and ambiguous; equally applicable to the conſtruction and wiſhes of either party.

The remainder of this ſcene is employed in a ſpirited and humorous altercation between the two Daniſh generals, Magnus and Hurra; the former repreſented as a boaiſting coward, the latter as a warrior of approved courage and generous diſpoſition, who, from a conſciouſneſs of his own valour, and the want of it in his rival, treats him with the greateſt contempt and ridicule. Strict poetical juſtice is done to each character; the former is ſlain flying, v. 780, the latter is made the generous inſtrument of reſtoring Birtha to her deceived and expiring Lord, v. 1110.

V. 452. Magnus begins his boaiſt in the ſtile of Falſtaff, and graces it with an Homericall alluſion.

——— ὡς ὅτε κύμα πολυρραϊσθεῖο θαλάσσης
Ἀγιάλῃ μεγάλῃ βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δὲ τε πόντος.

Il. B. v. 209.

—— As when old Ocean roars,
And heaves high ſurges to the neighbouring ſhores,
The groaning banks are burſt with bellowing ſound,
The rocks remurmur, and the deeps reſound.

Pope, B. ii. v. 249.

As whanne a tempeste vexethe soare the coaste,
 The dyngeynge ¹ ounde ^m the fandeie stronde doe tare,
 So dyd I inne the warre the javlynne toste ⁿ,
 Full meynthe a champyonnes breaste received mie spear.
 Mie sheelde, lyche fommere morie gronfer ^o droke ^p, 460
 Mie lethalle speere, alyche a levyn-mylted ^q oke.

H U R R A.

Thie wordes are greate, full hyghe of found, and ecke ^r,
 Lyche thonderre, to the whych dothe comme no rayne.
 Itte lacketh notte a doughtie honde to speke;
 The cocke faiethe drefte ^s, yett armed ys he alleyn. 465

¹ Noisy, founding. ^m Wave. ⁿ Toss. ^o Fen-fire, or meteor. ^p Dry. ^q Melted with lightning. ^r Amplification, or boast. ^s Least, rather, speaks big.

Certis

V. 456. Though nothing can bear less resemblance to another, than the general character of Magnus does to that of Nestor, yet there are some passages in the speech of the latter, wherein he recites the exploits of his youth in a stile not unlike the boasts of Magnus, and forms almost the same allusion.

Ἀντὰρ ἐγὼν ἐνὶ ῥαυσσᾷ, κελαινῇ λαίλαπι ἴσος,
 Πεντήκοντα δ' ἔλον δίφρους· δύο δ' ἀμφὶς ἕκαστον
 Φῶτες ὁδὸν ἔλον ἔδρας, ἐμῶ ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντες.

Il. A. v. 746.

The foe dispers'd, their bravest warrior kill'd,
 Fierce as a whirlwind now I swept the field;
 Full fifty captive chariots grac'd my train,
 Two chiefs from each fell breathless on the plain.

Pope, B. ii. v. 880.

Pope, in his translation, calls the tempest a whirlwind, and drops the mention of the spear.

V. 465. *Drefte*. Chatterton's gloss on this word is directly opposite to the meaning of the passage; which illustrates what was said in the preceding line, "The cock *speaks big, or threatens* as you do, but then he is *armed* and prepared to fight—your words may *be big and threatening* also, but you might have said of me, and of other brave men, what you have said of yourself." To justify this explanation, it is necessary to observe, that the Saxon word *Dræf* is explained in

Certis thie wordes maie, thou moteſt have fayne
 Of mee, and meynthe of moe, who eke canne fyghte,
 Who haveth trodden downe the adventayle¹,
 And tore the heaulmes from heades of myckle myghte.
 Sythence fyke myghte ys placed yn thie honde, 470
 Lette blowes thie actyons ſpeeke, and bie thie corrage ſtonde.

M A G N U S.

Thou are a warrioure, Hurra, thatte I kenne,
 And myckle famed for thie handie dede.
 Thou fyghteſt anente² maydens and ne menne,
 Nor aie thou makeſt armed hartes to blede. 475
 Efte³ I, caparyſon'd on bloddie ſtede,
 Havethe thee ſeene binethe mee ynn the fyghte,
 Wythe corſes I inveſtynge everich mede,
 And thou aſton, and wondrynge at mie myghte.
 Thanne wouldeſt thou comme yn for mie renome, 480
 Albeytte thou wouldſt reyne awaie from bloddie dome?

H U R R A.

How! butte bee bourne⁴ mie rage. I kenne aryghte
 Bothe thee and thyne maie ne bee wordhye peene⁵.

¹ *Armour.* ² *Against.* ³ *Often.* ⁴ *Stopped, or limited.* ⁵ *Trouble.*

Eftfoones

Lye's glosſary, by *minæ*, *threats*; and the words *Drepan* and *Dreping*, ſignify to *diſturb*, and *be turbulent*.

V. 468. *Adventayle*, or, as it is ſpelt in Chaucer, *Aventaille*, i. e. a *Ventaille*, ſignifies that aperture in a cloſe helmet, through which the wearer was to breathe. See Mr. Tyrwhit's note on v. 9080 of Chaucer. But it ſeems to be uſed by our poet as ſynonymous to armour in general; and it may be ſo underſtood in this paſſage, where it is expreſſly diſtinguiſhed from the *helmet*; and in B. H. N^o. 2. v. 327, 671, and 676. In the Tournament, v. 13, it denotes the whole ſuit of armour. In Godwyn, v. 62, it may ſignify the *helmet*, becauſe it is diſtinguiſhed from the *brygandyn*, which was body-armour.

Eftfoones I hope wee ſcalle engage yn fyghte ;
 Thanne to the ſouldyers all thou wylte bewreen ^z. 485
 I'll prove mie courage onne the burl'd ^a greene ;
 'Tys there alleyne I'll telle thee whatte I bee.
 Gyf I weelde notte the deadlie ſphere ^b adeene ^c,
 Thanne lett mie name be fulle as lowe as thee.
 Thys mie adented ^d ſhilde, thys mie warre-ſpeare, 490
 Schalle telle the falleynge foe gyf Hurra's harte can feare.

M A G N U S.

Magnus woulde ſpeke, butte thatte hys noble ſpyte
 Dothe foe enrage, he knowes notte whatte to ſaie.
 He'dde ſpeke yn blowes, yn gottes ^e of blodde he'd wryte,
 And on thie heafod ^f peyncte hys myghte for aie. 495
 Gyf thou anent ^g an wolffynnes rage wouldeſt ſtaie,
 'Tys here to meet ytt ; botte gyff nott, bee goe ;
 Left I in furrie ſhulde mie armes dysplaie,
 Whyche to thie boddie wylle wurche ^h myckle woe.
 Oh ! I bee madde, dyſtraughte ⁱ wyth brendyng rage ; 500
 Ne feaſ of ſmethynge ^k gore wylle mie chafed harte aſſwage.

H U R R A.

I kenne thee, Magnus, welle ; a wyghte thou art,
 That doeſt aſlee ^l alonge ynn doled ^m dyſtreſſe,
 Strynge ⁿ bulle yn boddie, lyoncelle ^o yn harte,
 I almoſt wyſche thie prowes were made leſſe. 505

^z *Display.* ^a *Armed* ^b *Spear.* ^c *Worthily.* ^d *Bruised.* ^e *Drops.* ^f *Head.*
^g *Against.* ^h *Work.* ⁱ *Distracted.* ^k *Smoking.* ^l *Slide, or creep.* ^m *Painful,*
grievous. ⁿ *Strong.* ^o *Lyon.*

Whan

V. 504. Hurra replies with the ſharpeſt irony in theſe two lines ; but Achilles's ſarcaſm on Agamemnon is more literal ;

—— κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο. II. A. v. 225.

Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer.

Whan Ælla (name drest uppe yn ugfomnefs "^p
To thee and recreandes ^q) thondered on the playne,
Howe dydste thou thorowe fyrste of fleers presse!
Swefter thanne federed takelle ^r dydste thou reyne.

A ronnynge pryze onn feyncte daie to ordayne, 510
Magnus, and none botte hee, the ronnynge pryze wylle gayne.

M A G N U S.

Eternaille plagues devour thie baned ^s tyngue!
Myrriades of neders pre upponne thie spryte!
Maieft thou fele al the peynes of age whylst yynge,
Unmanned, uneyned, exclooded aie the lyghte, 515
Thie senses, lyche thiefselſe, enwrapped yn nyghte,
A scoff to foemen, & to beastes a pheere ^t;
Maie furched levynne ^u onne thie head alyghte,
Maie on thee falle the fhuyr of the unweere ^w;
Fen vaipores blaſte thie everiche manlie powere, 520
Maie thie bante ^x boddie quicke the wolſome peenes devoure.

Faygne woulde I curſe thee further, botte mie tyngue
Denies mie harte the favoure foe toe doe.

^r Terror. ^q Cowards. ^r Arrow. ^s Curſed. ^t Companion. ^u Forked lightning.
^w Tempeſt. ^x Curſed.

H U R R A.

V. 510. His aſſignig to Magnus the prize for running at a wake, from the ſwiftnes with which he fled from the Saxons, is an irony well adapted to the cuſtoms and manners of thoſe times.

V. 515. The bitterneſs of Magnus's curſes ſeems to allude to ſuch puniſhments as were commonly inflicted on malefactors: The loſs of their members—of their eyes, and their confinement in a dark priſon; which Hurra, in his anſwer, ſtiles “all tortures that be rou.”

V. 523. It is unneceſſary to point out particularly the various ſtriking features which diſtinguiſh this capital ſcene, wherein the paſſions are worked up, and conducted by a very maſterly hand: It is ſufficient to obſerve that it yields neither to Shakeſpeare's *Timon and Apemantus*, nor to Ben Johnſon's ſcene of *Subtle and Face*, in the Alchemiſt.

H U R R A.

Nowe bie the Dacyanne goddes, & Welkyns ' kynge,
 Wythe fhurie, as thou dydste begynne, perfue ; 525
 Calle on mie heade all tortures that bee rou ^z,
 Banne onne, tylle thie owne tongue thie curfes fele.
 Sende onne mie heade the blyghteynge lewynne blewe,
 The thonder loude, the fwellynge azure rele ^a.
 Thie wordes be hie of dynne ^b, botte nete befylde ; 530
 Bane on, good chieftayn, fyghte wythe wordes of myckle pryde.

Botte doe notte wafte thie breath, left Ælla come.

M A G N U S.

Ælla & thee togyder fynke toe helle !
 Bee youre names blafted from the rolle of dome !
 I feere noe Ælla, thatte thou kenneft welle. 535
 Unlydgefulle traytoure, wylt thou nowe rebelle ?
 'Tys knownen, thatte yie menn bee lyncked to myne,
 Bothe fente, as troopes of wolves, to fletre ^c felle ;
 Botte nowe thou lackeft hem to be all yyne ^d.
 Nowe, bie the goddes yatte reule the Dacyanne fiate, 540
 Speacke thou yn rage once moe, I wyll thee dyfregate ^e.

H U R R A.

I pryze thie threattes jofte as I doe thie banes,
 The fede of malyce and recendize ^f al.

^y Sky, or heaven. ^z Rough, Terrible. ^a Wave. ^b Sound. ^c Slaughter. ^d Thine.
^e Break connection, friendship with thee. ^f Cowardice.

Thou

V. 541. I will thee *dyfregate*. *Abrego*, a fimilar word, is explained by the *Medulla Grammaticæ*, *to forfake fellowship with a perfon*; which feems to be the proper fenfe of *dyfregate* in this paffage.

Thou arte a ſteyne unto the name of Danes ;
 Thou alleyne to thie tyngue for prooffe canſt calle. 545
 Thou beeſt a worme ſo groffile ^g and ſo ſmal,
 I wythe thie bloude woulde ſcorne to foul mie ſworde,
 Botte wythe thie weaponnes woulde upon thee falle,
 Alyche thie owne feare, flea thee wythe a worde.
 I Hurra amme mieſel, & aie wylle bee, 550
 As greate yn valourous actes, & yn commande as thee.

MAGNUS, HURRA, ARMYE & MESSENGER.
 MESSENGER.

Blynne ^h your contekions ⁱ, chiefs; for, as I ſtode
 Uponne mie watche, I ſpiede an armie commynge,
 Notte lyche ann handfulle of a fremded ^k foe,
 Botte blacke wythe armoure, movynge ugſomlie ^l, 555
 Lyche a blacke fulle cloude, thatte dothe goe alonge
 To droppe yn hayle, & ^m hele the thonder ſtorme.

MAGNUS.

Ar there meynthe of them ?

MESSENGER.

Thycke as the ante-ſyes ynne a ſommer's none,
 Seemynge as tho' theie ſtynge as perſante ⁿ too. 560

^g Groveling, mean. ^h Ceafe. ⁱ Contentions. ^k Frighted, rather ſtrange, unknown.
^l Terribly. ^m Help. ⁿ Piercing.

HURRA.

V. 545. *Thou alleyne to thie tyngue for prooffe canſt calle.*

This ſarcaſm ſuits the character of Drances in Virgil,

———Lingua melior, ſed frigida bello

Dextra.

Æn. xi. v. 338.

and one can hardly conceive a more ſevere or poignant rebuke than that conveyed in lines 548 and 549.

V. 552. This is one of the very few irregular ſtanza's which occur in theſe poems; one line is wanting, and the whole ſtanza deficient in rhyme. That beginning at line 571, is alſo deficient in both reſpects.

H U R R A.

Whatte matters thatte ? lettes sette oure warr-arraie.

Goe, founde the beme °, lette champyons prepare ;

Ne doubtynge, we wylle styngge as faste as heie.

Whatte ? doest forgard ° thie blodde ? ys ytte for feare ?

Wouldest thou gayne the towne, & castle-stere, 565

And yette ne byker ° wythe the foldyer garde ?

Go, hyde thee ynn mie tente annethe the lere ° ;

I of thie boddie wylle keepe watche & warde.

M A G N U S.

Oure goddes of Denmarke know mie harte ys goode.

H U R R A.

For nete uppon the erthe, botte to be choughens ° foode:

M A G N U S, H U R R A, A R M I E, S E C O N D E
M E S S E N G E R R E.

S E C O N D E M E S S E N G E R R E.

As from mie towre I kende the commynge foe, 571.

I spied the crossed shielde, & bloddie swerde,

The furious Ælla's banner ; wythynne kenne

The armie ys. Dyforder throughe oure hoaste

Is fleyngge, borne onne wynges of Ælla's name ; 575.

Styr, styrr, mie lordes !

M A G N U S.

What ? Ælla ? & foe neare ?

Thenne Denmarques roiend ; oh mie ryfynge feare !

• *Trumpet.* ° *Lose.* ° *Combat with.* ° *Leather, stuff.* ° *Food for crows, or choughs.*

H U R R A.

V. 567. *Annethe the lere.* This last word may signify the *baggage* or *stuff* belonging to a camp, unless *the tents* are supposed to be so called ; for Abbo, in his *Poen De obfesa a Normannis Lutetiâ*, A. D. 885, speaks of tents *constructed with leather.* See *Aimon de gestis Francorum*, ed. Paris, 1603, p. 409.

TRAGEDY OF ÆLLA.

H U R R A.

What doeſt thou mene? thys Ælla's botte a manne.

Nowe bie mie ſworde, thou arte a verie berne ¹.

Of late I dyd thie creand ^u valoure ſcanne, 580

Whanne thou dydſt boaste foe moche of actyon derne ^x.

Botte I toe warr mie doeynges moſte atturney ^y,

To cheere the Sabbataneres ^z, to deere ^a dede.

M A G N U S.

I to the knyghtes onne everyche fyde wylle burne ^b,

Telleyng ſhem alle to make her foemen blede; 585

Sythe ſhame or deathe onne eidher fyde wylle bee,

Mie harte I wylle upryſe, & inne the battelle ſlea.

ÆLLA, CELMONDE, & ARMIE *near* WATCHETTE.

Æ L L A.

NOW havynge done oure mattynes & oure vowes,

Lette us for the intended fyghte be boune ^c,

And everyche champyone potte the joyous crowne 590

Of certane maſterſchyppe upon hys gleſtreynge browes.

As for mie harte, I owne ytt ys, as ere

Itte has beene ynne the ſommer-ſheene of fate,

Unknowen to the ugſomme ^d gratche ^e of fere;

Mie blodde embollen ^f, wythe maſterie elate, 595

¹ Child. ^u Cowardly, deficient. ^x Terrible. ^y Turn. ^z Soldiers in boots.
^a Terrible. ^b Turn. ^c Ready. ^d Terrible. ^e Habit, or cloathing. ^f Swelling.

Boyles

V. 584. *Burne* is probably a miſtake, either in the original MS, or in the tranſcript, for *turne*.

Boyles ynne mie veynes, & rolles ynn rapyd state,
 Impatyente forr to mete the perfante stele,
 And telle the worlde, thatte Ælla dyed as greate
 As anie knyghte who foughte for Englonde's weale.
 Friends, kynne, & foldyerres, ynne blacke armore drere, 600
 Mie actyons ymytate, mie presente redyng^e ⁸ here.

There ys ne housse, athrow thys shap-scutged ^h isle,
 Thatte has ne losse a kynne yn these fell fyghtes,
 Fatte blodde has forfeeted ⁱ the hongerde soyle,
 And townes enlowed ^k lemed ^l oppe the nyghtes. 605
 Inne gyte ^m of fyre oure hallie churche dheie dyghtes ⁿ;
 Oure sonnes lie storven ^o ynne theyre smethynge ^p gore;
 Oppe bie the rootes oure tree of lyfe dheie pyghtes ^q,
 Vexynge oure coaste, as byllowes doe the shore.
 Yee menne, gyf ye are menne, displaie yor name, 610
 Ybrende ^r yer tropes, alyche the roarynge tempest flame.

Ye Chrystyans, doe as wordhie of the name;
 These roynnerres of oure hallie houses flea;
 Braste ^s, lyke a cloude, from whence doth come the flame,
 Lyche torientes, gushynge downe the mountaines, bee. 615
 And whanne alonge the grene yer champyons flee,
 Sweeste as the rodde for-weltrynge ^t levyn-bronde ^u,
 Yatte hauntes the flyinge mortherer oere the lea,
 Soe flie oponne these roynners of the londe.
 Lette those yatte are unto yer battayles ^v fledde, 620
 Take slepe eterne uponne a feerie lowyng^e ^y bedde.

⁸ Advice. ^h Fate-scourged. ⁱ Surfeited. ^k Flamed, fired. ^l Lighted. ^m Cloathing.
ⁿ Drefs. ^o Dead. ^p Smoaking. ^q Pluck. ^r Burn. ^s Burst. ^t Blasting. ^u Flash
 of lightning. ^v Ships, boats. ^y Flaming, burning.

Let cowarde Londonne see herre towne onn fyre,
 And strev wythe goulde to staie the royners honde,
 Ælla & Brystowe havethe thoughtes thattes hygher,
 Wee fyghte notte forr ourselves, botte all the londe. 625
 As Severnes hyger ^a lyghethe ^a banckes of sonde,
 Pressyng ytte downe binethe the reynyng streme,
 Wythe dreerie dynn enswolters ^b the hyghe stonde,
 Beerynge the rockes alonge ynn fhurye breme ^c,
 Soe wylle wee beere the Dacyanne armie downe, 630
 And throughe a storme of blodde wyll reache the champion
 crowne.

Gyff ynn thys battelle locke ne wayte oure gare ^d,
 To Brystowe dheie wylle tourne yeyre fhuyrie dyre;
 Brystowe, & alle her joies, wylle synke toe ayre,
 Brendeynge ^e perforce wythe unenhantende ^f fyre: 635
 Thenne lette oure safetie doublied moove oure ire,
 Lyche wolfyns, rovyng for the evnyng pre,
 See[ing] the lambe & shepsterr nere the brire,
 Doth th'one forr safetie, th'one for hongre flea;

^a *The bore of the Severn.* ^a *Lodgeth.* ^b Swallows, fucks in. ^c *Fierce.* ^d *Cause.*
^e *Burning.* ^f Unaccustomed.

Thanne,

V. 622. The compliment paid to Bristol, at the expence of the city of London, is founded on a well-authenticated fact in history; for it appears by the Saxon Chronicle, p. 14, that the Danes having besieged London in 1012, a national assembly was convened at that city, when they purchased peace with the Danes, at the expence of 8000 l.; who having again besieged London in 1016, the inhabitants paid them 11,000 l. on the like account. These historical events (which could hardly have come to the knowledge of Chatterton) give an opportunity to the poet of exciting his Bristowans to a more noble spirit, exhorting them to conquer, and not shamefully to compound with their enemies.

V. 626. For the description of the hygra, see the note on B. H. 2. v. 710.

Thanne, whanne the ravenne crokes uponne the playne, 640
Oh ! lette ytte bee the knelle to myghtie Dacyanns flayne.

Lyche a rodde gronfer ^s, shalle mie anlace ^h sheene,
Lyche a stryngge lyoncelle I'lle bee ynne fyghte,
Lyche fallynge leaves the Dacyannes shalle bee fleene,
Lyche[a]loud dynnyngge streeme scalle be mie myghte. 645
Ye menne, who woulde deserve the name of knyghte,
Lette bloddie teares bie all your paves ⁱ be wepte ;
To commynge tymes no poyntelle ^k shalle ywrite,
Whanne Englonde han her foemenn, Bryftow slepte.
Yourselfes, youre chyldren, & youre fellowes crie, 650
Go, fyghte ynne rennomes gare, be brave, & wynne or die.

I saie ne moe ; youre spryte the reste wyll saie ;
Your spryte wyll wrynne ^l, thatte Bryftow ys yer place ;
To honoures houe I nede notte marcke the waie ;
Inne youre owne hartes you maie the foote-pathe trace. 655

^s *Fen meteor.* ^k *Sword.* ⁱ *Shields.* ^k *Pen.* ^l *Discover.*

'Twexte

V. 640. The *Ræsfan*, or raven, was the Danish standard, alluded to in other passages of this tragedy :

Wee longe to here the *raven* synge yn vayne. v. 663.

And again,

The Danes, wythe terroure rulyngge att their head,

Threwe downe theyr bannere talle, and lyche a *ravenne* fledde. v. 792.

This fact also could not well have come within Chatterton's knowledge. Spenser, in the prophecy which he puts into Merlin's mouth, concerning the monarchy of England, speaks of the Danes under the character of a raven. B. iii. C. 5. St. 46.

'Twexte shappe ^m & us there ys botte lyttelle space ;
 The tyme ys now to proove yourselves bee menne ;
 Drawe forth the bornyshed bylle wythe fetyve ⁿ grace,
 Rouze, lyche a wolfynne rouzing from hys denne.
 Thus I enrone ^{*} mie anlace ; go thou shethe ; 66●
 I'lle potte ytt ne ynn place, tyll ytte ys fycke wythe deathe.

S O L D Y E R S.

Onn, Ælla, onn ; we longe for bloddie fraie ;
 Wee longe to here the raven synge yn vayne ;
 Onn, Ælla, onn ; we certys gayne the daie,
 Whanne thou doste leade us to the leathal playne. 665

C E L M O N D E.

This speche, O Loverde, fyrethe the whole trayne ;
 Theie pancte for war, as honted wolves for breathe ;
 Go, & fytt crowned on corfes of the slayne ;
 Go, & ywielde the massie fwerde of deathe,

S O L D Y E R R E S.

From thee, O Ælla, alle oure courage reynes ; 67●
 Echone yn phantasie do lede the Danes ynne chaynes.

Æ L L A.

Mie countrymenne, mie friendes, your noble sprytes
 Speke yn youre eyne, & doe yer master telle.
 Swefte as the rayne-storme toe the erthe alyghtes,
 Soe wyll we fall upon these royners felle. 675

^m Fate. ⁿ Agreeable, pleasant. ^{*} Unsheath.

Oure

V. 662. The speeches of the soldiers to Ella, seem to be a sort of Chorus, like those introduced by Handel in his Oratorios.

Oure mowynge fwerdes shalle plonge hem downe to helle;
 Theyre throngynge corfes shall onlyghte ^p the starres;
 The barrowes braſtynge wythe the ſleene ſchall ſwelle,
 Brynnynge ^a to commynge tymes our famous warres;
 Inne everie eyne I kenne the lowe ^r of myghte, 680
 Sheenyng abrode, alyche a hylle-fyre ynne the nyghte.
 Whanne poyntelles ^s of oure famous fyghte ſhall ſaie,
 Echone wyllle marvelle atte the dernie ^t dede,
 Echone wyllle wyſſen ^u hee hanne ſeene the daie,
 And bravelie holped to make the foemenn blede; 685
 Botte for yer holpe oure battelle wyllle notte nede;
 Oure force ys force enowe to ſtaie theyre honde;
 Wee wyllle retourne unto thys grened mede,
 Oer corfes of the foemen of the londe.
 Nowe to the warre lette all the ſlughornes ^x founde, 690
 The Dacyanne troopes appere on yinder ^y ryſynge grounde.
 Chiefes, heade youre bandes, and leade.

DANES *flyinge, neare* WATCHETTE.

FYRSTE DANE.

FLY, fly, ye Danes; Magnus, the chiefe, ys ſleene;
 The Saxonneſſes comme wythe Ælla atte theyre heade;

^p *Darken the ſtar-light.* ^a *Declaring.* ^r *Flame, or fire.* ^s *Pens.* ^t *Terrible.*
^u *Wiſh.* ^x *Horn, or war trumpet.* ^y *Yonder.*

Lette's

V. 677. *Onlyghte the ſtarres.* This is a ſtrong expreſſion, meaning, probably, that the number of dead bodies would eclipse the light of the ſtars.

V. 681. *The hill fire in the night,* means the beacons which were lighted, in order to give notice of an enemy's approach.

V. 693. The Danes are repreſented by Rowley, and indeed by all hiſtorians, as a crew of barbarous heathen pirates. The reſolution of the ſecond Dane, v. 701, is ſuited to that character; and the account of their flight, ſlaughter, and the burning of their fleet, is very dramatically introduced by the third Dane. A

Lette's flev to gette awaie to yinder greene ; 695
Flie, flie ; thys ys the kyngdomme of the deadde.

S E C O N D E D A N E.

O goddes ! have thoufandes bie mie anlace bledde,
And muſte I nowe for fafetic flie awaie ?
See ! farre beſprenged ^a alle oure troopes are ſpreade,
Yette I wyll ſynglie dare the bloddie fraie. 700
Botte ne ; I'lle flie, & morthen yn retrete ;
Deathe, blodde, & fyre, ſcalle ^a marke the goeynge of my feete.

T H Y R D E D A N E.

Enthoghteynge ^b forr to ſcape the brondeyng ^c foe,
As nere unto the byllowd beche I came,
Farr offe I ſpied a fyghte of myckle woe, 705
Oure ſpyrynge battayles ^d wrapte ynn fayles of flame.
The burled ^e Dacyannes, who were ynne the fame,
Fro fyde to fyde fledde the purſuyte of deathe ;
The ſwelleyng fyre yer corrage doe enflame,
Theie lepe ynto the ſea, & bobblyng yield yer breathe ; 710
Whyleſt thoſe thatt bee uponne the bloddie playne,
Bee deathe-doomed captyves taene, or yn the battle ſlayne.

H U R R A.

Nowe bie the goddes, Magnus, dyſcourteous knyghte,
Bie cravente ^f havyoure havethe don oure woe,

^a Scattered. ^a Shall. ^b Thinking, conſidering. ^c Furious. ^d Ships. ^e Armed.
^f Cowardly.

Dyſpendyng

ſimilar effect of cowardly deſpair is deſcribed by our poet in the inſtances of Magnus and Campynon ; the former ſays,

Sythe ſhame or deathe onne eidhir fyde wyll bee,
Mie harte I wyll upryſe, & inne the battelle flea. v. 586.

So Campynon, B. H. 2. v. 660,

When feere of dethe made hym for deathe to fyghte.

Dyspendynge all the talle menne yn the fyghte, 715
 And placeyng valourous menne where draffs ^f mote goe.
 Sythence oure fourtunie havethe tourned foe,
 Gader the souldyers lefte to future shappe ^g,
 To somme newe place for safetie wee wylle goe.
 Inne future daie wee wylle have better happe. 720
 Sounde the loude flughorne for a quicke forloyne ^h;
 Lette alle the Dacyannes swythe untoe oure banner joyne.

Throw hamlettes wee wylle spreng fadde dethe & dole,
 Bathe yn hotte gore, & wasch ourefelves thereynne;
 Goddes! here the Saxonne lych a byllowe rolle. 725
 I heere the anlacis detested dynne.
 Awaie, awaie, ye Danes, to yonder penne ⁱ;
 Wee now wylle make forloyne ^k yn tyme to fyghte agenne.

CELMONDE *near* WATCHETTE.

O forr a spyte al feere! to telle the daie,
 The daie whyche scal astounde the herers rede ^l, 730

^f *Refuse-men.* ^g *Fate.* ^h *Retreat.* ⁱ *Eminence.* ^k *Retreat.* ^l *Thought,*
or counsel.

Makeynge

V. 716. Draffs, is an Anglosaxon word, signifying *things thrown away as unfit for use*. See Mr. Tyrwhit's glossary on Chaucer.

The following soliloquy of Celmond is very different from the former, which related solely to his love, and his future intended treachery against Ella and Birtha: The present speech, which is a recapitulation of the battle, consists of encomiums, very properly introduced, on Ælla's conduct, and no less impartially contrasted with his own principles and behaviour. Without the least suspicion of plagiarism, it corresponds with the speech of Richard the III^d in Shakespeare; the former imputes the deformities of his mind to the qualities of his parents, the latter connects them with the deformities of his body.

V. 729. *O forr a spyte al feere!* This passage has been produced as one of Chatterton's

Makeynge oure foemennes envyynge hartes to blede,
Ybereynge thro the worlde oure rennomde name for aie.

Bryghte sonne han ynn hys roddie robes byn dyghte,
From the rodde Easte he flytted wythe hys trayne,

The

Chatterton's plagiarisms, and is supposed to have been copied from Shakespeare's Prologue to Henry Vth, which begins

O for a muse of fire !

But it must be observed, that the two expressions are not the same, and the idea of *fire*, in which the similitude is supposed principally to consist, is differently applied by each poet: The author of *Ælla*, with his peculiar modesty, forbears to dignify his verse by an invocation of his *Muse*; but, with a superior boldness, calls for a *SPRYTE AL FEERE*, not *poetic*, but *warlike fire*, that he might do honour to the valour of the Saxon army, and to the conduct of their commander *Ælla*, whom he majestically represents

Moovynge alyche a mountayne yn affraie,

Whanne a lowde whyrlevynde doe yttes boefomme tare. v. 755.

But Shakespeare's *muse of fire* was to excel in *poetic description*, or, as it is expressed in the words immediately following,

—— to ascend

The brightest Heaven of invention.

Had the expression been exactly the same in both poems, it could not even then have been justly charged as a plagiarism, nothing being more usual with poets, than to invoke poetic spirit and fire to assist them in their compositions.

There is also a passage in the *Bristowe Tragedy*, where our poet has expressed the natural effects of grief, by saying

Tears began to flow. v. 104.

This also has been deemed a plagiarism, because the same phrase is used by Dryden; though the idea is common, and cannot well be expressed in other terms. If Chatterton could be supposed to have borrowed such distant and immaterial allusions from our modern English poets, would he not have endeavoured to grace his compositions, by copying their ideas and language in the more important and beautiful images of their poetry? and how absurd must be the idea of that plagiarist, who exposes himself to shame and detection, without the prospect of reaping any poetic credit or advantage by the imitation?

V. 733. The description of the morning, in this scene, is confessedly one of the most classical and beautiful images in Rowley's poetry. It is in fact almost a direct

copy

The howers drewe awaie the geete of nyghte, 735
 Her fable tapistrie was rente yn twayne.
 The dauncynge streakes bedecked heavennes playne,
 And on the dewe dyd synle wythe shemrynge ^m eie,
 Lyche gottes ⁿ of blodde whyche doe blacke armoure steyne,
 Sheenyng upon the borne ^o whyche stondeth bie; 740
 The souldyers stoode uponne the hillis fyde,
 Lyche yonge enlefed trees whyche yn a forreste hyde.

Ælla rose lyche the tree besette wyth brieres;
 Hys talle speere sheenyng as the starres at nyghte,
 Hys eyne ensemeynge ^p as a lowe ^q of fyre; 745
 Whanne he encheered ^r everie manne to fyghte,

^m *Shining, or glimmering.* ⁿ *Drops.* ^o *Burnished part of the armour.* ^p *Seeming.*
^q *Flame.* ^r *Encouraged.*

Hys

copy from that in the fifth Iliad; and his introduction of the Hours, directs us to the poet from whom he borrowed his simile.

Αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον ἔρξαντ', ἃς ἔχον Ὑπέραι,
 Τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανός, Οὐλυμπός τε
 Ἥ μὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος, ἥ δ' ἐπιθεῖναι.

Il. E. v. 749. and Θ. v. 393.

Heaven's gates spontaneous open to the powers,
 Heaven's golden gates, kept by the winged Hours;
 Commission'd, in alternate watch they stand,
 The Sun's bright portal and the skies command;
 Involve in clouds th' eternal gates of day,
 And the dark barrier roll with ease away.

Pope, B. v. l. 927.

The other description, v. 1126, with a third in B. H. N^o. 2. v. 211 (each of them varying in beauty of description) shews the wonderful exuberance of the poet's imagination. The reader will decide on the respective merit of these beautiful images.

Hys gentle wordes dyd moove eche valourous knyghte;
 Itte moovethe 'hem, as honterres lyoncelle;
 In trebled armoure ys theyre courage dyghte;
 Eche warrynge harte forr prayse & rennome swelles; 750
 Lyche slowelie dynnyng of the croucheynge 'streme,
 Syche dyd the mormryng founde of the whol armie seme.

Hee ledes 'hem onne to fyghte; oh! thenne to faie
 How Ælla loked, and lokyng dyd encheere,
 Moovyng alyche a mountayne yn affraie, 755
 Whanne a lowde whyrlevynde doe yttes boefomme tare,
 To telle howe everie loke wuld banysh feere,
 Woulde aske an angelles poyntelle or hys tyngue.
 Lyche a talle rocke yatte ryfeth heaven-were',
 Lyche a yonge wolfyne brondeous " & stryng, 760
 Soe dydde he goe, & myghtie warriours hedde;
 Wythe gore-depycted wynges masterie arounde hym fledde.

The battelle jyned; swerdes uponne swerdes dyd ryng;
 Ælla was chafed, as lyons madded bee;
 Lyche fallynge starres, he dydde the javlynn flyng; 765
 Hys mightie anlace mightie menne dyd flea;
 Where he dydde comme, the flemed " foe dydde flee,
 Or felle benethe hys honde, as fallyng rayne,
 Wythe fyke a fhuyrie he dydde onn 'hemm dree*,
 Hylles of yer bowkes y dyd ryse opponne the playne; 770
 Ælla, thou arte—botte staie, mie tyng; faie nee;
 Howe greate I hymme maye make, styll greater hee wyll bee.

* Crooked, winding. ' Towards heaven. " Furious. " Frighted, or driven.

z Drive. y Bodies.

Nor dydde hys fouldyerres see hys actes yn vayne.
 Heere a stoute Dane uponne hys compheere felle ;
 Heere lorde & hyndlette ^v sonke uponne the playne ; 775
 Heere sonne & fadre trembled ynto helle.
 Chief Magnus fought hys waie, &, shame to telle !
 Hee soughte hys waie for flyghte ; botte Ælla's speere
 Uponne the flyyng Dacyannes schoulder felle,
 Quyte throwe hys boddie, & hys harte ytte tare, 780
 He groned, & sonke uponne the gorie greene,
 And wythe hys corse encreased the pyles of Dacyannes fleene.
 Spente wythe the fyghte, the Danyſhe champyons ſtonde,
 Lyche bulles, whoſe ſtrengthe & wondrous myghte ys fledde ;
 Ælla, a javelynne grypped yn eyther honde, 785
 Flyes to the thronge, & doomes two Dacyannes deadde.
 After hys acte, the armie all yſpedde ^z ;
 Fromm everich on unmyſſyng javlynnes flewe ;
 Theie ſtraughte ^a yer doughtie ſwerdes ; the foemenn bledde ;
 Full three of foure of myghtie Danes dheie flewe ; 790
 The Danes, wythe terroure rulyng att their head,
 Threwe downe theyr bannere talle, & lyche a ravenne fledde.
 The ſoldyerres followed wythe a myghtie crie,
 Cryes, yatte welle myghte the ſtouteste hartes affraie.
 Sweſte, as yer ſhyppes, the vanquyſhed Dacyannes flie ; 795
 Sweſte, as the rayne uponne an Aprylle daie,

^v Peasant. ^z Dispatched, or made haſte. ^a Stretched.

Preſſyng

V. 796. See the ſame alluſions, v. 674, and 768. This part of the tragedy is enriched by a great variety of ſimilies.

Preflynge behynde, the Englyſche foldyerres ſlaie.
 Botte halfe the tythes of Danyſhe menne remayne;
 Ælla commaundes 'heie ſhoulde the ſlectre ^b ſlaie,
 Botte bynde 'hem pryſonners on the bloddie playne. 800
 The fyghtynge beyng done, I came awaie,
 In odher fieldes to fyghte a moe unequalle fraie.
 Mie ſervant ſquyre!

CELMONDE, SERVITOUR.

CELMONDE.

Prepare a fleing horſe,
 Whoſe feete are wynges, whoſe pace ys lycke the wynde,
 Whoe wylle outeſtreppe the morneyng lyghte yn courſe, 805
 Leaveynge the gyttelles ^c of the merke ^d behynde.
 Somme hyltren ^e matters doe mie prefence fynde.
 Gyv oute to alle yatte I was fleene ynne fyghte.
 Gyff ynne thys gare ^f thou doeſt mie order mynde,
 Whanne I returne, thou ſhalte be made a knyghte; 810
 Flie, flie, be gon; an howerre ys a daie;
 Quicke dyghte ^g mie beſte of ſtedes, & brynge hymm heere—awaie!

^b Slaughter. ^c Mantle, cloathing. ^d Darkneſs. ^e Hidden. ^f Cauſe. ^g Prepare.

CELMONDE

V. 798. Our poet was certainly no ſtranger to the rhetorical figures of "Ἀυχῆσις and Μείωσις. He has frequently made uſe of the former, by a reduplication of numbers, and the latter is here expreſſed by a double fraction, to reduce the ſurviving Danes to *one half of a tenth part* of their former number.

V. 812. This ſpeech of Celmonde is thus divided in the former editions, probably becauſe it is ſpoken in different ſcenes. His Servitoure goes out at the end of the former ſtanza, and therefore his latter ſpeech is a ſoliloquy, for which reaſon I have added the word *Solus* to it.

CELMONDE [*solus.*]

Ælla ys woundedd fore, & ynne the tounē
 He waytethe, tylle hys woundes bee broghte to etheⁿ.
 And shalle I from hys browes plocke off the croune, 815
 Makynge the vyctore yn hys vyctorie blethe?
 O no! fulle fooner schulde mie hartes blodde smethe,
 Fulle foonere woulde I tortured bee toe deathe;
 Botte—Birtha ys the pryze; ahe! ytte were etheⁱ
 To gayne so gayne^k a pryze wythe losse of breathe; 820
 Botte thanne rennome æterne^l—yttte ys botte ayre;
 Bredde ynne the phantasie, & alleyn lyvyngē there.

Albeytte everyche thyngē yn lyfe conspyre
 To telle me of the faulte I nowe schulde doe,
 Yette woulde I battentlie^m affluage mie fyre, 825
 And the same menes, as I scall nowe, pursue.
 The qualytyes I fro mie parentes drewe,
 Were blodde, & morthē, masterie, and warre;
 Thie I wylle holde to now, & hede ne moe
 A wounde yn rennome, yanne a boddie scarre. 830
 Nowe, Ælla, nowe Ime plantynge of a thorne,
 Bie whyche thie peace, thie love, & glorie shalle be torne.

ⁿ Relieved, made easy. ⁱ Easy. ^k Gainful, great. ^l Eternal. ^m Boldly, or violently.

BRYSTOWE.

V. 820. To *gayne* so *gayne* a prize.—This repetition may be no mistake in the transcript, as is supposed in the Index: *Gayne*, like other ancient words, may be used both as an adjective and a verb, implying *gainful*, *advantageous*; or, in a different sense, it may signify the opposite quality to *ungayne*, an ancient word still in use, which signifies *unhandy*, *awkward*.

V. 829. *Thie* is certainly a mistake, or at least meant for *these*.

B R Y S T O W E.

B I R T H A, E G W I N A.

B I R T H A.

GENTLE Egwina, do notte preche me joie ;
 I cannotte joie ynne anic thyng botte weere ^a.
 Oh ! yatte aughte schulde oure fellyness ^a destroie, 835
 Floddyng the face wythe woe, & brynne teare !

E G W I N A.

You muste, you muste endeavour for to cheere
 Youre harte unto somme cherifaunced ^p reste.
 Youre loverde ^a from the battelle wyll appere,
 Ynne honnoure, & a greater love, be dreste ; 840
 Botte I wyll call the mynstrelles roundelaie ;
 Perchaunce the swotie founde maie chase your wiere ^r awaie.

B I R T H A, E G W I N A, M Y N S T R E L L E S.

M Y N S T R E L L E S S O N G E.

O ! fyng untoe mie roundelaie,
 O ! droppe the brynne teare wythe mee,

^a Grief. ^b *Happiness*. ^p *Comfortable*. ^a *Lord*. ^r Grief.

Daunce

V. 843. The Roundelay, introduced to assuage the grief of Birtha, is most natural and expressive in its description, and not less harmonious in its numbers. This species of Dirge, or Mournful Roundelai, was of ancient and general use *. It is indeed the picture of human nature, and the language of the passions : Several of these ancient ditties, composed before Shakespeare's time, are preserved in his plays ; and such songs as these, which he observes were *old* and *plain*, and

The spinsters, and the knitters in the sun,
 Did use to chant them. Twelfth Night, Act ii. Sc. 4.

* See Dr. Percy's Preface.

Daunce ne moe atte hallie daie, 845

Lycke a reynynge ' ryver bee ;

Mie love ys dedde,

Gon to hys death-bedde,

Al under the wyllowe tree.

Blacke hys cryne ^s as the wyntere nyghte, 850

Whyte hys rode ^t as the fommer fnowe,

^r Running. ^s Hair. ^t Complexion.

Rodde

Or, as the Queen in *Hamlet* calls Ophelia's songs, *the snatches of old tunes*. The originality of this song will appear by the resemblance in its ideas and measure with some passages selected from old ballads (particularly those in *Hamlet*) without leaving any reasonable suspicion of plagiarism. The *Willow*, which is the burthen of this Roundelai, was an emblem of grief, either on death or forsaken love. It is the burthen of Desdemona's song in *Othello*; She says her mother's maid

——— had a song of *willow*,

An old song 'twas, but it exprefs'd her fortune,

And she died finging it ———

The poor foul fat finging by a sycamore-tree,

Sing all a green willow ;

Her hand on her bosom, her head on her knee,

Sing willow, willow, willow, &c. Act iv. Scene the last.

So the burthen of the ballad called Coridon's Doleful Knell, (*Percy*, vol. ii. p. 265.)

I'll flick a branch of *willow*,

Now Phillida is dead.

V. 850. The description of her lover's beauties is illustrated with similes much resembling those in *Hamlet*.

His beard was as white as snow,

All flaxen was his pole,

He's gone, and he's gone, and we'll cast away moan,

Grammercy on his soul. Act iv. Sc. 3.

So in the ballad of Gil Morrice, (*Percy*, vol. iii. p. 94.)

His hair was like the threads of gold

Drawne from Minerva's loome ;

His lippes like roses drapping dew,

His breath was a perfume.

His brae was like the mountain snow

Gilt by the morning beam ;

His cheeks like living roses,

His e'en like azure stream.

As

Rodde hys face as the mornynge lyghte,
 Cale " he lyes ynne the grave belowe ;
 Mie love ys dedde,
 Gon to hys deathe-bedde, 855
 Al under the wyllowe tree.

Swote hys tyngue as the throftles note,
 Quicke ynn daunce as thoughte canne bee,
 Defte * hys taboure, codgelle ftote,
 O ! hee lyes bie the wyllowe tree : 860
 Mie love ys dedde,
 Gonne to hys deathe-bedde,
 Alle underre the wyllowe tree.

Harke ! the ravenne flappes hys wynges,
 In the briered delle belowe ; 865

" *Cold.* * *Neat.*

Harke !

As to the whiteness of summer snow, the idea must be borrowed from those mountainous countries where the snow lies all the year, and reflects a dazzling whiteness from the sun shining upon it. The lover's shroud in Hamlet, is compared to the *whiteness of mountain snow* ; but by Rowley, to the *whiteness of the moon*.

V. 851. So in the MS. romance of Sir Launfal, quoted by Mr. Warton, vol. iii. p. liii. Har faces was whyte as snowe on downe,
 Har *rode* was red, har eyn were brown.

V. 857. The perfections of her lover are few, natural, and original, and such as were in repute at that time, viz. skill in singing, dancing, piping, and cudgelling.

V. 859. Defte hys taboure.

A *deft* young man as ever walkd on the way.

Evans' Old Ballads, vol. i. p. 143.

There is a simplicity similar to this, in those lines of Bishop Corbett's ballad, (Percy, vol. iii. p. 212.)

When Tom came home from labour,
 Or Cifs to milking rose,
 Then merrily went the tabour,
 And nimbly went their toes.

V. 864. The deathly omens in the *night-raven* and *cwl* are also described in ancient poets,

Harke! the dethe-owle loude dothe syng,
 To the nyghte-mares as heie goe;
 Mie love ys dedde,
 Gonne to hys deathe-bedde,
 Al under the wyllowe tree. 870

See! the whyte moone sheenes onne hie;
 Whyterre ys mie true loves shroude;
 Whyterre yanne the mornynge skie,
 Whyterre yanne the evenynge cloude;
 Mie love ys dedde, 875
 Gon to hys deathe-bedde,
 Al under the wyllowe tree.

Heere, uponne mie true loves grave,
 Schalle the baren fleurs be layde,
 Nee one hallie Seyncte to save 880
 Al the celnefs^y of a mayde.

^y *Coldnefs*.

Mie

No chearful gleams here pierc'd the gloom,
 He hears no chearful sound;
 But shrill *night-ravens* yelling scream,
 And serpents hiss around. Percy, vol. iii. p. 220.

The *Night-mares*, Portunni or Incubi, were supposed to oppress persons in their sleep. See Mr. Tyrwhit's note on Fairies, in Chaucer 6441. Lye calls them *Speltes*, or *Night-legs*. They made a part of the Fairy system, and as such are mentioned in Edgar's mad speech in King Lear.

St. Withold footed thrice the wold,
 He met the *night-mare* and her nine fold,
 Bid her alight, and her troth plight,
 And aroynt thee, witch, aroynt thee. Act iii. Sc. 3.

V. 879. The custom of strewing flowers on the graves of the deceased, is at least as ancient as the time of Virgil; who describes Anchises paying these funeral honours to the memory of Marcellus——

—— manibus date lilia plenis,
 His saltem accumulẽm donis—— Æn. vi. v. 833.

It

Mie love ys dedde,
Gonne to hys death-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

Wythe mie hondes I'lle dente ^a the brieres 885
Rounde his hallie corse to gre ^a,
Ouphante ^b fairie, lyghte youre fyres,
Heere mie boddie styll schalle bee.

Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys death-bedde, 890
Al under the wyllowe tree.

Comme, wythe acorne-coppe & thorne,
Drayne mie hartys blodde awaie;
Lyfe & all yttes goode I scorne,
Daunce bie nete, or feaste by daie. 895

^a Weave, fasten. ^a Grow. ^b Elfin.

Mie

It is mentioned by Camden, and by Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, as a custom of great antiquity in England, and still preserved in Wales, that the persons preceding the corpse strew flowers and myrtle, and stick them in the turf of the grave.

In the ballad of Phillida,

I'll deck her tomb with flowers,
The rarest ever seen;
And with my tears, as showers,
I'll keep them fresh and green. Percy, vol. ii. p. 265.

And the Song in *Twelfth Night*,

Not a flower, not a flower sweet,
On my black coffin let there be strown.

The *barren* flowers alluded to the single state of the deceased person.

V. 885. The indenting or fastening briars on the graves is still in use, and to be seen in every church-yard.

V. 887 and 899. The invocation of *Fairies* and *Water-witches*, is a genuine image of ancient superstition: The *Ignes fatui*, called by Rowley *Gronsters*, and vulgarly *Jack in a Lanthorn*, are these *fairy fires*. The use of an acorn for their drinking-cup, is expressed in an ancient fairy ballad,

Pearly drops of dew we drink,
In an *acorn cup*, up to the brink. Percy, vol. iii. p. 209.

Mie love ys dedde,
 Gon to hys death-bedde,
 Al under the wyllowe tree.

Waterre wytches, crownede wythe reytes^c,
 Bere mee to yer leathalle tyde. 900
 I die; I comme; mie true love waytes.
 Thos the damfelle spake, and dyed.

B I R T H A.

Thys fyngeyng haveth whatte coulde make ytte please;
 Butte mic uncourtlye shappe^d benymmes^e mee of all ease.

Æ L L A, *atte* W A T C H E T T E.

CURSE onne mie tardie woundes! brynge mee a stede! 905
 I wylle awaie to Birtha bie thys nyghte;
 Albeytte fro mie woundes mie foul doe blede,
 I wylle awaie, & die wythynne her fyghte.
 Brynge mee a stede, wythe eagle-wynges for flyghte;
 Swefte as mie wyshe, &, as mie love ys, stronge. 910

^c Water-flags, *or wreaths*. ^d Fate. ^e Takes from me.

The

V. 899. The *reytes* of these water-witches were probably wreaths of aquatic plants, suited to their element. Thus in the Story of Canning, the river Avon is described as

Engarlanded with crownes of osyer weedes,
 And *wraytes* (i. e. wreaths) of alders of a bercie scent. V. 7.

The burthen to this Roundelaie very much resembles that in Hamlet:

And will he not come again?
 And will he not come again?
 No, no, he's dead, go to thy death-bed;

He never will come again. Act iv. Sc. 3.

V. 909. So v. 803. —Prepare a fleing horse,
 Whose feete are wynges, whose pace ys lycke the wynde,
 Whoe wylle outstreppe the morneyng lyghte yn couise,
 Leaveynge the gyttelles of the merke behynde.

V. 910. The expression *swefte as mye wyshe*, occurs also Ecl. ii. v. 35.

The Danes have wroughte mee myckle woe ynne fyghte,
 Inne kepeynge mee from Birtha's armes so longe.
 O! whatte a dome was myne, fythe maisterie
 Canne yeve ne pleasaunce, nor mie londes goode leme^f myne eie!

Yee goddes, hoewe ys a loverres temper formed! 915
 Sometymes the samme thyng wyll bothe bane^e, & bleffe;
 On tyme encalede^h, yanne bie the same thyng warmed,
 Estroughtedⁱ foorth, and yanne ybrogten lefs.
 'Tys Birtha's losf whyche doe mie thoughtes possesse;
 I wyll, I muste awaie: whie staies mie stede? 920
 Mie huscarles^k, hyther hafte; prepare a dresse,
 Whyche couracyers^l yn hastie journies nede.
 O heavens! I moſte awaie to Byrtha eyne,
 For yn her lookes I fynde mie beyng doe entwyne.

CELMONDE, att BRYSTOWE.

THE worlde ys darke wythe nyghte; the wyndes are styll;
 Fayntelie the mone her palyde lyghte makes gleme; 926
 The upryſte^m ſpytes the ſylente lettenⁿ fylle,
 Wythe ouphant^o faeryes joynynge ynne the dreame;
 The forreſte ſheenethe wythe the ſylver leme^p;
 Now maie mie love be ſated ynn yttes treate; 930

^f Enlighten. ^e Curse. ^h Frozen, cold, or grown cold. ⁱ Stretched forth.

^k Attendants. ^l Horſe courſers, couriers, rather, horſemen. ^m Riſen.

ⁿ Church-yard. ^o Elfin. ^p Light.

Uponne

V. 921. *Huſcarles*, or houſe-carles, were ſervants living in the houſe, in attendance on their king or lord.

V. 925. It will be unneceſſary to call the reader's attention to the beauty of the following ſoliloquy, which ſhews how much our poet excels in deſcription.

V. 927. The word *Letten*, or church-yard, in Saxon *Lech-ton*, *the place of dead bodies*, is a name ſtill retained in many parts of England; and the particular path by which dead corpes are carried to church, is called the *Lech-way*.

Uponne the lynche ^a of fomme sweſte reynyng ſtreme,
 Att the ſwote banquette I wylle ſwotelie eate.
 Thys ys the howſe; yee hyndes, ſwythyn appere.

CELMONDE, SERVYTOURE.

CELMONDE.

Go telle to Birtha ſtrayte, a ſtraungerr waytethe here.

CELMONDE, BIRTHA.

BIRTHA.

Celmonde! yee ſeynctes! I hope thou haſte goode newes..

CELMONDE.

The hope ys loſte; for heavie newes prepare. 936

BIRTHA.

Is Ælla welle?

CELMONDE.

Hee lyves; & ſtylle maie uſe

Thé behylte ^r bleſſynges of a future yeare.

BIRTHA.

Whatte heavie tydynges thenne have I to feare?

Of whatte miſchaunce dydſte thou ſo latelie ſaie? 940

CELMONDE.

For heavie tydynges ſwythyn nowe prepare.

Ælla fore wounded ys, yn bykerous ^a fraie;

In Wedeceſter's wallid toune he lyes.

^a *Brink, border.* ^r *Promiſed, rather hidden.* ^a *Warlike.*

BIRTHA.

V. 931. *Lynche*, from the ancient Saxon word *plinc*, which Lye explains, “Agger-
 “limitaneus fines, locorum dividens.”

V. 938. *Behæt* ſignifies *promiſed*; but *behylte* or *beheled* is the participle of
Behelian, which ſignifies *to hide or cover*. See Lye's Gloſſary. This interpretation
 ſuits better with the word, and gives more propriety to the paſſage.

B I R T H A.

O mie agroted ' breast !

C E L M O N D E.

Wythoute your fyghte, he dyes.

B I R T H A.

Wylle BIRTHA's presence ethe " herr Ælla's payne ? 945

I flie; newe wynges doe from mie schoulderrs sprynge.

C E L M O N D E.

Mie stede wydhoute wylle deftelie * beere us twayne.

B I R T H A.

Oh ! I wyl flie as wynde, & no waie lynge ⁊ ;

Sweftlie caparifons for rydyng bryng ;

I have a mynde wynged wythe the levyn ploome †. 950

O Ælla, Ælla ! dydste thou kenne the styng,

The whyche doeth canker ynne mie hartys roome,

Thou wouldste see playne thieselfe the gare ‡ to bee ;

Aryse, uponne thie love, & flie to meeten mee.

C E L M O N D E.

The stede, on whyche I came, ys swefte as ayre ; 955

Mie servytoures doe wayte mee nere the wode ;

Swythyne wythe mee unto the place repayre ;

To Ælla I wylle gev you conducte goode.

† Swelling, or bursting. ‡ Give ease. * Easily, commodiously ⁊ Linger.

‡ Feathered lightning. * Cause.

Your

V. 946. This idea is not unlike that of Horace,

———— nascunturque leves,

Per digitos humerosque plumæ. Carm. l. ii. Ode 20.

And BIRTHA pursues it, in two other passages of this speech, by comparing her mind to the *winged lightning*, v. 950, and calling upon Ella, v. 954, to arise and fly to meet her *on the wings of his love*.

Youre eyne, alyche a baulme, wylle staunche hys bloode,
 Holpe oppe hys woundes, & yev hys harte alle cheere; 960
 Upponne your eyne he holdes hys lyvelyhode ^b;
 You doe hys spryte, & alle hys pleasaunce bere.
 Comme, lette's awaie, albeytte ytte ys moke ^c,
 Yette love wille bee a tore ^d to tourne to feere ^e nyghtes fmoke:

B I R T H A.

Albeytte unwears ^f dyd the welkynn ^g rende; 965
 Reyne, alyche fallynge ryvers, dyd fersé bee,
 Erthe wythe the ayre enchaied ^h dyd contende,
 Everychone breathe of wynde wythe plagues dyd flee,
 Yette I to Ælla's cyne eftsoones woulde flee;
 Albeytte hawethornes dyd mie fleshe enseme ⁱ; 970
 Owlettes, wythe scrychyng, shakeynge everyche tree,
 And water-neders wrygglynge yn eche streame,
 Yette woulde I flie, ne under coverte staie,
 Botte seke mie Ælla owte; brave Celmonde, leade the waie.

A W O D E.

H U R R A, D A N E S.

H U R. R A.

HEERE ynn yis forreste lette us wathe for pree, 975
 Bewreckeynge ^j on oure foemenne oure ylle warre;

^b Life. ^c Dark. ^d A torch. ^e Fire. ^f Tempests. ^g The sky, or heaven. ^h Heated.
ⁱ Furrows, or make seams in. ^j Revenging.

Whatteverre

V. 965. In the resolution which Birtha expresses to meet her Lord, an assemblage of the most disagreeable objects is called forth, shewing the great powers of the poet in these terrific images.

V. 975. The principles avowed by Hurra, in the following scene, are very conformable to the character usually given of the Danes.

Whatteverre schallē be Englysch wee wyllē flea,
 Spreddyngē our ugsomme ^k rennome to afarre.
 Ye Dacyanne menne, gyff Dacyanne menne yee are,
 Lette nete botte blodde suffycylē ^l for yee bee; 980
 On everich breaste yn gorie letteres scarre ^m,
 Whatt sprytes you have, & howe thosē sprytes maie dree ⁿ.
 And gyf yee gette awaie to Denmarkes shore,
 Eftefoones we will retourne, & wanquished bee ne moore.

The battelle losse, a battelle was yndede; 985
 Note queedēs ^o hemselfēs cuīde stonde so harde a fraie;
 Oure verie armoure, & oure heaulmes dyd blede,
 The Dacyannes sprytes, lyche dewe drops, fledde awaie.
 Ytte was an Ælla dyd commaunde the daie;
 Ynn spyte of foemanne, I moste saie hys myghte; 990
 Botte wee ynn hyndlettes ^p blodde the losse wyllē paie,
 Brynnynge ^q, thatte we knowe howe to wynne yn fyghte;
 Wee wyllē, lyke wylfes enloosed from chaynes, destroie;—
 Oure armoures—wynter nyghte shotte ^r oute the daie of joie.

Whene swefte-fote tyme doe rolle the daie alonge, 995
 Somme hamlette scalle onto oure fhuyrie brende;
 Braftyngē alyche a rocke, or mountayne stronge,
 The talle chyrche-spyre upon the grene shalle bende;

^k Terrible. ^l Sufficient. ^m Mark. ⁿ Drive. ^o The Devil. ^p Peasants.
^q Declaring, shewing. ^r Shut out.

Wee

V. 981. ——— yn gorie letteres scarre,
 Eche hewing on other while they might dree
 The earth still kept the scarre.

Battle of Otterburn—Percy, vol. i. p. 29.

V. 994 is obscurely expressed; but the meaning may probably be, that their arms shall exclude every gleam of joy, just as a winter night excludes the beams of day.

Wee wylle the walles, & auntyante tourrettes rende,
 Pete ' everych tree whych goldyn fruyte doe beere, 1000
 Downe to thegoddess the ownerrs dhereof sende,
 Besprengynge ' alle abrode sadde warre & bloddie weere.
 Botte fyrste to yynder oke-tree wee wylle fle;
 And thence wylle yssue owte onne all yatte commeth bie.

ANODHER PARTE OF THE WOODE.

CELMONDE, BIRTHA.

BIRTHA.

Thys merknefs " doe affraie mie wommanns breaste. 1005
 Howe fable ys the spreddyng skie arrayde!
 Hailie the bordeleire *, who lyves to reste,
 Ne ys att nyghtys flemynge ' hue dysmayde;
 The starres doe scantillie " the fable brayde " ;
 Wyde ys the sylver lemes ^b of comforte wove; 1010
 Speke, Celmonde, does ytte make thee notte afrayde?

CELMONDE.

Merker the nyghte, the fitter tyde for love.

- *Beat, or pluck up.* ' *Scattering.* " *Darkness.* x *Cottager,* ' *Terrifying.*
 z *Scarcely, sparingly.* a *Embroider.* b *Rays, beams.*

BIRTHA.

V. 1001. The Danish mythology supposed their gods to inhabit the center of the earth. The Greeks had also their *Θεὸν καταχθόνιος*; and Homer calls Pluto *Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος*. *Il. I. v. 457.*

V. 1005. The description in this speech is a counterpart to that of Celmond, v. 926, and displays similar beauties; but how different are the impressions which the darkness of the night makes on the minds of the two speakers! Celmond enjoys its approach, as affording opportunity and protection to his villainy; In Birtha it raises apprehensions of danger both to her virtue and safety.

B I R T H A.

Saieſt thou for love? ah! love is far awaie.
Faygne would I ſee once moe the roddie lemes of daie.

C E L M O N D E.

Love maie bee nie, woulde Birtha calle ytte here. 1015

B I R T H A.

How, Celmonde, dothe thou mene?

C E L M O N D E.

Thys Celmonde menes.

No leme^c, no eyne, ne mortalle manne appere,
Ne lyghte, an acte of love for to bewreene^d;
Nete in thys forreſte, botte thys tore^e, dothe ſheene,
The whych, potte oute, do leave the whole yn nyghte; 1020
See! howe the brauncynge trees doe here entwyne,
Makeynge thys bower ſo pleaſynge to the fyghte;
Thys was for love fyrſte made, & heere ytt ſtondes,
Thatte hereynne lovers maie enlyncke yn true loves bondes.

B I R T H A.

Celmonde, ſpeake whatte thou meneſt, or alſe mie thoughtes
Perchaunce maie robbe thie honeſtie ſo fayre. 1026

C E L M O N D E.

Then here, & knowe, hereto-I have you broughte,
Mie longe hydde love unto you to make clere.

B I R T H A.

Oh heaven & earthe! whatte ys ytt I doe heare?
Am I betraſte^f? where ys mie Ælla, ſaie! 1030

^a Ray of light. ^d Discover. ^e Torch. ^f Betrayed.

CELMONDE.

O! do nete nowe to Ælla fyke love bere,
Botte geven some onne Celmondes hedde.

BIRTHA.

———Awaie!

I wylle be gone, & groape mie passage oute,
Albeytte neders ^f stynges mie legs do twyne aboute.

CELMONDE.

Nowe bie the feynctes I wylle notte lette thee goe, 1035
Ontylle thou doeſte mie brendynge ^s love amate ⁿ.
Thoſe eyne have cauſed Celmonde myckle woe,
Yenne lette yer ſmyle fyrſt take hymm yn regrate ⁱ.
O! didſt thou ſee mie breafſtis troblous ſtate,
Theere love doth harrie ^k up mie joie, and ethe ^l! 1040
I wretched bee, beyonde the hele ^m of fate,
Gyff Birtha ſtylle wylle make mie harte-veynes blethe.
Soſte as the ſommer flowreets, Birtha, looke,
Fulle ylle I canne thie frownes & harde dyspleaſaunce brooke.

BIRTHA.

Thie love ys foule; I woulde bee deafe for aie, 1045
Radher thanne heere ſyche deſlaviatie ^r ſedde.
Swythynne flie from mee, and ne further ſaie;
Radher thanne heare thie love, I woulde bee dead.
Yee feynctes! & ſhal I wronge mie Ælla's bedde,
And wouldſt thou, Celmonde, tempte me to the thyng? 1050
Lett mee be gone—alle curſes onne thie hedde!
Was ytte for thys thou dydſte a meſſage brynge!

^f Adders, ſerpents. ^s Burning. ^h Quench. ⁱ Favour. ^k Tear up. ^l Eaſe, happineſs.
^m Help. ⁿ Letchery, or unfaithfulneſs.

Lette me be gone, thou manne of fable harte!
Or welkyn^o & her stārres wyll take a maydens parte.

C E L M O N D E.

Sythence^p you wylle notte lette mie fuyte avele, 1055
Mie love wylle have yttes joie, altho wythe guylte;
Youre lymbes shall bende, albeytte stryngē as stele;
The merkye seefonne wylle your blothes hylte^q.

B I R T H A.

Holpe, holpe, yee feynctes! oh thatte mie blodde was spyite!

C E L M O N D E.

The feynctes att distaunce stonde ynn tyme of nede. 1060
Strev notte to goe; thou canste notte, gyff thou wylte.
Unto mie wysche bee kinde, & nete alse hede.

B I R T H A.

No, foule bestoykerre^r, I wylle rende the ayre,
Tylle dethe do staie mie dynne, or somme kynde roder^s heare.
Holpe! holpe! oh godde!

CELMONDE, BIRTHA, HURRA, DANES.

H U R R A.

Ah! thatts a wommanne cries.
I kenn hem; faie, who are you, yatte bee there? 1066

C E L M O N D E.

Yee hyndes, awaie! orre bie thys swerde yee dies.

H U R R A.

This wordes wylle ne mie hartis fete^t affere^u.

^o Heaven. ^p Since. ^q Hide. ^r Deceiver. ^s Traveller. ^t Stability. ^u Affright.

B I R T H A.

Save mee, oh ! fave mee from thys roynere * heere !

H U R R A.

Stonde thou bie mee ; nowe faie thie name & londe ; 1070
Or fwythyne ſchall mie ſwerde thie boddie tare.

C E L M O N D E.

Bothe I wylle ſhewe thee bie mie brondeous † honde.

H U R R A.

Befette hym rounde, yee Danes.

C E L M O N D E.

Comme onne, and ſee

Gyff mie ſtrynge anlace maie bewryen ‡ whatte I bee.

[*Fyghte al anenſte Celmonde, meynte Danes be ſleath, and
faletb to Hurra.*]

C E L M O N D E.

Oh ! I forſlagen † be ! ye Danes, now kenne, 1075

I amme yatte Celmonde, ſconde yn the fyghte,

Who dydd, atte Watchette, ſo forſlege youre menne ;

I ſele myne eyne to ſwymme yn æterne nyghte ;—

To her be kynde. [*Dieth.*]

H U R R A.

Then ſelle a wordhie knyghte.

Saie, who bee you ?

* Ruiner. † Furious. ‡ Discover. † Slain.

B I R T H A.

V. 1079.

—To her be kynde.

This ſpeech at the cloſe of Celmond's life is coneiſe and expreſſive ; and the generous reaſoning of Hurra with his Danes, in behalf of Birtha, is penned with no leſs art, and with equal conformity to the characters of theſe two perſons.

B I R T H A.

I am greate Ælla's wyfe. 1080

H U R R A.

Ah!

B I R T H A.

Gyff anenſte^b hym you harbour ſoule deſpyte,
Nowe wythe the lethal anlace^c take mie lyfe,
Mie thanks I ever onne you wylle beſowe,
From cwbyrce^d you mee pyghte^e, the worſe of mortal woe.

H U R R A.

I wylle; ytte ſcalle bee ſoē yce Dacyans, heere. 1085
Thys Ælla havethe been oure foe for aie.
Thorrowe the battelle he dyd brondeous^f teare,
Beyng the lyfe and head of everych fraie;
From everych Dacyanne power he won^g the daie,
Forſlagen Magnus, all oure ſchippes ybrente; 1090
Bie hys felle arme wee now are made to fraie;
The ſpeere of Dacya he ynne pieces ſhente^h;
Whanne hantonedⁱ barckes unto our londe dyd comme,
Ælla the gare^j dheie ſed, & wyſched hym bytter dome^k.

B I R T H A.

Mercie!

H U R R A.

Bee ſtylle.

Botte yette he ys a foemanne goode and fayre; 1095
Whanne wee are ſpente, he foundetne the forloyne^l;

^b Against. ^c Sword. ^d Adultery. ^e Plucked. ^f Furious. ^g Broke. ^h Accused.

ⁱ Cause. ^k Judgment, or fate. ^l Retreat.

The captyves chayne he tofleth ynne the ayre,
 Cheered the wounded bothe wythe bredde & wyne;
 Has hee notte untoe somme of you bynn dygne?
 You would have smethd ^m onne Wedecestrian fiede, 1100
 Botte hee behylte ⁿ the slughorne ^o for to cleyne,
 Throwynge onne hys wyde backe, hys wyder spreddynge
 shielde.

Whanne you, as caytyfnd ^a yn fiede dyd bee,
 Hee oathed ^r you to bee styll, & straye dydd sette you free.

Scalle wee forflege ^s hys wyfe, because he's brave? 1105
 Bicaus hee fyghteth for hys countrys gare?
 Wylle hee, who havith bynne yis Ælla's slave,
 Robbe hym of whatte percase he holdith deere?
 Or scalle we menne of mennys ^t sprytes appere,
 Doeynge hym favoure for hys favoure donne, 1110
 Swefte to hys pallace thys damoifelle bere,
 Bewrynn ^u oure case, and to oure waie be gonne?
 The last you do approve; so lette ytte bee;
 Damoyfelle, comine awaie; you fafe scalle bee wythe mee.

^m Smothered. ⁿ Kept back, or forbid. ^o Trumpet. ^r From founding. ^s Captives.
^t Bound you on your oath. ^u Slay. ^v Mens. ^u Declare.

BIRTHA.

V. 1101. *Behylte*. This word is explained v. 938, as derived from the A. S. verb *Behelian*, to *bide*, or *cover*; but it may be here deduced from *Behealdan*, which is explained by Lye, “*Aspicere, custodire, cavere*.” The word in this passage is applicable in either of the two last senses. Ella *kept* his war-trumpets, or *took care* that they should no longer sound to arms, and continue the engagement. The derivation of the same participle from different A. S. verbs, is not uncommon. See Mr. Tyrwhit's observation on the participle *blent*, as deduced from four different verbs, vol. iv. p. 219.

B I R T H A.

Al bleſſynges maie the ſeynctes unto yee gyve ! 1115
 Al pleaſaunce maie youre longe-ſtraughte * livynges bee !
 Ælla, whanne knowynge thatte bie you I lyve,
 Wylle thyncke too ſmalle a guyfte the londe & ſea.
 O Celmonde ! I maie deſtlic ^v rede bie thee,
 Whatte ille betyde the ^z the enfouled kynde ; 1120
 Maie ne thie croſs-ſtone ^a of thie cryme bewree !
 Maie alle menne ken thie valoure, fewe thie mynde !
 Soldyer ! for ſyke thou arte ynn noble fraie,
 I wylle thie goinges [']tende, & doe thou lede the waie..

H U R R A.

The mornynge 'gyns alonge the Eaſte to ſheene ; 1125
 Darklinge the lyghte doe onne the waters plaie ;
 The feynthe rodde leme ſlowe creepeth oere the greene,
 Toe chaſe the merkyneſs ^b of nyghte awaie ;
 Swifte flies the howers thatte wylle brynge oute the daie ;
 The ſofte dewe falleth onne the greeynge graſſe ; 1130
 The ſhepfter mayden, dyghtynge ^c her arraie,
 Scante ^d ſees her vyſage yn the wavie glaſſe ;
 Bie the fulle daylieghte wee ſcalle Ælla ſee,
 Or Bryſtowes wallyd towne ; damoyſelle, followe mee.

* Stretched out, lengthened. ^v Properly. ^z Befalleth. ^a Monument. ^b Darkneſs.
^c Preparing, dreſſing. ^d Scarce.

A T

V. 1121. How natural and original is this wiſh of Birtha.—It was uſual in that early period to erect ſtone croſſes over the graves of the deceased ; and ſome of thoſe raiſed by the Danes are much enriched with ornaments and imagery, as thoſe at Bakewell, Eyam in Derbyſhire, and at Penrith in Cumberland.

V. 1125. This deſcription of the morning differs from thoſe v. 733, & B. H. 2. v. 211, and has its diſtinct beauties, which it is unneceſſary to point out to the reader.

AT BRISTOWE.

ÆLLA AND SERVITOURS.

ÆLLA.

TYS nowe fulle morne ; I thoughten, bie laſte nyghte 1135
 To have been heere ; mie ſtede han notte mie love ;
 Thys ys mie pallace ; lette mie hyndes alyghte,
 Whylſte I goe oppe, & wake mie ſlepeynge dove.
 Staie here, mie hyndlettes ; I ſhal goe above.
 Nowe, Birtha, wyll thie loke enhele ^e mie ſpryte, 1140
 Thie ſmyles unto mie woundes a baulme wyll prove ;
 Mie ledanne ^f boddie wyll bee fette aryghte.
 Egwina, haſte, & ope the portalle doore,
 Yatte I on Birtha's breſte maie thynke of warre ne more.

ÆLLA, EGWINA.

EGWINA.

Oh Ælla !

ÆLLA.

Ah ! that ſemmykeene ^g to me 1145
 Speeketh a legendary tale of woe.

EGWINA.

Birtha is—

ÆLLA.

Whatt? where? how? ſaie, whatte of ſhee?

EGWINA.

Gone—

^e Heal, cure. ^f Heavy. ^g Appearance.

ÆLLA.

Æ L L A.

Gone! ye goddes!

E G W I N A.

Alas! ytte ys toe true.

Yee feynctes, hee dies awaie wythe myckle woe!

Ælla! what? Ælla! oh! hee lyves agen.

1150²

Æ L L A.

Cal mee notte Ælla; I am hymme ne moe.

Where ys shee gon awaie? ah! speake! how? when?

E G W I N A.

I will.

Æ L L A.

Caparyfon a score of stedes; flie, flie,

Where ys shee? fwythyne speeke, or instante thou shalte die.

E G W I N A.

Stylle thie loud rage, & here thou whatte I knowe.

1155

Æ L L A.

Oh! speek.

E G W I N A.

Lyche prymrose, droopynge wythe the heavie rayne,

Laste nyghte I lefte her, droopynge wythe her wiere ^h,

Her love the gare ⁱ, thatte gave her hearte fyke peyne—

Æ L L A.

Her love! to whomme?

^h Grief. ⁱ Cause.

E G W I N A.

To thee, her spouse alleyn^k.

As ys mie hentylle ^l everyche morne to goe, 1160
 I wente, and oped her chamber doore ynn twayne,
 Botte found her notte, as I was wont to doe;
 Thanne alle arounde the pallace I dyd seere^m,
 Botte culde (to mie hartes woe) ne fynde her anie wheere.

Æ L L A.

Thou lyeſt, foul hagge! thou lyeſt; thou art her ayde 1165
 To chere her louſte;—botte noe; ytte cannotte bee.

E G W I N A.

Gyff trouthe appear notte inne whatte I have ſayde,
 Drawe forthe thie anlace ſwythyn, thanne mee ſlea.

Æ L L A.

Botte yette ytte muſte, ytte muſte bee ſoe; I ſee,
 Shee wythe ſomme louſtie ⁿ paramoure ys gone; 1170
 Itte moſte bee ſoe—oh! how ytt wracketh mee!
 Mie race of love, mie race of lyfe ys ronne;
 Nowe rage, & brondeous ^o ſtorm, & tempeſte comme;
 Nete lyvyng upon erthe can now enſwote ^p mie domme.

^k Only, alone. ^l *Custom*. ^m Search. ⁿ *Lusty*. ^o *Furious*. ^p *Sweeten*.

Æ L L A,

V. 1165. The conclusion of this tragedy is worked up in a very masterly manner. The passions of jealousy and love, of doubt and distraction, operate on Ella in the same manner as they do on Othello, in his dialogue with Emilia:

Thou lyeſt, foul hagge! thou lyeſt; thou art her ayde
 To chere her louſte;—botte noe; ytte cannotte bee.

And again,

Botte yette ytte muſte, ytte muſte bee ſoe; I ſee.

Such violent and contradictory effusions are the natural effects of jealousy; they speak the language of the passions, not that of any particular author.

ÆLLA, EGWINA, SERVYTOURE.

SERVYTOURE.

Loverde! I am aboute the trouthe to faie. 1175

Laſte nyghte, fulke late I dydde retourne to reſte.

As to mie chamber I dydde bende mie waie,

To Birtha onne hys name & place addreſte;

Downe to hym camme ſhee; butte thereof the reſte

I ken ne matter; ſo, mie hommage made— 1180

Æ L L A.

O! ſpeake ne moe; mie harte flames yn yttes heſte^a;

I once was Ælla; nowe bee notte yttes ſhade.

Hanne alle the fuirie of mysfortunes wyll

Fallen onne mie benned[†] headde I hanne been Ælla ſtylle.

Thys alleyn was unburled[‡] of alle mie ſpryte; 1185

Mie honnoure, honnoure, frownd on the dolce[§] wynde,

Thatte ſteeked^{||} on ytte; nowe wyth rage Im pyghte[¶];

A brondeous[‡] unweere[‡] ys mie engyned[‡] mynde.

Mie honneur^b yette ſomme drybblet^c joie maie fynde,

To the Danes woundes I wyll another yeve; 1190

Whanne thos mie rennome^d & mie peace ys rynde^e,

Itte were a recrandize^f to thyncke toe lyve;

Mie huſcarles, untoe everie aſker telle,

Gyffe noblie Ælla lyved, as noblie Ælla felle.

[*Stabbeth hys breſte.*

^a *Command.* [†] *Curſed, tormented.* [‡] *Unarmed.* [§] *Soft, gentle.* ^{||} *Steeled, ſo written in a MS. of Chatterton.* [¶] *Torn, plucked.* [‡] *Furious.* [‡] *Tempeſt.* [‡] *Tortured.*
^b *Honour.* ^c *Inconſiderable.* ^d *Renown.* ^e *Stripped, torn away.* ^f *Cowardice.*

SERVYTOURE.

Ælla ys fleene; the flower of Englonde's marrde! 1195

Æ L L A.

Be styлле: fwythe ^f lette the chyrches rynge mie knelle.

Call hyther brave Coernyke; he, as warde

Of thys mie Brystowe castle, wyll doe welle.

[*Knelle ryngetb.*]

ÆLLA, EGWINA, SERVYTOURE, COERNYKE.

Æ L L A.

Thee I ordeyne the warde; so alle maie telle.

I have botte lyttel tym to dragge thys lyfe; 1200

Mie lethal tale, alyche a lethalie belle,

Dynne yn the eares of her I wyschd mie wyfe!

Botte, ah! shee maie be fayre.

E G W I N A.

Yatte shee moſte bee.

Æ L L A.

Ah! faie notte foe; yatte worde woulde Ælla dobblic fle.

ÆLLA, EGWINA, SERVYTOURE, COERNYKE,

BIRTHA, HURRA,

Æ L L A.

Ah! Birtha here!

^f *Quickly.*

BIRTHA.

B I R T H A.

Whatte dynne ^e ys thys ? whatte menes yis leathalle knelle ?

Where ys mie Ælla ? speeke ; where ? howe ys hee ? 1206

Oh Ælla ! art thou yanne alyve and welle !

Æ L L A.

I lyve yndeed ; botte doe notte lyve for thee.

B I R T H A.

Whatte menes mie Ælla ?

Æ L L A.

Here mie meneynge see.

Thie foulnefs urged mie honde to gyve thys wounde, 1210

Ytte mee unsprytes ^h.

B I R T H A.

Ytte hathe unspryed mee.

Æ L L A.

Ah heavens ! mie BIRTHA fallethe to the grounde !

Botte yette I am a manne, and so wyll be.

H U R R A.

Ælla ! I amme a Dane ; botte yette a friende to thee.

Thys damoyseile I founde wythynne a woode, 1215

Strevynge fulle harde anenste ⁱ a burled ^j fwayne ;

I sente hym myrynge ^k ynne mie compheeres ^l blodde,

Celmonde hys name, chief of thie warrynge trayne.

Yis damoifelle foughte to be here agayne ;

The whyche, albeytte foemen, wee dydd wyllè ; 1220

So here wee broughte her wythe you to remayne.

^e Sound. ^h Un-souls, or dispirits. ⁱ Against. ^j Armed. ^k Wallowing.

^l Companions.

C O E R N I K E.

Yee nobyllle Danes ! wythe goulde I wyll you fylle.

Æ L L A.

Birtha, mie lyfe ! mie love ! oh ! she ys fayre.

Whatte faultes coulde Birtha have, whatte faultes could Ælla
feare ?

B I R T H A.

Amm I yenne thyne ? I cannotte blame thie feere. 1225
Botte doe reſte mee uponne mie Ælla's breaste ;
I wyllle to thee bewryen ^m the woefulle gare ⁿ.
Celmonde dyd comme to mee at tyme of reſte,
Wordeynge ^o for mee to flie, att your requeſte,
To Watchette towne, where you decaſynge laie ; 1230
I wyth hym fledde ; thro' a murke wode we preſte,
Where hee foule love unto mie eares dyd ſaie ;
The Danes—

Æ L L A.

Oh ! I die contente.— [Dietb.

B I R T H A.

O ! ys mie Ælla dedde ?

O ! I will make hys grave mie vyrgyn ſpouſal bedde.

[Birtha *ſcyncteth*.

C O E R N Y K E.

Whatt ? Ælla deadde ! & Birtha dyyng toe ! 1235
Soe falles the fayreſt flourettes of the playne.
Who canne unplyte ^p the wurchys heaven can doe,
Or who untweſte the role of ſnappe ^q yn twayne ?

^m Declare. ⁿ Cauſe. ^o Bringing me word, commanding me. ^p Unfold. ^q Fate.

Ælla, thie rennome was thie onlie gayne ;
 For yatte, thie pleasaunce, & thie joie was loste. 1240
 Thie countrymen shall rere thee, on the playne,
 A pyle of carnes ^r, as anie grave can boaste ;
 Further, a juste amede ^r to thee to bee,
 Inne heaven thou synge of Godde, on erthe we'lle synge of
 thee.

^r *Stones.* ^r *Reward.*

T H E E N D E.

It must be observed for the honour of our poet, that although Ella is composed in stanza's, which continue with great exactness and regularity through the whole play, and are no inconsiderable check to the genius of a dramatic poet ; yet the dialogue is carried on with the same ease and freedom, as if it was entirely unencumbered with measure and rhyme. In the *Ludus Coventriæ*, or play of *Corpus Christi*, before alluded to, which is the only performance of the kind extant of equal antiquity with Rowley's age, the *Dramatis Personæ* begin and terminate their speeches regularly with the stanza's. In that of Ella, the poet, without sacrificing a strict conformity to the metre, has improved the spirit of the dialogue. For the stanza in Ella is not the measure of every speech, or of the passion which the poet wishes to raise and represent. The effect of surprize—the violence of repentment—the irritable senses of pride and jealousy are finely and strongly marked by sudden changes of the dialogue in the different parts of the stanza, and by making the finest-modelled poetry speak the feelings and actions of the human heart.

Dramatical pieces of this kind usually close with a moral reflection : Our poet is peculiarly happy in the application of this talent. He admires the unsearchable ways of Providence ; observes both on the merit and misfortunes of Ella, and assigns him his posthumous reward, marking out the place of his interment with peculiar tokens of distinction, and eternising his name in song ; honours adapted to the custom of the age in which he is supposed to have lived : But with the piety of a Christian, and the judgment of a critic, he has properly distinguished the God from the hero, by giving to each his respective homage.

Inne heaven thou synge of Godde, on erthe we'lle synge of thee.

G O D D W Y N ;

G O D D W Y N;

A T R A G E D I E.

By THOMAS ROWLEIE.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

HAROLDE,	bie <i>T. Rowleie</i> , the Auſthoure.
GODDWYN,	bie <i>Johan de Iſcamme</i> .
ELWARDE,	bie Syrr <i>Thybbot Gorges</i> .
ALSTAN,	bie Syrr <i>Alan de Vere</i> .
KYNGE EDWARDE,	bie Maſtre <i>Willyam Canynge</i> .

Odhers bie *Knyghtes Mynnſtrells*.

P R O L O G U E,

MADE BIE MAISTRE WILLIAM CANYNGE.

WHYLOMME ^a bie pensinene ^b moke ^c ungentle ^d name
 Have upon Goddwyne Erle of Kente bin layde,
 Dherebie benymmynge ^e hymme of faie ^f and fame;
 Unliart ^g divinistres ^h haveth faide,
 Thatte he was knowen toe noe hallie ⁱ wurche ^k; 5
 Botte thys was all hys faulte, he gyfted ne ^l the church.

The aucthoure ^m of the piece whiche we enacte,
 Albeytte ⁿ a clergyon ^o, trouthe wyll wrytte.
 Inne drawyng of hys menne no wytte ys lackte;
 Entyn ^p a kynge mote ^q bee full pleased to nyghte. 10

^a Of old, formerly. ^b Writers, historians. ^c Much. ^d Inglorious, or uncivil.
^e Bereaving. ^f Faith. ^g Unforgiving, rather ungentle, or inflexible. ^h Divines,
 clergymen, monks. ⁱ Holy. ^k Work. ^l Not. ^m Author. ⁿ Though, notwith-
 standing. ^o Clerk, or clergyman. ^p Entyn, even. ^q Might.

Attende,

V. 4. Unliart, *ungentle, inflexible*, the opposite to *liart*; which, according to Skynner, means *gentle, pliant*. It is so used by Chaucer, "My own *liard* boy," Frers Tale, v. 7145. It signifies *nimble*, in an old Ballad, Percy, vol. ii. p. 19. The Testament of Creseis, v. 162, speaks of the *liart* locks of Saturn; and Bishop Douglas uses the word more than once for grey or white hair. It is not explained in Mr. Tyrwhit's Glossary.

V. 10. Entyn a kynge mote bee full pleased to nyghte.
 The sacred dramas which were represented in the churches, might sometimes have been performed in the morning; but the remarkable one, called the Ludus Coventriæ,

Attende, and marcke the partes nowe to be done;
Wee better for toe doe do champyon ^r anie onne.

^r Challenge.

or Corpus Christi Play, before mentioned *, was acted at six in the evening; for the third Vexillator observes in the Prologue.

Munday next, yf that we may,

At six of the belle we gynne our play.

It is said in an old memoir of the shews exhibited at Christmas, in 1489, “*At nyghte* the Kyng, the Queene, and my Lady the Kynges Moder, cam into the “White Hall, and ther heard a play.” Strutt’s Ancient Customs of the English, vol. ii.

Hall also mentions a *disguising*, or play, performed before Henry the VIIIth at Windsor, to please the Emperor, on Sunday June the 10th *at night* †.

* Steevens’s Suppl. vol. i. p. 144.

† Hall, fol. 99.

G O D D W Y N : A T R A G E D I E.

THOUGH the Tragedy of Godwin is imperfect in its present state, yet it may be presumed, from the prologue and dramatis personæ, that it was completed by the author, and performed by the persons here named, three of whom had a part in the representation of Ella: Sir Alan de Vere, the fourth actor, was probably a relation of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was beheaded in the first year of Edward the IVth; which is the best conjecture we can make concerning him. The character he is supposed to represent, is that of Alstan; but there is no such person mentioned in the play, unless he was introduced in a part of it which is now lost. The name, which is Saxon, certainly does not suit with the character of Sir Hugh, who was a Norman. Maître William Canning honoured the performance by playing the part of King Edward, and penning a prologue in the same stanza's with Rowley's epistle prefixed to Ella, in which he pays no small compliment both to the poet and the actors, and declares the play to have been written in order to rescue the character of Earl Godwin from those unjust aspersions which the bigotry and malice of the ecclesiastics had raised against him, for his want of liberality to monasteries and religious houses; the endowment and enriching of them being considered, in that age, as the great criterion of piety.

The catastrophe seems to be totally wanting, and the play itself

gives us little more than the general character of King Edward, as a bigot, or, as the poet styles him,

A Super Halie Saynete King,

inattentive to the government of his kingdom, and to the management of his revenues, neglectful of his English subjects, and a dupe to his Norman followers, which renders him contemptible to his Queen.—Godwyn and Harold are represented as the English patriots, uniting their efforts to prevent their country from becoming a prey to foreigners, and to the weakness of this superstitious monarch: It must be confessed, however, that our historians have not represented the Earl in so favourable a light. The following character, given of him by Gervais of Canterbury, as quoted by Leland in his *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 269, shews that his abilities were well suited to the part which he acts in this Tragedy: “*Erat enim senex ille famâ clarus, linguâ potens, pertinax in proposito, pervicax orator ad flectendos animos audientium.*” The annotator on Rapin affirms “him to have been of an active and turbulent spirit, not over conscientious in acquiring and preserving his possessions; but acknowledges, that had he not been so great a lover of his country, and an enemy to foreigners, those who wrote in the Norman times would have given him a fairer character.” The imputing his sudden death to an act of divine vengeance, seems to have been a calumny invented by the Normans; for the best contemporary writers do not ascribe it to that cause.

The history on which this play is founded, not being very interesting, nor diversified with remarkable events, we may be permitted to suggest a reason for the poet’s choice of the subject. Canning and his friend Rowley are called Yorkists, in the notes on the *Ballad of Charity*; and it is well known, that the former was a friend to King Edward, and had interest with him. Now there is a remarkable similarity in the characters of Edward the Confessor and of Henry the VIth; both were virtuous and reli-

gious princes, but equally deficient in the maxims of policy, and principles of government, being alike the slaves of superstition, and the dupes of evil counsellors: Might not Rowley, then, flatter the political principles of his friend Canning, at the time that he was strongly in Edward's interest, by exposing, under the character of the Confessor, the weakness of Henry's government, and, by the generous and disinterested views of Godwin and Harold, give credit to the cause of the Yorkists? According to this supposition, the Tragedy must have been written before King Henry's deposition, in 1460. It may be objected, indeed, to this supposed parallel, that Rowley has given, in the Bristol Tragedy, a very different character of Henry, calling him *a godlike king*, and describing his government as a reign *of godly peace*. But Rowley, like Waller, might turn his stile. Edward's refusal of Canning's petition in behalf of Sir Baldwin Fulford, the heavy fine of 3000 marks which the king had obliged him to pay, with the attempt to force a wife upon him, might have provoked a resentment, which communicated itself to his friend Rowley, and was displayed in very sharp invectives against that king. This idea, if admitted, will exclude all possibility of forgery; for Chatterton could not have been so inconsistent as to give two such different characters of the same prince, much less could he have foreseen, that so just a reason could be assigned for reconciling these seeming contradictions with each other.

Though this Tragedy and the Tournament are composed in the same stanza's with Ella, yet the regularity of the measure is not so accurately preserved in them, especially in the first twenty-nine lines of this play. There are also four lines of alternate rhimes interposed between v. 40 and 44, unconnected with the preceding and following stanza's; nor are the stanza's always closed with an Alexandrine. Some little variation of this kind may also be found in the Tournament, from v. 125 to v. 130.

GODDWYN;

GODDWYN; A TRAGEDIE.

GODDWYN AND HAROLDE.

GODDWYN.

HAROLDE!

HAROLDE.

Mie loverde ^a!

GODDWYN.

O! I weepe to thyncke,

What foemen ^b riseth to ifrete ^c the londe.

Theie batten ^d onne her fleshe, her hartes bloude dryncke,

And all ys graunted from the roical honde.

HAROLDE.

Lette notte thie agrement ^e blyn ^f, ne aledge ^g stonde; 5

Bee I toe wepe, I wepe in teres of gore:

Am I betrayed ^h, fyke ⁱ shulde mie burlie ^k bronde

Depeyncte ^l the wronges on hym from whom I bore.

^a Lord. ^b Foes, enemies. ^c Devour, destroy, *rather harrafs, consume*. ^d Fatten.
^e Grievance; a sense of it. ^f Cease, be still. ^g Idly, *or at ease*. ^h Deceived, imposed on. ⁱ So. ^k Fury, anger; rage, *rather, my armed sword*. ^l Paint, display.

GODDWYN.

V. 2. To *ifrete* the land is not, as Chatterton has explained the word, to *devour* or *destroy*, but to *fret* and *consume* the land, just as rust consumes iron: So Gascoigne speaks of a knife *with rust yfret*. Dan. Bar. p. 68.

V. 8. The spirit of Harold, in this and his other speeches, appears very suitable to the character he bears in history, and to what his father says of him in these lines, Godwin was more mild, artful, and persuasive.

G O D D W Y N.

I ken thie spryte ^a ful welle; gentle thou art,
 Stringe ^o, ugfoimne ⁿ, rou ^q, as finethynge ^r armyes seeme;
 Yett efte ^s, I feare, thie chesfes ^t toe grete a parte, 11
 And that thie rede ^u bee efte borne downe bie breme ^x.
 What tydynges from the kynge?

H A R O L D E.

His Normans know.

I make noe compheeres ^y of the themrynge ^z trayne.

G O D D W Y N.

Ah Harolde! tis a fyghte of myckle woe, 15
 To kenne these Normannes everich rennome gayne.
 What tydynges withe the foulke ^a?

H A R O L D E.

Stylle mormorynge atte yer shap ^b, stylle toe the kynge
 Theie rolle theire trobbles, lyche a forgie sea.
 Hane Englonde thenne a tongue, butte rotte a stynges? 20
 Dothe alie compleyne, yette none wylle ryghted bee?

^a Soul. ^o Strong. ^r Terrible. ^q Horrid, grim. ^s Smoking, bleeding. ^s Oft.
^t Heat, rashness. ^u Counsel, wisdom. ^x Strength, also strong, *or* fury, violence.
^y Companions. ^z Taudry, glimmering. ^a People. ^b Fate, destiny.

G O D D W Y N.

V. 19. This image is peculiarly beautiful, and expresses not only the loudness, but also the repeated force and irresistible power of the popular clamours. So Hurra says,

The Saxons lyche a *billowe rolle*. Ella, v. 725.

Mr. Rowe has very happily expressed the same idea in Jane Shore, when she complains,

That her transgressions, great and numberless,
 —Had covered her like *rising floods*,
 And pressed her like a *weight of waters* down.

G O D D W Y N.

Awayte the tyme, whanne Godde wylle fende us ayde.

H A R O L D E.

No, we muste streve to ayde ourefelves wyth powre.
 Whan Godde wylle fende us ayde ! tis fetelic ^c prayde.
 Moste we those calke ^d awaie the lyve-longe howre? 25
 Thos croche ^e oure armes, and ne toe lyve dareygne ^f,
 Unburled ^g, undelievre ^h, unespryte ⁱ ?
 Far fro mie harte be fled thyk ^k thoughte of peyne,
 Ile free mie countrie, or Ille die yn fyghte.

G O D D W Y N.

Botte lette us wayte untillle somme seafon fyttē. 30
 Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall ryse ;
 Adented ^l prowess ^m to the gite ⁿ of witte ^o,
 Agayne the argent ^p horse shall daunce yn skies.
 Oh Harolde, heere forstraughteynge ^q wanhope ^r lies.
 Englonde, oh Englonde, tys for thee I blethe ^s. 35
 Whylste Edwardē to thie sonnes wylle nete alyse ^t,
 Shulde anie of thie sonnes fele aughte of ethe ^u ?
 Upponne the trone ^x I sette thee, helde thie crowne ;
 Botte oh ! twere liomage nowe to pyghte ^y thee downe.

^c Nobly, or finely—ironically spoken. ^d Cast. ^e Crofs, from crouche, a crofs.
^f Attempt, or endeavour. ^g Unarmed. ^h Unactive. ⁱ Unspirited. ^k Such.
^l Fastened, annexed. ^m Might, power, or valour. ⁿ Mantle, or robe. ^o Wisdom,
 or knowledge. ^p White, alluding to the arms of Kent, a horse saliant, argent.
^q Distracting. ^r Despair. ^s Bleed. ^t Allow. ^u Ease. ^x Throne. ^y Pluck.

Thou

V. 31. Harold's *Somertons*, or men of Somersetshire, were undoubtedly under his jurisdiction as Earl of Wessex; and the argent horse is the known emblem and armorial ensign of Godwin's earldom of Kent.

Thou arte all preeſte, & notheynge of the kyng. 40
 Thou arte all Norman, nothyng of mie blodde.
 Know, ytte beſeies ^a thee notte a maſſe to fynge;
 Servynge thie leegefolcke ^a thou arte ſervynge Godde.

H A R O L D E.

Thenne Ille doe heaven a ſervyce. To the ſkyes
 The dailie contekes ^b of the londe aſcende. 45
 The wyddowe, fahdreleſſe, & bondemennes cries
 Acheke ^c the mokie ^d aire & heaven aſtende ^e.
 On us the rulers doe the folcke depende;
 Hancelled ^f from erthe theſe Normanne hyndes ^g ſhalle bee;
 Lyche a battently ^h low ⁱ, mie ſwerde ſhalle brende ^k; 50
 Lyche fallynge ſoſte rayne droppes, I wyll hem ^l ſlea ^m;
 Wee wayte too longe; our purpoſe wyll defayte ⁿ;
 Aboune ^o the hyghe empryze ^p, & rouze the champyones
 ſfrayte.

G O D D W Y N.

Thie ſuſter—

H A R O L D E.

Aye, I knowe, ſhe is his queene.
 Albeytte ^a, dyd ſhee ſpeeke her foemen ^b fayre, 55
 I wulde dequace ^c her comlie ſemlykeene ^d,
 And foulde mie bloddie anlance ^e yn her hayre.

^a Becomes. ^a Subjects. ^b Contentions, complaints. ^c Choke. ^d Dark, cloudy.
^e Astoniſh. ^f Cut off, deſtroyed. ^g Slaves. ^h Loud roaring, *or violent*. ⁱ Flame
 of fire. ^k Burn, conſume. ^l Them. ^m Slay. ⁿ Decay, *or be defeated*. ^o Make ready.
^p Enterprize. ^q Notwithſtanding. ^r Foes. ^s Mangle, deſtroy, *or quaſh*.
^t Beauty, countenance. ^u An ancient ſword.

G O D D W Y N.

V. 52. *Defayte* is here uſed as a verb neuter; *defeat*, in modern language, is only
 uſed actively.

G O D D W Y N.

Thye fhuir ^x blyn ^y.

H A R O L D E.

No, bydde the leathal ^z mere ^a,
 Upriste ^b withe hiltrene ^c wyndes & caufe unkend ^d,
 Behefte ^e it to be lete ^f; so twylle appeare, 60
 Eere Harolde hyde hys name, his contries frende.
 The gule-steynct ^g brygandyne ^h, the adventayle ⁱ,
 The feerie anlace brede ^k shal make mie gare ^l prevayle.

G O D D W Y N.

Harolde, what wuldest doe?

H A R O L D E.

Bethyncke thee whatt.
 Here liethe Englonde, all her drites ^m unfree, 65
 Here liethe Normans coupyng ⁿ her bie lotte,
 Caltysnyng ^o everich native plante to gre ^p,
 Whatte woulde I doe? I brondeous ^q wulde hem flee ^r;
 Tare owte theyre fable harte bie ryghtefulle breme ^s;
 Theyre deathe a meanes untoe mie lyfe shulde bee, 70
 Mie spryte shulde revelle yn theyr harte-blodde streme.
 Eftsoones I wylle bewryne ^t mie ragefulle ire,
 And Goddis anlace ^u wielde yn furic dyre.

^x Fury. ^y Cease. ^z Deadly. ^a Lake. ^b Swollen, or rising up. ^c Hidden.
^d Unknown. ^e Command. ^f Still. ^g Red-stained. ^h ⁱ Parts of armour. ^k Broad.
^l Cause. ^m Rights, liberties. ⁿ Cutting, mangling. ^o Forbidding, *fettering*,
confining. ^p Grow. ^q Furious. ^r Slay. ^s Strength, rather, *fury*. ^t Declare.
^u Sword.

G O D D W Y N.

V. 67. *Caltysnyng*. Chatterton seems to have mistaken the sense of this word; it does not mean to *forbid*, but to *confine*, or *keep prisoner*. Thus Ella calls matrimony a *caltysuede vow*, or a vow which held him captive.

G O D D W Y N.

Whatte wouldest thou wythe the kynge ?

H A R O L D E.

Take offe hys crowne ;

The ruler of somme mynster ^x hym ordeyne ; 75Sette uppe som dygner ^y than I han pyghte ^z downe ;And peace in Englonde shulde be brayd ^a agayne.

G O D D W Y N.

No, lette the super-hallie ^b feyncte kynge reygne,Ande somme moc reded ^c rule the untentyff ^d reaulme ;

Kynge Edward, yn hys cortesie, wylle deygne 80

To yelde the spoiles, and alleyn were the heaulme :

Botte from mee harte bee everych thoughte of gayne,

Not anie of mie kin I wysche him to ordeyne.

H A R O L D E.

Teil me the meenes, and I wylle boutte ytte straye ;

Eete ^e mee to flea ^f mieself, ytte shalle be done. 85

G O D D W Y N.

To thee I wylle swythyne ^g the menes unplayte ^h,

Bie whyche thou, Harolde, shalte be proved mie sonne.

I have longe seen whatte peynes were undergon,

Whatte agrames ⁱ braunce ^k out from the general tree ;The tyme ys commynge, whan the mollock ^l gron ^m 90Drented ⁿ of alle yts fwolyng ^o owndes ^p shalle bee ;

^x Monastery. ^y More worthy. ^z Pulled, plucked. ^a Displayed, *proclaimed*.
^b Over-righteous. ^c Counsell'd, more wise. ^d Uncareful, neglected, *rather*,
negligent, unattentive. ^e Bid, command. ^f Slay. ^g Presently. ^h Explain. ⁱ Grievances.
^k Branch. ^l Wet, moist. ^m Fen, moor. ⁿ Drained. ^o Swelling. ^p Waves.

Mie remedie is goode ; our menne shall ryfe :
Eftsoons the Normans and owre agrame ^a flies.

H A R O L D E.

I will to the West, and gemote ^r alle mie knyghtes,
Wythe bylles that pancte for blodde, and sheeldes as brede ^r 95
As the ybroched ^r moon, when blaunch ^u the dyghtes ^x
The wodeland grounde or water-mantled mede ;
Wythe hondes whose myghte canne make the doughtiest ^r
blede,
Who este have knelte upon forslagen ^z foes,
Whoe wythe yer fote orrests ^a a castle-stede ^b, 100
Who dare on kynges for to bewrecke ^c yiere woes ;
Nowe wylle the menne of Englonde haile the daie,
Whan Goddwyn leades them to the ryghtfulle fraie.

G O D D W Y N.

Botte firste we'll call the loverdes ^d of the West,
The erles of Mercia, Conventrie and all ; 105
The moe wee gayne, the gare ^e wylle prosper beste,
Wythe fyke a number wee can never fall.

H A R O L D E.

True, so wee sal doe best to lyncke the chayne,
And alle attenes ^f the spreddyng kyngedomme bynde.

^a Grievance. ^r Assemble. ^s Broad. ^t Horned, *pointed*. ^u White. ^v Decks.
^r Mightiest, most valiant. ^z Slain. ^a Oversets, *overcomes*. ^b A castle. ^c Revenge.
^d Lords. ^e Cause. ^f At once.

No

V. 105. The pious Leofric, husband to Godiva, the patroness of Coventry, was then Earl of Mercia ; he died in the 13th year of Edward the Confessor.

No crouched ^e champyone wythe an harte moe feygne ^h 110
 Dyd yssue owte the hallie ⁱ swerde to fynde,
 Than I nowe strev to ryd mie londe of peyne.
 Goddwyn, what thanckes owre laboures wyll enhepe ^k !
 I'lle ryse mie friendes unto the bloddie pleyne ;
 I'lle wake the honnoure thatte ys now aslepe. 115
 When wyll the chiefes mete atte thie feastive halle,
 That I wythe voice alowde maie there upon 'em calle ?

G O D D W Y N.

Next eve, mie sonne.

H A R O L D E.

Nowe, Englonde, ys the tyme,
 Whan thee or thie felle ^l foemens cause moste die.
 Thie geafon ^m wronges bee reyne ⁿ ynto theyre pryme ; 120
 Nowe wyll thie sonnes unto thie succoure flie.
 Alyche a storm egederinge ^o yn the skie,
 Tys fulle ande brasteth ^p on the chaper ^q grounde ;

^e One who takes up the Cross in order to fight against the Saracens. ^h *Willing, desirous*. ⁱ Holy. ^k *Heap upon us*. ^l *Cruel*. ^m Rare, extraordinary, strange.
ⁿ Run, shot up. ^o Assembling, gathering. ^p Bursteth. ^q Dry, barren.

Sycke

V. 110. The crouched champions were those who had taken the Cross, and had received a blessed or holy sword, on their being consecrated knights.

V. 120. *Geafon wrongs* are properly explained by Chatterton, *rare* and *extraordinary*; so in the Introduction to *Ella*, *geafon baubles* are *rare jewels*. The word *gejne* occurs in this sense in the Saxon Chronicle, ad an. 1116, and is used by Galfcoigne in his poetry,

The old sau is not *geafon*. Dan. Barth. p. 74.

that is, The old saying is not *rare*. And again,

Which in my head is full *geafon*. Herbes, p. 151.

Ray calls it an Essex word.

Sycke shalle mie fhuirye on the Normans flie,
 And alle theyre mittee [†] menne be fleene [‡] arounde. 125
 Nowe, nowe, wylle Harolde or oppreffionne falle,
 Ne moe the Englyshmenne yn vayne for hele [†] shal calle.

K Y N G E E D W A R D E A N D H Y S Q U E E N E.

Q U E E N E.

BOTTE, loverde ^u, whie so manie Normannes here?
 Mee thynckethe wee bee notte yn Englyshe londe.
 These browded ^{*} straungers alwaie doe appere, 130
 Theie parte yor trone ^v, and fete at your ryghte honde.

K Y N G E.

Go to, goe to, you doe ne understonde:
 Theie yeave mee lyffe, and dyd mie bowkie ^z kepe ^a;
 Theie dyd mee feeſte, and did embowre ^b me gronde;
 To trete hem ylle wulde lette mie kyndneſſe flepe. 135

Q U E E N E.

Mancas ^c you have yn ſtore, and to them parte;
 Youre leege-folcke ^d make moke ^e dole ^f, you have theyr worthe
 aſterte ^g.

[†] Mighty. [‡] Slain. [†] Help. ^u Lord. ^{*} Embroidered; 'tis conjectured, embroidery was not used in England till Hen. II. ^v Throne. ^z Person, body.
^a Take care of. ^b Lodge, rather, inhabit, or cultivate. ^c Marks, rather, manuses, improperly called marks. ^d Subjects. ^e Much. ^f Lamentation. ^g Neglected, or passed by.

K Y N G E.

V. 134. Embowre me gronde, *i. e.* settled, cultivated, and built on my land; from the A. S. words *Byan* to inhabit, and *Bauer* a farmer.

V. 136. The *Mancas* and *Marks*, though used here synonymously for money in general, were two different species; the former was the ancient name for the Imperial Aureus; the Mark was a nummular estimate, in value two thirds of a pound, but from the similarity of the two names, from the former growing into
 disuse,

K Y N G E.

I heste ^h no rede ⁱ of you. I ken mie friendes.
 I allie ^k dheie are, fulle ready mee to hele ^l.
 Theyre volundes ^m are ystorven ⁿ to self endes ; 140
 No denwere ^o yn mie breste I of them fele :
 I muste to prayers; goe yn, and you do wele ;
 I muste ne lose the dutie of the daie ;
 Go inne, go ynne, ande viewe the azure rele ^p,
 Fulle welle I wote you have noe mynde toe praie. 145

^h Require, ask, *command*. ⁱ *Counsel, or advice*. ^k Holy. ^l Help. ^m Wills. ⁿ Dead.
^o Doubt. ^p Waves, *blue waves*. See *Mistm*, v. 105.

Q U E E N E.

disuse, and the latter becoming a common money of account, the terms were confounded by the historians of the middle age, and promiscuously used for each other, as will appear in William of Malmſbury, and in the Latin translation of Alfred's will: Rowley has followed the historians in this mistake; but no author, since his time, has used the word *Manca* for money, and where should Chatterton have found it?

But no circumstance in this play is better authenticated by history, than the character of Sir Hugh, the king's favourite Norman treasurer: He should rather have been stiled *Earl Hugh*, and Queen Emma's favourite; for the Saxon Chronicle, and Simeon of Durham, tell us, that she appointed him governor of Devonshire; and that by his folly, neglect, and treachery, he gave the Danes an opportunity of forcibly entering into and plundering Exeter, destroying the city wall, from the east to the west gate, and returning to their ships with great booty.

“ Anno 1003. Hoc anno Rex Danorum Swanus per insilium, incuriam, & traditionem Normanni Comitſ Hugonis, quem Regina Emma Domnanie præſcit, Civitatem Exceſſriam infregit, ſpoliavit, murum ab orientali uſque ad occidentalem portam deſtruxit, & cum ingenti prædâ naves repetiit.” Sim. Dunelm. p. 165. See, alſo, Dugdale's Bar. vol. i. p. 12. and Hoveden, p. 140.

The dialogue which he holds with the King is ſtrictly conformable to his office. The king orders Sir Hugh, as governor of Devonſhire, to *gild the Weſt*, which was at that time under Harold's juřiſdiction, as Earl of Weſſex: On his reſuſal, the king gives ſimilar orders with reſpect to Kent, of which Godwin was Earl, which ſhould be read—Is it within the idea of poſſibility, that Chatterton ſhould have been ſo accurately ſtated theſe facts ſo accurately, which he could only have collected from the ſame hiſtorians, whoſe language he did not underſtand?

Q U E E N E.

I leeve youe to doe homage heaven-were ^a;
To ferve yor leege-folcke toe is doeynge homage there.

K Y N G E A N D S Y R H U G H E.

K Y N G E.

Mie friende, Syr Hughe, whatte tydynges brynges thee here?

H U G H E.

There is no mancas ^r yn mie loverdes ^s ente ^t;
The hus dyspenſe ^u unpaied doe appere; 150
The laſte receivure ^x ys eſtefoones ^y diſpente ^z.

K Y N G E.

Thenne guylde the Weſte.

H U G H E.

Mie loverde, I dyd ſpeke
Untoe the mitte ^a Erle Harolde of the thyng; ;
He rayſed hys honde, and ſmote me onne the cheke,
Saieyng, Go beare thatte meſſage to the kyng. 155

K Y N G E.

Arace ^b hym of hys powere; bie Goddis worde,
Ne moe thatte Harolde ſhall ywield the erlies ſwerde.

H U G H E.

Atte ſeefon fytte, mie loverde, lette itt bee;
Botte nowe the folcke doe ſoe enaliſe ^c hys name,

^a Heaven-ward, or God-ward. ^r *Mancuſes*. ^s *Lords*. ^t Purſe, uſed here probably as a treaſury. ^u Expence. ^v Receipt. ^w Soon. ^z Expended. ^a A contraction of mighty. ^b Diveſt. ^c Embrace, rather, exalt, from *inalzare*.

Inne stervynge to flea hymme, ourselves wee flea ; 160
 Syke ys the doughtyness ^d of hys grete fame.

K Y N G E.

Hughe, I beethyncke, thie rede ^e ys notte-to blame.
 Botte thou maiest fynde fulle store of marckes ^f yn Kente.

H U G H E.

Mie noble loverde, Godwynn ys the fame ;
 He sweeres he wylle notte swelle the Normans ent ^g. 165

K Y N G E.

Ah traytoure ! botte mie rage I wylle commaunde,
 Thou arte a Normanne, Hughe, a straunger to the launde.

Thou kenneste howe these Englysche erle doe bere
 Such stedness ^h in the yll and evylle thyng,
 Botte atte the goode theie hover yn denwere ⁱ, 170
 Onknowlachynge ^k gif thereunto to clynge.

H U G H E.

Onwordie fyke a marvell ^l of a kynge !
 O Edward, thou deservest purer leege ^m ;
 To thee heie ⁿ shulden al theire mancas brynge ;
 Thie nodde should save menne, and thie glomb ^o forlege ^p.
 I amme no curriedowe ^q, I lacke no wite ^r, 176
 I speke whatte bee the trouthe, and whatte all see is ryghte.

K Y N G E.

Thou arte a hallie ^s manne, I doe thee pryze.
 Comme, comme, and here and hele ^t mee ynn mie praies.

^d Mightiness. ^e Counsel. ^f *Mancuies*. ^g *Purse*. ^h Firmness, steadfastness. ⁱ Doubt, suspense. ^k Not knowing. ^l Wonder. ^m Homage, obedience. ⁿ They. ^o Frown.
^p Kill. ^q Curriedowe, flatterer. ^r Reward. ^s Holy. ^t Help.

Fulle twentie mancas I wylle thee alife ^u, 180
 And twayne of hamlettes ^x to thee and thie heyres.
 Soe shalle all Normannes from mie londe be fed,
 Theie alleyn ^y have syke love as to acquyre yer bredde.

^u Allow. ^x Manors. ^y Alone.

As to the general design of the play, it could not be the poet's intention to make the gross flattery of this Norman courtier, the prodigality and bigotry of the king, and the disaffection of Godwin and Harold, his principal objects, without interweaving some more interesting events. It should seem, therefore, that either the Tragedy was never completed, or that the conclusion of it was lost, with that of the Ode, or Chorus, which is *now* made an appendage to it; for it will admit of much doubt, whether these two pieces were originally so nearly connected: The poetry of the Chorus, is manifestly superior to that of the Tragedy; nor do the characters of Freedom, Power, and War, introduced in the former, apply to the history of Godwin; in which we see only faint efforts of *Freedom*, no extraordinary exertion of *Power*, and scarcely the appearance of *War*; but all these contentions are strongly exemplified in Ella: The *Power* of the Danish invaders—the *Freedom* or deliverance from their tyranny, procured by Ella's arms—and the distresses of *War* necessarily following this contest: We may add, likewise, that the spirit and sentiments contained in Ella, are much more suitable to the language of this Ode, than the tame dialogue in Godwin. It cannot but be lamented, however, that the character of War, so familiar to Rowley, and so worthy of his pen, should have some imperfect to our hands.

C H O R U S.

WHAN Freedom, dreste yn blodde-steyned veste,
 To everie knyghte her warre-songe fonge, 185
 Uponne her hedde wylde wedes were spredde ;
 A gorie anlace bye her honge.

She daunced onne the heathe ;
 She hearde the voice of deathe ;
 Pale-eyned affryghte, hys harte of sylver hue, 190
 In vayne assayled ^z her bosomme to acale ^a ;
 She hearde onflemmed ^b the shriekynge voice of woe,
 And sadnesse ynnne the owlette shake the dale.

^z Endeavoured. ^a Freeze. ^b Undismayed.

She

This Ode, or Chorus, is undoubtedly one of the most sublime compositions of Rowley's pen; a rival, even in its present imperfect state, to the song on Ella, and if compleat, would probably gain an indisputable preference. It scarcely contains a redundant word, or fails in a deficient expression, nor can its powerful imagery be conveyed in more concise and emphatical language. Freedom never appeared in a more original dress, than in her summons to war;—in her wild attire;—her undaunted spirit;—her enduring fortitude; and the effectual manner in which she avenges herself of her enemy.

The idea of Power, is conveyed in the most lofty images, borrowed, as it should seem, from Homer's description of Eris, or Strife:

————— Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα,
 Ἄρεος ἀνδροφύνοιο κασιγνήτη, ἐτάρῃ τε,
 Ἦτ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.

Il. Δ. v. 440.

Discord, dire sister of the slaughtering power,
 Small at her birth, but rising every hour ;
 Whilst scarce the skies her horrid head can bound,
 She stalks on earth, and shakes the world around.

Pope, B. iv. v. 504.

She shooke the burl'd ^c speere,
 On hie she jesse ^d her sheelde, 195
 Her foemen ^e all appere,
 And flizze ^f alonge the feelde.
 Power, wythe his heafod ^g straught ^h ynto the skyes,
 Hys speere a sonne-beame, and his sheelde a starre,
 Alyche ⁱ twaie ^k brendeynge ^l gronfyres ^m rolls hys eyes, 200
 Chaftes ⁿ with hys yronne feete and foundes to war.
 She fyttes upon a rocke,
 She bendes before hys speere,
 She ryfes from the shocke,
 Wioldyng her owne yn ayre. 205

^c Armed, pointed. ^d Hoisted on high, raised. ^e Foes, enemies. ^f Fly. ^g Head.
^h Stretched. ⁱ Like. ^k Two. ^l Flaming. ^m Meteors. ⁿ Beats, stamps, rubs.

Harde

This passage is pointed out by the critics, and indeed by Longinus himself, as a remarkable instance of sublimity, well suited to the vast reach and elevation of Homer's genius, cap. ix.—But this idea is not peculiar to Homer. The author of the Wisdom of Solomon has applied it with no less dignity to the destructive hand of God, stretched out against Egypt.

“The Almighty word brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword,
 “and standing up, filled all things with death; *and it touched the heaven, but it stood*
 “*upon the earth.*” Chap. xviii. 16.

Our poet not only raises Power to the skies, but cloaths it also with celestial armour.

Hys speere a sonne-beame, and his sheelde a starre.

Indeed the greatest exertions of human power, taken notice of by sacred and profane historians and poets, were those employed against heaven; such as the rebellion of the fallen angels, and the war of the Giants. The *iron* feet of Power are emblematical of strength. Thus the power of the Babylonish Empire was represented to Daniel by an image whose *legs* were of *iron*, ch. ii. v. 33.

G O D D W Y N : A T R A G E D I E.

Harde as the thonder dothe she drive ytte on,
 Wytte scillye ° wyped ʰ gies ʳ ytte to hys crowne,
 Hys longe sharpe speere, hys spreddyng sheelde ys gon,
 He falles, and fallynge rolleth thoufandes down.

War, goare-faced war, bie envie burld ʳ, arift ʳ, 210
 Hys feerie heaulme ʳ noddynge to the ayre,
 Tenne bloddie arrowes ynne hys streynyng fyfte—

* * * * *

° Closely, *with skill*. ʰ Mantled, covered, *or protected*. ʳ Guides. ʳ Armed.
 ʳ Arose. ʳ Helmet.

V. 207. This line may be read thus :

With scill, gewimped gies yt to his crowne.

i.e. covered and protected by skill, she directs her spear to his crown.

T H E

THE TOURNAMENT.

THE Tournament may be considered either as a Dramatic or Historical Poem, intended to celebrate the rebuilding Redcliff church by Simon de Burton, near the spot where the present magnificent structure was afterwards erected by William Canning, and other benefactors. Rowley has shewn the fertility of his invention, in gracing this history with an entertainment, dramatical in its plan, and well adapted to the taste of the age in which he lived. For though it appears, by the undoubted testimony of Leland, Tanner, and other antiquaries, that Simon de Burton built this church, and a row of almshouses which still bears his name*; yet they speak of him, not as a military man, but a merchant, who had been five times mayor of Bristol.

His vow of building this church, is here supposed to have been made at a Tournament, where several persons of respectable names and families, then extant, are said to have assisted; all this, however, may have been the invention of the poet: But the fact itself, the rebuilding the church, cannot be invalidated by the decorations of Rowley's pen, nor by the fictitious personages and circumstances introduced in the poem; they may, however, shew that such a mixture of true history and invention, could not have been the produce of Chatterton's brain. A MS Chronicle of Bristol says,

* "The Almshouse, by St. Thomas church, called Burtons Almshouse. "Burton, Maier of the towne, and foundder, is buried in it." Leland's Itin. vol. vii. p. 89.

that

that in 1292, “ the church of St. Mary Redcliff was begun to “ be built by Simon de Burton, and also the almshouses in the “ long row. He built both church and almshouses.”

It appears, also, that the church of St. Mary Redcliff wanted reparation or rebuilding at the latter end of the thirteenth century; as several episcopal indulgences were then granted to those who should contribute to that work; some of these were found by Mr. Barrett, in one of the chests in the room over the south porch of the church, when, upon Chatterton’s information, he searched there for more of Rowley’s papers. One of them was granted in 1232, by John bishop of Ardfert, who though deposed from his bishoprick, yet enjoyed episcopal powers, and retired to the abbey of St. Albans; another was granted by Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1274; both which are still in Mr. Barrett’s possession: And the third is from Peter Quivill, bishop of Exeter, dated at Redcliff, July 4th, 1287, in which thirty days indulgence is given to all such of his diocese as should say the Lords prayer, and the Salutation of the Virgin Mary, for the souls of those, whose bodies lay interred in Redcliff church-yard, and who would contribute to support and repair the said church. But whether it was entirely rebuilt, or only underwent a general reparation at Burton’s expence, Rowley’s yellow roll asserts, that it was dedicated on the day of the nativity of our Lord, in honour of the Virgin Mary, by *Gilbertus de Lean del Fardo*, Bishop of Chichester. Now it appears by Le Neve’s Fasti, that Gilbertus de Santo Leonardo was promoted to that see (having been first treasurer of the church) in 1287, and died in 1308, which agrees very well with the æra assigned by Leland and Tanner to Burton’s benefactions: Other particulars, relating to the building of this church, are said to be contained in Rowley’s MS. entitled, “ Vita Simonis de Burton,” in Mr. Barrett’s possession.

Rowley, in his emendals to Turgot’s History of Bristol, speaks of another church which was begun to be built on the same spot

during the reign of Henry the Sixth, by Lamington the pirate, whose story has been mentioned before. P. 180.

The military exercises called Tournaments, which by degrees prevailed over all Europe, are said by Munster (though his account is not much credited) to have been first instituted in 934. The Chronicle of Tours, supposed to be better authority, does not give them an earlier date than 1066, and says that they were invented by Geoffroi the II^d, Lord of Preulli in Angers. From France they were communicated to the English and Germans. Mith. Paris expressly calls them *conflictus Gallicus*; and Gul. Neubrigenfis says, that they were not known in England till the reign of King Stephen: But Pope Urban the II^d, in his address to the crusaders, Anno 1095, thus stigmatizes the practice; “Arma quæ cæde
“mutuâ in bellis illicitè & Torneamentis cruentaſtis, in hoſtes
“convertite fidei*.” This exercise, therefore, probably had a more early commencement, by its being so generally practised at that time. In the reign of King John †, Anno 1215, Robert Fitzwalter Marshall issued out a summons for a Tournament at Hounslow; and about the year 1241, Gilbert Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, proclaimed a Tournament on horseback at Ware, under the name of *Fortunium*, to avoid the force of the king’s proclamation against Tournaments. He was thrown from his horse in that exercise, and trampled to death. Indeed they had been forbidden both by Papal and Regal authority. Pope Alexander the III^d, in the council of Lateran (M. Paris, p. 137, anno 1179) denied Christian burial to such as were killed in them; and Innocent the IVth, in the council of Lyons, anno 1245, forbade the use of them for three years, under the penalty of excommunication.

But the thunders of the Vatican could not prevail over the spirit of chivalry, which continued to support these military exercises to the time of Henry the VIIIth, who exhibited a most

* M. Paris, P. 23.

† Idem, P. 265.

magnificent

magnificent spectacle of this kind, at his famous interview with Francis the First, in the Champ de drap d'or.

The ceremonial of these Tournaments is described in this poem in a manner very suitable to the accounts given by other writers. There is published in the Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i. p. 39, &c. (see also Harl. MSS. N° 69) a formulary of ancient Tournaments, as established by John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, lord constable of England, in the 6th year of Edward the IVth; but it contains nothing material to the illustration of this poem, except that the constable and the marshal deliver the spears to the combatants; the marshal calls the defendant with three distinct summons, the last of which is at noon.

So Burton says,

The mynstrelles have begonne the *thyrdē warr sounge*,

Yett notte a speere of hemm hath *grete** my fyghte. v. 23.

* *Grete* for *greted*, i. e. pleased or gratified.

The targe is there called the *Pravis*, meaning pavois; and the gleave is distinguished from the spear, long sword, and short sword. The ground is marked out and enclosed; the company assembled, either by striking hammers against a bell, or by sound of trumpet; Minstrells sing war-songs, to excite valour in the combatants, and to hail the successful victors of the day. Three of these war-songs had been sung before any rival to Burton appeared. The herald, or *sen of honour* (as he calls himself) delivers the spears to the knights, each of whom is attended by a squire. The first knight challenges his ground, by claiming a passage on a part of the field where the antagonist is to oppose his way. He then throws down his gauntlet as a token of challenge, which is accepted by his antagonist. The engagement begins by sound of trumpet; the victor of the day is declared king of the Tourney tilte; the whole assembly pay him the homage of the knee: He wins the honoured shield. The English banner is displayed on the tent, probably, to distinguish.

guish the conquest over strange knights. The minstrells sing an Epinikion, and the victor is carried in state to the president or king of the Tournament; for Anstis observes, (in his Supplement to Ashmole's Garter, p. 304) that there were *Reges Ludorum, et Circulorum*, among the Germans, presiding at Tournaments, and that there was a remarkable one, known by the title of *Roy d' Epinette*, or *Roy de Brandons*, at the Tournament annually holden at Lisle in Flanders.

Some of these circumstances are mentioned by Spenser, in the combat between the Red Cross Knight and the Sarazin Sansfoy,

A shrilling trumpet sounded from on high,
And unto battail bad themselves address,
And forth he comes into the common hall,
Where early wait him many a gazing eye,
To weet what end to stranger knights may fall
Where many minstrelles maken melody.

B. i. c. 5. st. 31.

In a word, the ceremonial, as here represented, is so well adapted to the customs of that age, that it could not have been so accurately described by any subsequent writer, who was not perfectly instructed in the ancient formulary: Chatterton, therefore, could not have been the author, as will further appear from other circumstances in this poem.

THE TOURNAMENT.

AN INTERLUDE.

Enter an HERALDE.

THE Tournament begynnes ; the hammerrs founde ;
 The courserrs lyffe ^a about the mensured ^b felde ;
 The shemrynge ^c armoure throws the sheene ^d arounde ;
 Quayntyssed ^e fons ^f depictedd ^g onn eche sheelde.

^a Sport, or play, or bound. ^b Bounded, or measured. ^c Shining. ^d Lustre.
^e Curiously devised. ^f Fancies or devices. ^g Painted, or displayed.

The

The author having prefixed Introductions to his two dramatic pieces of *Ella* and *Godwin*, it may be presumed that he also intended one for the *Tournament*, and so it seems he did ; but by an error in the MS, or a mistake in the transcriber, it is now confounded with the poem, and put into the mouth of the Herald ; who is very improperly introduced ridiculing his own profession, by remarking on the absurdities introduced into coat-armour. He holds a very different language, however, in the following part of his speech : The first stanza, therefore, should be stiled *the Introduction*, and put into the mouth of the poet, describing the ceremonial and appearance of these military amusements. Under this character, he might properly enough ridicule the *strange depyctures* on their shields, *which nature may not yield*, in the same manner as he has satyrised, in his epistle prefixed to *Ella*, the predominant passion for heraldry, especially in those of middling and inferior condition.

Let trades and town-folches lett syke thinges alone,
 Ne syghte for fable in a field of aune.

But the Herald will make his appearance in the second stanza with the greatest propriety,

The feerie ^h heaulmets, wythe the wreathes amielde ⁱ,
 Supportes the rampynge lyoncell ^k orr beare,
 Wythe straunge depyctures ^l, Nature maie nott yeelde,
 Unseemelie to all orderr doe appere,
 Yett yatte ^m to menne, who thyncke and have a spryte ⁿ,
 Makes knowen thatt the phantasies unryghte.

5

10

I, Sonne of Honnoure, spencer ^o of her joies,
 Must swythen ^p goe to yeve ^q the speeres arounde,
 Wythe advantayle ^r & borne ^s I meynthe ^t emploie,
 Who withoute mee woulde fall untoe the grounde.
 Soe the tall oake the ivie twyfteth rounde ;
 Soe the neshe ^u flowerr grees ^x ynne the woodeland shade.

15

^h Fiery. ⁱ Ornamented, enameled. ^k A young lion. ^l Drawings, paintings.
^m That. ⁿ Soul, *or* *genius*. ^o Dispenfer. ^p Quickly. ^q Give. ^r Armour.
^s Burnish. ^t Many. ^u Young, weak, tender. ^x Grow.

The

propriety, proclaiming his office and duty with great self-importance and dignity, comparing himself to an oak, and the artizans and armourers to the ivy, which twine round and are supported by him. Some respect, however, is due to the similes and reflections in the close of his speech, v. 17, as being not unlike the stile of Pope's Moral Essays. If Chatterton had been the author of the drama, as he professedly was of the explanatory notes, he would not have directed the reader to William Rufus, and Guy de St^e Egidio, as worthy antagonists to Burton: The former was not remarkably distinguished for these military exercises, the latter seems to be perfectly unknown, both in name and character. With much greater plausibility, and real truth, would those names have been ascribed to William the Conqueror, and Guy Earl of Warwick; the former distinguished by his strength, valour, and perseverance, (alluded to in that line

Whose might delievreth hath knit.

that is, who united great agility with superior strength,) as well as by his extravagant passion for hunting, recorded by our English historians, and for which he is particularly celebrated in the following minstrells song. It is unnecessary to add, that Guy of Warwick was one of the most favourite heroes in English romance, and therefore most properly chosen as a character worthy of Burton's emulation in this honourable achievement.

The worlde bie diffraunce ys ynn orderr founde;
 Wydoute unlikeneffe nothyng could bee made.
 As ynn the bowke ^y nete ^z alleyn ^a cann bee donne,
 Syke ^b ynn the weal^c of kynde all thynges are partes of onne. 20

Enterr SYRR SYMONNE DE BOURTonne.
 Herawde ^d, bie heavenne these tylters staie too long.
 Mie phantafie ys dyinge forr the fyghte.
 The mynstrelles have begonne the thyrd warr fonge,
 Yett notte a speere of hemm ^e hath grete ^f mie fyghte.
 I feere there be ne manne wordhie mie myghte. 25
 I lacke a Guid ^g, a Wyllyamm ^h to entylte.
 To reine ⁱ anente ^k a fele ^l embodiedd knyghte,
 Ytt gettes ne rennome ^m gyff hys blodde bee spylte.
 Bie heavenne and Marie ytt ys tyme they're here;
 I lyche nott unthylle ⁿ thus to wielde the speare. 30

H E R A W D E.

Methynckes I heare yer slugghornes ^o dynn ^p fromm farre.

B O U R T O N N E.

Ah! fwythenn ^q mie shielde & tyltyng launce bee bounde ^r.
 Eftfoones ^s beheste ^t mie Squyerr to the warre.
 I flie before to clayme a challenge grownde. [Goeth oute.]

H E R A W D E.

This valourous actes woulde meinte ^u of menne astounde; 35
 Harde bee yer ^x shappe ^y encontrynge thee ynn fyghte;

^y Body. ^z Nothing. ^a Alone, *or singly*. ^b So. ^c Government or constitution of the natural world. ^d Herald. ^e A contraction of *them*. ^f Greeted, or pleased. ^g Guie de Santo Egidio, the most famous tilter of his age, *rather, Guy of Warwick*. ^h William Rufus, *rather, William the Conqueror*. ⁱ Run. ^k Against. ^l Feeble. ^m Honour, glory. ⁿ Useless. ^o A kind of claryon, *or war trumpet*. ^p Sound. ^q Quickly. ^r Ready. ^s Soon. ^t Command. ^u Most, *or many*. ^x Their. ^y Fate, or doom.

Anenst ^z all menne thou bereft to the grounde,
 Lyche the hard hayle dothe the tall rothes pyghte ^z.
 As whanne the mornynge sonne ydronks the dew,
 Syche dothe thie valourous actes drocke ^b eche knyghte's hue. 40

THE LYSTES. THE KYNGE. SYRR SYMONNE DE BOUR-
 TONNE, SYRR HUGO FERRARIS, SYRR RANULPH NEVILLE,
 SYRR LODOVICK DE CLYNTON, SYRR JOHAN DE BERG-
 HAMME, AND ODHERR KNYGHTES, HERAWDES, MYN-
 STRELLES, AND SERVYTOURS ^c.

K Y N G E.

The barganette ^d; yee mynstrelles tune the ftrynge,
 Somme actyonn dyre of auntyante kynges now fynge.

M Y N S T R E L L E S.

Wyllyamm, the Normannes floure botte Englonde's thorne,
 The manne whose myghte delievretie ^e hadd knite ^f,
 Snett ^g oppe hys long fstrunge bowe and sheelde aborne ^h, 45
 Behesteynge ⁱ all hys hommageres ^k to fyghte.
 Goe, rouze the lyonn fromm hys hylted ^l denne,
 Lett thie floes ^m drenche the blodde of anie thyng bott menne.

^z Against. ^a Pitch, or bend down. ^b Drink. ^c Servants, attendants. ^d Song, or ballad. ^e Activity. ^f Joined. ^g Bent, rather, snatched. ^h Burnished. ⁱ Commanding. ^k Servants, or dependents. ^l Hidden. ^m Arrows.

Ynn

V. 43. The stile of this song is truly original, and its merit consists in the powerful assemblage of horrid objects combined in the third stanza, which no pen but Rowley's could have displayed in such strong colours; and we may observe, that the moral, or burden of the song, is not directed against chivalry, or Tournaments, but against war and murder.

Ynn the treed forreste doe the knyghtes appere ;
 Wyllyamm wythe myghte hys bowe enyronn'd ^a plies ^o ; 50
 Loude dynns ^p the-arowe ynn the wolffynns's care ;
 Hee ryfeth battent ^q, roares, he panctes, hee dyes.
 Forflagen ^r att thie feete lett wolvyngs bee,
 Lett thie fies drenche theyre blodde, bott do ne bredrenn flea.

Throwe the merke ^s shade of twiftynde trees hee rydes ; 55
 The flemed ^t owlett ^u flapps herr eve-speckte ^x wynges ;
 The lordyng ^y toade ynn all hys passies bides ;
 The berten ^z neders ^a att hymm darte the stynges ;

^a Worked with iron. ^o Bends. ^p Sounds. ^q Loudly. ^r Killed. ^s Dark, or gloome. ^t and ^u Frighted owl. ^x Marked with evening dew, or with dark spots. ^y Standing on their hind legs, heavy, sluggish. ^z Venomous, rather, leaping, attacking. ^a Adders.

Styll,

V. 51. The objects of Duke William's sport are the wolf and the stag, both inhabitants of this kingdom. The lion is also introduced, merely to add dignity to the sport, and variety to the description ; but, to avoid impropriety, the poet has anticipated the objection which might be made, by observing that he was

Fromme sweltrie countries braughte, v. 61.

The chace of these animals is well described ; but there are no less than three instances, in the third stanza, wherein Chatterton has mistaken the meaning of his author.

V. 56. *The eve-speckle* wings of the owl seems to allude to the dark spots on one species of them, and not to the *evening dew*.

V. 57. The *lordyng* toad is not so called from the dignity of his posture, and sitting upon his hind legs, but from the unwieldiness of his bulk, and the slowness of his motion. *Lourdy*, *sluggish*, has a place amongst Mr. Ray's E. and N. country words. *Lourd*, in French, signifies *heavy* and *stupid*. Douglass's glossarist explains *lurdin* by *blockhead*, *fat*, and *lurdanry* by *stupidity*. But the poet himself uses it in a sense much more correspondent with this passage ; viz. heavy and unwieldy ; for he calls the Trojan horse, or *gravis equus* of Virgil, p. 182, v. 9.

That strang *lurdane*.

So Gascoigne, in Dan Barth's Tale, p. 115,

Where every *lurdin* will become a leech.

Styll, styll, hee passës onn, hys stede astrodde,
Nee hedes the daungerous waie gyff leadynge untoe bloodde. 60

The lyoncel, fromme sweltrie ^b countries braughte,
Coucheynge binethe the sheltre of the brierr,
Att commyng dynn ^c doth rayse hymselfe distraughte ^d,
He loketh wythe an eie of flames of fyre.
Goe, sticke the lyonn to hys hyltren ^e denne, 65
Lette thie flocs ^f drenche the blood of anie thyng botte menn.

Wythe passent ^g steppe the lyonn mov'th alonge ;
Wylliamm hys ironne-woven bowe hee bendes,
Wythe myghte alyche the roghlynge ^h thonderr stronge ;
The lyonn ynn a roare hys spryte foorth sendes.. 70
Goe, flea the lyonn ynn hys blodde-steyn'd denne,
Botte bee thie takelle ⁱ drie fromm blodde of odherr menne.

Swefte fromm the thyckett starks the stagge awaie ;
The couraciers ^k as swefte doe afterr flie.
Hee lepethe hie, hee stondes, hee kepes att baie, 75
Botte metes the arrowe, and eftsoones ^l doth die.
Forslagenn atte thie fote lette wylde beastes bee,
Lett thie flocs drenche yer blodde, yett do ne bredrenn flee.

^a Hot, sultry. ^c Sound, noise. ^d Distracted. ^e Hidden. ^f Arrows. ^g Walking leisurely. ^h Rolling. ⁱ Arrow. ^k Horse-courfers, rather *herfemen*. ^l Full soon.

Wythe

So in Evans's Collection of Ancient Ballads, vol. ii. p. 90, it is said of the deer,
The fat *lurdanes* bleed.

And in the old ballad of Adam Bell,

What, *Lurdin*, art thou wode? Percy, vol. i. p. 141.

V. 58. The *berten neders* do not mean *venomous*, but *leaping*, to express their manner of attack. The Promptuar. parvul. explains *burtyu*, by *insilio*, *cornupeto*, to leap upon, or push as horned cattle do.

Wythe murtherr tyredd, hee fleynges hys bowe alyne ^m.
 The stagge ys ouch'd ⁿ wythe crownes of lillie flowerrs. 80
 Arounde theire heaulmes theire greene verte ^o doc entwyne;
 Joying and rev'lous ynn the grene wode bowerrs.
 Forslagenn wyth thie floe lette wylde beastes bee,
 Eefste thee upponne theire fleshe, doe ne thie bredrenn flee.

K Y N G E.

Nowe to the Tourneie ^p; who wylle fyrste affraie ^q? 85

H E R A U L D E.

Neville, a baronne, bee yatte ^r honnoure thyne.

B O U R T O N N E.

I clayme the passage.

N E V Y L L E.

I contake ^s thie waie.

B O U R T O N N E.

Thenn there's mie gauntlette ^t onn mie gaberdyne ^u.

H E R E H A U L D E.

A leegefull ^x challenge, knyghtes & champyouns dygne ^y,
 A leegefull challenge, lette the slugghorne founde. 90
 [Syrr Symonne *and* Neville *tylte*.

^m Across his shoulders, *or, without the quiver*. ⁿ Garlands of flowers being put round the neck of the game, it was said to be *ouch'd*, from *ouch*, a chain, worn by earls round their necks. ^o *Leaves and branches*. ^p Tournament. ^q Fight, or encounter. ^r That. ^s Dispute. ^t Glove. ^u A piece of armour, *rather, cloak*. ^x Lawful. ^y Worthy.

Neville

V. 88. The throwing down the gauntlet was the usual form of challenge. The gaberdyne, as before observed, was a cloak worn by the foldiers, which they probably threw on the ground before they began to engage. See Ella, v. 251.

V. 90. The founding of the slugghorne is often mentioned in these poems, as the signal both for attack and retreat, (B. H. N°. 2. v. 99;) and more than once in Ella,

Nevylle ys goeynge, manne and horſe, toe grounde.

[Nevylle falls.

Loverdes, how doughtilie ^a the tylterrs joyne !

Yee champyones. heere Symonne de Bourtonne fyghtes,

Onne hee hathe quacedd ^a, affayle ^b hymm, yee knyghtes.

FERRARIS.

I wylle anente ^c hymm goe ; mic ſquierr, mic ſhield ; 95

Orr onne orr odherr wyll doe myckle ^d ſeethe ^e

Before I doe departe the liſſedd ^f ſielde,

Mieſelfe orr Bourtonne hereupponn wyll blethe ^g.

Mic ſhield.

^a Furiously, *rather bravely*. ^a Vanquiſhed. ^b Oppoſe. ^c Againſt. ^d Much.

^e Damage, miſchief. ^f Bounded. ^g Bleed.

BOURTONNE.

Ella, v. 690, 721, 1101 ; and alſo in this poem) but the word is not explained in the glosſaries, nor in any of our ancient poets, except Gawin Douglas,

The drauche trumpet blawis the bragge of were

The *ſlugborne*, encenze, or the wache cry. P. 230, v. 36.

Classica jamque ſonant, it bello teſſera ſignum. Æn. vii. v. 637.

(*Encenze* is the tranſlation of *inſignia*, and *wache cry* is the *teſſera*, or watch-word.) Douglas's glosſariſt calls it *cornu bellicum*, and derives it from *ſleghe*, *clades*. The *water ſlughorn*, mentioned in Ecl. ii. 9. is explained by Chatterton "as a muſical inſtrument, not unlike a hautboy;" but (v. 31.) he calls it a kind of clarion : which ſhews, that he explained it only by gueſs. He would, more properly, have called it *a horn of war*.

V. 91. Nevylle ys goeynge, manne and horſe, toe grounde.

This mode of expreſſion is truly ancient : So in the ſiege of Harſſet, (Warton, vol. ii. p. 37)

The Frenche men faſte *to ground* they browzt.

And again,

The Frenche men *faſt to grunde* gan got.

B O U R T O N N E.

Comme onne, & fitte thie tylte-launce ethe ^h.

Whanne Bourtonn fyghtes, hee metes a doughtie foe. 100

[*Theie tylte. Ferraris falleth.*

Hee falleth; nowe bie heavenne thie woundes doe finethe ⁱ;

I feere mee, I have wroughte thee myckle woe ^k.

H E R A W D E.

Bourtonne hys seconde beereth to the feelde.

Comme onn, yee knyghtes, and wynn the honnour'd sheeld.

B E R G H A M M E.

I take the challenge; squyre, mie launce and stede. 105

I, Bourtonne, take the gauntlette; forr mee staie.

Botte, gyff thou fyghteste mee, thou shalt have mede ^l;

Somme odherr I wylle champyonn toe affraie ^m;

Perchaunce fromme hemm I maie possesse the daie,

Thenn I schalle bee a foemanne forr thie spere. 110.

Herehawde, toe the bankes of Knyghtys saie,

De Berghamme wayteth forr a foemann heere.

^a Easy. ⁱ Smoke. ^k Hurt, or damage. ^l Reward. ^m Fight or engage.

C L I N T O N.

V. 104. The honoured shield, which was the destined prize for the conqueror, was usually suspended on a tree till the combat was decided, and then born away by the victor. So Spenser

——— and on a tree

Sansfoy his shield is hanged with bloody hue,

Both those the laurel garlands to the victor due.

V. 106 Burton's name is omitted here, who is undoubtedly the speaker; and Berghamme replies in the following line, wishing previously to engage some champion, in order that Burton may have a worthy *mede* or reward in conquering him.

CLINTON.

Botte longe thou schalte ne tende ⁿ; I doe thee fie ^o.

Lyche forreying ^p levynn ^q, schalle mie tylte-launce fie.

[Berghamme & Clinton *tylte*. Clinton *fallethe*.

BERGHAMME.

Nowe, nowe, Syrr Knyghte, attoure ^r thie beeveredd ^s eyne. 115

I have borne downe, [one] and este ^t doe gauntlette ^u thee.

Swythenne ^x begynne, and wrynn ^y thie shappe ^z orr myne;

Gyff thou dyscomfytte, ytt wylle dobblie bee.

[Bourtonne & Burghamm *tylteth*. Berghamme *falls*.

HERAWDE.

Symonne de Bourtonne haveth borne downe three,

And bie the thyrd hathe honnoure of a fourthe. 120

Lett hymm bee sett asyde, tyile hee doth see

A tyltynge forr a knyghte of gentle wourthe.

Heere commethe straunge knyghtes; gyff corteous ^a heie ^b,

Ytt welle befeies ^c to yeve ^d hemm ryghte of fraie ^e.

ⁿ Attend or wait. ^o Defy. ^p Destroying. ^q Lightning. ^r Turn.
 Beaver'd. ^t Again. ^u Challenge. ^x Quickly. ^y Declare. ^z Fate.
^a Worthy. ^b They. ^c Becomes. ^d Give. ^e Fight, *combat*.

FIRST

V. 116. The word *one* must here be supplied, in order to compleat the sense and the measure.

Ibid. *Eft*, though explained by Chatterton *again*, in which sense it is used, Metam. v. 53, and Ep. v. 8. yet here signifies *afterwards*, as it also may, Ella, v. 450. Bishop Douglas uses it in this sense, and so his glossarist has explained it. *Eft ship*, and *eft castell*, are used for the hinder part of a ship and of a castle. Skynner gives both senses to the word *postea, iterum*.

V. 119. The observations made by the Herald, and the orders issued by him, are so much in character, that they could not have been dictated by any person who was ignorant of the ceremonial, or a stranger to the rules of Tournament.

FIRST KNYGHT E.

Straungerrs wee bee, and homblie dee wee clayme 125
 The rennome ^f ynn thys Tourneie ^g forr to tylte;
 Dheirbie to proove fromm cravents ^h owre goode name,
 Bewrymnyng ⁱ thatt wee gentile blodde have spylte.

HEREHAWDE.

Yee knyghtes of cortesie, these straungerrs, saie,
 Bee you fulle wyllynge forr to yeve hemm fraie ^k? 130
*[Fyve Knyghtes tylteth wythe the straunge Knyghte, and bee:
 everichone ^l overthrowne.]*

BOURTONNE.

Nowe bie Seyncte Marie, gyff onn all the felde
 Ycrafedd ^m speres and helmetts bee besprente ⁿ,
 Gyff everyche knyghte dydd houlde a piercedd ^o sheeld,
 Gyff all the feelde wythe champyonne blodde bee stente ^p,
 Yett toe encounterr hymm I bee contente. 135
 Annotherr launce, Marshalle, anotherr launce.
 Albeyttee hee wythe lowes ^q of fyre ybrente ^r,
 Yett Bourtonne woulde agenste hys val ^s advance.

^f Honour. ^g Tournament. ^h Towards. ⁱ Declaring. ^k Combat. ^l Every one.
^m Broken, spilt. ⁿ scatter'd. ^o Broken, or pierced through with darts, or spears.
^p Stained. ^q Flames. ^r Burnt, *burned*. ^s Healm.

Fyve

V. 137. We may consider the ardour expressed by Burton to meet his antagonist, as a copy of Hector's speech when he was going against Achilles.

Τὸ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι, καὶ ἐν πυρὶ χθῆρας ἔοικεν,
 Εἰ πυρὶ χθῆρας ἔοικε, μένος δ' ἀθανάσιον οὐδέγω.

Il. γ. v. 371.

Nor from yon boaster shall your chief retire,
 Not tho' his heart were steel, his hands were fire.

Pope, B. xx. v. 423.

Fyve haveth fallenn downe anethe ¹ hys speere,
Botte hee schalle bee the next thatt falleth heere. 140

Bie thee, Seyncte Marie, and thy Sonne I sweare,
Thatt ynn whatte plice yonn doughtie knyghte sh. ll fall
Anethe ² the stronge push of mie straught ³ out speere,
There schalle aryse a hallie ⁴ chyrches walle,
The whyche, ynn honoure, I wyllle Mary calle, 145
Wythe pillars large, and spyre full hyghe and rounde.
And thys I faifullie ⁵ wyllle stonde to all,
Gyff yonderr straungerr falleth to the grounde.
Straungerr, bee boune ⁶; I champyonn ⁷ you to warre.
Sounde, sounde the slughornes, to bee hearde fromm farre. 150
[Bourtonne & the Straungerr tylt. Straunger falleth.

K Y N G E.

The Mornynge Tyltes now cease.

H E R A W D E.

Bourtonne ys kyng.

Dysplaie the Englyshe bannorre onn the tente;
Rounde hymm, yee mynstrelles, songs of achments ⁸ fyng;
Yee Herawdes, getherr upp the sp. res besprente ⁹;
To Kyng of Tourney-tylte bee all knees bente. 155
Dames faire and gentle, forr youre loves hee foughte;

¹ Beneath. ² Stretched out. ³ Holy. ⁴ Faithfully. ⁵ Ready. ⁶ Challenge.
⁷ Achievements, glorious actions. ⁸ Broken spears, *flattered*.

Forr

V. 141. In representing the vow, which seems to have given birth to this dramatic piece, it was the principal view of the poet to do honour to Bristol, and to its most liberal benefactors, amongst whom Burton seems to have stood the highest, after Canning, in Rowley's estimation.

Forr you the longe tylte-launce, the fwerde hee fhente ^e ;
 Hee joustedd ^f, alleine ^g havynge you ynn thoughte.
 Comme, mynstrelles, found the ftrynge, goe onn eche fyde,
 Whyleft hee untoe the Kynge ynn ftate doe ryde. 160

M Y N S T R E L L E S.

Whann Battayle, fmethynge ^h wythe new-quicken'd gore,
 Bendynge wythe fpoiles, and bloddie-droppyng hedde,
 Dydd the merke ⁱ woode of ethe ^k and reft explore,
 Seekeynge to lie onn Pleafures downie bedde,
 Pleafure, dauncyng fromm her wode, 165
 Wreathedd wythe floures of aiglintine ^l,
 Fromm hys vyfage wafhedd the bloude,
 Hylte ^m hys fwerde and gaberdyne.

Wythe fyke an eyne fhee fwotelie ⁿ hymm dydd view,
 Dydd foe ycorvenn ^o everrie fhape to joie, 170
 Hys fpryte dydd chaunge untoe anodherr hue,
 Hys armes, ne fpoyles, mote anie thoughts emploie.
 All delyghtfomme and contente,
 Fyre enfhotyng ^p fromm hys eyne,

^e Broke, deftroyed. ^f *Tilted, or jufted.* ^g Only, alone. ^h Smoaking, fteaming.
ⁱ Dark, gloomy. ^k Eafe. ^l *Eglantine, or fweet-brier.* ^m Hid, fecreted. ⁿ Sweetly.
^o Moulded. ^p Shooting, darting.

Ynn

V. 161. The minftrells fong, which fo properly concludes this piece, is written in the ftile of a Greek Chorus, tending to excite an ardour for military atchievements, to do honour to the victor, and to fhew that virtue and valour are the moft certain and honourable guides to pleafure and happinefs. The ftile and meafure of the fong are varied with uncommon art, to exprefs, more forcibly, the fenfations produced by each of thefe different objects.

Ynn hys arms hee dydd herr hente ³, 175
 Lyche the merk-plante ¹ doe entwyne.
 Soe, gyff thou loveſt Pleaſure and herr trayne,
 Onknowlachynge ⁵ ynn whatt place herr to fynde,
 Thys rule yſpende ¹, and ynn thie mynde retayne;
 Seeke Honnoure fyrſte, and Pleaſaunce lies behynde. 180

³ Graſp, hold. ¹ Night-ſhade, *rather, the Ivy.* ⁵ Ignorant, unknowing.
¹ Conſider.

V. 176. The *merk-plant* cannot mean the *night-ſhade* (as Chatterton has explained it) becauſe it is not a paraſitical plant. The deſcription would ſuit better with the ivy, which poſſeſſes that quality in the higheſt degree, and is generally found in dark and ſhady retreats. The ivy is alſo a hackneyed ſubject for love-ſimilies.

Arctius, atque hederâ procerâ aſtringitur Ilex,
 Lentis adhærens brachiis. Horat. Epod. xv. v. 4.

“Brachia non hederæ vincant” is part of an epithalamion written by the Emperor Gallienus. Hiſt. Auguſtæ Scriptores, p. 180.

Virgil ranks the ivy as a mournful and lethal tree, with the Pine and Taxus, the Pine and the Yew.

Hederæ pandunt veſtigia nigræ. Virg. Georg. ii. v. 258.

THE BRISTOWE TRAGEDIE:

OR THE DETHE OF

SYR CHARLES BAWDIN.

THIS poem is with great propriety placed immediately after the Tournament; for though, strictly speaking, it is only an Historical Ballad, yet, according to the definition of Tragedy given by Chaucer, the number and characters of the persons introduced, the variety of events, the scenery, the dialogue, exertion, and display of the passions, may justly give it a place among Rowley's *Dramatic* performances. A modern forger would have introduced this poem under the title of an *Ancient Ballad*, and not have given it a name so different from our present ideas of Tragedy.

It has been considered, indeed, as the most suspicious piece in the whole collection, and the learned historian of our ancient poetry, vol. ii. p. 153. has not only pronounced it to be modern, on his own judgment, but has also condemned it on the opinion of those, who maintain all the other poems to be ancient; but, whatever authority he may have for this latter assertion, as it is unsupported by proof, it can have but little weight in determining the merits of this question.

The

The objections made to the authenticity of this poem are of two sorts; it is allowed by some to be original in its general plan and composition, but to have been modernised and improved by Chatterton; whilst others boldly assert the whole to be the invention of that extraordinary youth: Both these assertions may be extended to every poem in the volume; the objectors, therefore, may think it to their advantage, if we try the authenticity of the whole collection by this questionable performance; though they are not apprized that a greater variety of internal proofs may be produced for its authenticity, than for that of any other piece in the whole collection.

The idea of a *partial interpolation*, so far as it can be supposed to give any credit to Chatterton as the author of the poems, though plausible at first sight, will be found, upon examination, a most indefensible hypothesis; and if established, would do more honour to Rowley, and less to Chatterton, than the objectors are aware of; for it would leave the former possessed of all the merit arising from the original plan, the characters, the plot and metre of the poem; what other part would then remain for the display of Chatterton's genius, but to supply the supposed deficiency of words and syllables in the original MS. (which has not yet been proved imperfect); or else to attempt an improvement of his author, by intermixing his own language and sentiments in the poem. It is by no means consistent with Chatterton's extravagant vanity, to suppose that he would offer up his poetical talents at the shrine of a dead poet, when he was conscious of being able to excel as a living one; and though he should have yielded the palm to his original author, yet he would hardly have stooped so low as to appear as a foil to him; which he must have done, if he was the author of those passages only, which are objected to as his interpolations. In either view, the joint labours of two poets, so different in their stile and sentiments, their æra and disposition, must have formed such a motley composition, as would have disclosed that secret, which Chatterton appears so studiously to

have concealed from the world. But no such inequality, or diversity of genius, appears in these poems; for we may assert, with Mr. Warton, that "they are every where supported, throughout poetical and animated. They have no imbecillities of stile or sentiment." From this concession, may we not infer their authenticity, or (which equally applies to the present argument) that they are the work of one and the same pen; and therefore must be ascribed entirely either to Rowley or Chatterton, until some other person can be produced with a more probable claim to them? But Mr. Warton views this point in a different light, and, by making *inequality* the characteristic of ancient poetry, condemns Rowley, not for falling short, but for exceeding that standard; whereas, in fact, no such standard can be admitted. Some ancient poets are as uniformly dull, as Rowley is uniformly correct and brilliant; and although Mr. Warton has extracted a few passages from our ancient poets, containing "splendid descriptions, ornamental comparisons, and poetical images, yet he acknowledges, that for many pages the poet is tedious, prosaic, and uninteresting:" Nor is this inequality peculiar to ancient poets, or any proof of the authenticity of their works; the compositions of more modern writers, being almost as unequal, especially the poets, who are unlike themselves on different subjects; of which the works of Shakespear, Milton, and Cowley, afford sufficient proofs: The objection, therefore, amounts chiefly to this; that the purity of Rowley's language, the harmony of his numbers, and the uniform excellence of his poetry, exceed those of any other writer in that century: But does not every age and country produce men of genius in all kinds of literature, as far exceeding their contemporaries, as Rowley has excelled the poets of his own age? It is certainly a much more probable supposition, that these poems were written by a learned Priest, than by an illiterate Boy; that the story would be more faithfully told by a person who lived in the age when these events happened, than by an ill-informed relator at the distance of three centuries; and

the ideas of chastity and virtue with which these poems abound, are undoubtedly more suitable to the character of a moral and religious Priest, than to that of an unprincipled and dissolute Youth.

As to the other supposition, they who can believe Chatterton to have been the original and sole author of this poem, must ascribe to him a variety of knowledge in several branches, which neither his youth, nor his opportunities of information could enable him to attain: By what means could he become acquainted with the birth and parentage, the family and character, of Sir Baldwin Fulford, the number of his sons, the names, offices, and situations of the several personages introduced in this poem; the presence of King Edward at Fulford's execution; the church at which he sat to see the spectacle, and the situation of that church, with respect both to the prison and place of execution? These, with many other particulars mentioned in the poem, which have been fully verified by various authentic records on a subsequent enquiry, would never have been thought of, or examined into, had not the authenticity of the poem been questioned: It was impossible, indeed, that they should have been thus accurately related by any one, who was not well acquainted with the history.

There is a third idea concerning this poem, less probable than either of those already mentioned; viz. That the whole was new formed by Chatterton, both in language and versification, from an original poem of Rowley, which furnished the history, plan, and sentiments, much in the same manner as the present Ballad of Chevy Chase is supposed to be modernised from the ancient Battle of Otterburn, or Prior's Henry and Emma, from the Song of the Nut-brown Maid. It is sufficient to say, that this hypothesis is unsupported both by fact and probability; even the objection admits the existence of some original poem, which Chatterton must be supposed to have new modelled, borrowing from Rowley the plan, circumstances, and action of the piece, wherein

the principal merit and beauty of it consists. This supposition, if adopted, must be extended to every other poem in the collection; which is an idea too improbable to be espoused by the objectors.

As to the modern complexion of the language, and the correctness of the metre, which are also urged as objections to its authenticity; the former may be accounted for from the nature of the subject, the latter from the clearness of the author's imagination, and from the harmony of his ear. Every judicious poet will adapt his language to the style of poetry in which he writes; and it may be observed, that Rowley has closely followed the advice of Horace, in the magnificent words and compound epithets which appear so frequently in his epic and dramatic pieces; and on the other hand, with what ease and smoothness does his language flow in the songs and eclogues! how plain and familiar is the style of this poem! how suitable to that of all the ancient Ballads, which relate such doleful events! Dr. Johnson observes, in his life of Cowley, "that the familiar part of language continues long the same. The dialogue of comedy, when it is translated from popular manners and real life, is read from age to age with equal pleasure."

The objections arising from the correctness of the metre, will apply to every other composition in the volume, wherein we rarely meet with a redundant or deficient syllable, an irregular or imperfect stanza. But this circumstance, which shews the superiority and perfection of Rowley's poetry, having been already considered, it will be unnecessary to resume the subject in this place; we may therefore proceed to the more immediate consideration of the history and facts represented in the poem. There can be no doubt but the hero of it was a real personage, and the Tragedy (as far as it relates to his execution, with many of its concomitant circumstances) is authenticated by our historians: Leland, in his Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 8. says, that "*Sir Baldwin Fulferte*, a Knight of the Sepulchre, was under-admiral to Holland duke

“ of Exeter, who was then admiral of England* :” His character seems to have been well known in those days ; for the historian of Henry the Vith’s reign, in Kennett’s Collection says, “ that “ Queen Margaret (to whom it appears he was particularly “ attached) entertained a groundless propofal to destroy the Earl “ of Warwick, made to her by *Sir Baldwin Fulford*, a man of “ more daringnefs than prudence, who undertook, upon pain of “ lofing his head, to kill the Earl of Warwick, till, after he had “ fpent the king a thoufand marks, he returned without doing “ any thing.” Stowe gives the fame account of Fulford’s undertaking ; and to this the entry in Rowley’s yellow roll is perfectly conformable, which fays,

“ Sir Charles Bawdin a Fulford, commonly clepend Baldwyn
“ Fulford, his bond to the King, that he would bring the Earl of
“ Warwick, or lofe his hedde ; which he did not perform, but loft
“ his hedde to King Edward †.” Such a declaration of personal
hostility, againft a nobleman to whom Edward was indebted for
his crown, marked out Fulford as a peculiar object of the king’s
refentment ; no wonder then that he fentenced him to immediate
execution, and declared, in the words of the poem,

He would not taſte a bit of bread,
Whilſt thys Sir Charles dyd lyve.

This fact is further confirmed by two ancient MS. chronicles ſhewn to me at Briſtol, by Mr. Barrett ; one of them fays,

* William of Wirceſtre, in his Annals, printed by Hearn at the end of Liber Niger, ſpeaking of what happened in London after the Battle of St. Albans, fays, “ & eodem die Baldwynus Fourforthe miles de comitatu Devon & Alexander “ Hody miles cum multâ gente armatâ exiſtentes apud Weſtmonaſterium ex parte “ Regine fuerunt, quia communes civitatis Londonianum inſurgebant contra “ eos.” P. 488.

† Amongſt Rymer’s unpublished papers, in the Britiſh Muſeum, there is an order from Edward the IVth, dated June 17th, 1461, for arreſting Thomas Baſtard of Exeter, and Baldwin Filford, as adherents to his enemies, and to King Henry. He was probably taken ſoon after ; for he was executed Sept. 9th.

“ Anno 1461, In the month of September, the King came to
 “ Bristol, and beheaded *Sir John Baldwin Fulford* and *Hessant*,
 “ and returned back the same day.”

The other mentions a third traitor, beheaded at the same time, agreeably to the description in the poem,

Charles Bawdin, and his fellows *twayne*,

To-day shall surely die.

But by mistaking *Sir John Baldwin*, and *Fulford*, for two different persons, he reckons them as four; “ King Edward came to
 “ Bristol, where he beheaded *Sir John Bawdin*, knight, and
 “ three esquires, *Fulford*, *Bright*, and *Hessant*.”

This chronicle calls him *John*, and Rowley gives him the name of *Charles*, both without authority; for it appears by his history, and family pedigrees, that his Christian name was *Baldwin*, probably so called from *Baldwin de Belston*, whose heiress was married to one of *Fulford*'s ancestors.

The day of his execution, and subsequent attainder by act of parliament, are also upon record. It appears by the Inquisitiones post mortem, that the jury made the following return to a commission of enquiry issued in Devonshire, in the fourth year of Edward the fourth, Nov. 31.

“ Item juratores dicunt quod dictus Baldewinus in parlamento
 “ dicti domini regis, apud Westmonaster. quarto die Novembris,
 “ anno regni sui primo tent. de altâ proditione erga ipsum regem
 “ factâ, autoritate ejusdem parlamenti attinctus fuit—& idem Bal-
 “ dewinnus obiit nono die Septembris dicto anno primo, & quod
 “ Thomas Fulford, miles, est filius & hæres ejus propinquior, &
 “ est ætatis viginti & octo annorum.” The act of parliament
 which passed in the seventh year of that king, and is quoted in the
 introductory account, as restoring his eldest son, Thomas, to his
 title and estate, says, “ that *Sir Baldwin* was tried by a special
 “ commission, holden before Henry Earl of Essex; William
 “ Hastryngs, of Hastryngs, knyght; Richard Chock; William
 “ Canyng, maior of the said town of Bristol; and Thomas Yonge;
 “ by

“ by force of letters patents, to determine all treafons done within
 “ the towne of Bristowe before the 5th of September that year.”
 The continuator of Stowe takes notice, that “ this year, in the
 “ harvest-seafon, King Edward rode by the sea-coast to Hampton,
 “ and thence to the marches of Wales, and to *Bristowe*, where
 “ *he was most royally received.*” P. 416. It appears, by a record in
 Anstis’s Supplement to Ashmole’s History of the Garter, p. 35,
 that George Nevill, Bishop of Exeter, then Lord Chancellor, was
 at Bristol on the fourth of September, probably in attendance on
 the King. These circumstances, compared with the day of Ful-
 ford’s execution, make it exceedingly probable, that the king
 was present at it; at least his being at Bristol during that time,
 was sufficient to justify the author in dignifying his poem with
 so capital a circumstance.

BRISTOWE TRAGEDIE:

OR THE DETHE OF

SYR CHARLES BAWDIN.

THE featherd songster chaunticleer
 Han wounde hys bugle horne,
 And tolde the earlie villager
 The commynge of the morne :

Kynge EDWARDE sawe the ruddie streakes 5
 Of lyghte eclypse the greie ;
 And herde the raven's crokyng throte
 Proclayme the fated daie.

“ Thou’rt ryght,” quod hee, “ for, by the Godde
 “ That fytted enthron’d on hyghe! 10
 “ CHARLES BAWDIN, and hys fellowes twaine,
 “ To-daie shall furelie die.”

Thenne

Thenne wythe a jugge of nappy ale

Hys Knyghtes dydd onne hymn waite ;

“ Goe tell the traytour, thatt to-daie 15

“ Hee leaves thys mortall state.”

Syr CANTERLOUE thenne bendedd lowe,

Wythe harte brymm-fulle of woe ;

Hee journey'd to the castle-gate,

And to Syr CHARLES dydd goe. 20

Butt whenne hee came, hys children twaine,

And eke hys lovyng wyfe,

Wythe brinie tears dydd wett the floore,

For goode Syr CHARLESSES lyfe.

“ O goode

V. 13. The description of King Edward's breakfast is characteristical of the age, and not unlike the supper given to Edward the III by the Miller of Mansfield, who treated the king

With nappy ale, good and stale, in a brown bowle.

Percy, vol. iii. p. 183.

V. 17. Sir Canterloue is called Sir Canterlone by Chatterton, who has frequently written by mistake *n* for *w*. The name was not uncommon at that time : One *Nicolas Cantlow*, a Welshman of good family, and a Monk of Bristol, is mentioned in Kennett's History amongst the remarkable persons who flourished in the reign of Henry the VIth. *John Cantlow* was Abbot of Bath in 1489*, and *Sir William Cantlow*, knight, was sheriff of London in 1448 ; he died in 1462, and was buried in St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-Street †. But the person who attended the king at Bristol, was probably the same *Sir William Cantlow*, who, with others, was created Knight of the Bath, June 26th, 1461, on the eve of King Edward the IVth's coronation ‡ (it being usual on such occasions to knight those who held posts of honour, or attended on the king's person) : He was probably the *William Cantlow* mentioned in the fragment printed with Sprott's Chronicle, who took King Henry prisoner after the battle of Hexham, in 1463. “ And after this skirmish, King Harry “ was taken in a wood by one *William Cantlow*, and brought to the king, and after “ committed to the Tower of London, whereas he continued in captivite unto the “ 18th day of October, in the year of our Lorde 1469.” P. 292.

* Willis's Mitred Abbies. † Weaver, p. 675. ‡ See Antis's Essay on Knighthood, App. p. 30.

“ O goode Syr CHARLES !” sayd CANTERLOUE, 25

“ Badde tydyngs I doe brynge.”

“ Speke boldlie manne,” sayd brave Syr CHARLES,

“ Whatte says thie traytor kynge?”

“ I greeve to telle, before yonne sonne

“ Does fromme the welkinn flye, 30

“ Hee hath uponne hys honour sborne,

“ Thatt thou shalt surelie die.”

“ Wee all must die,” quod brave Syr CHARLES ;

“ Of thatte I’m not affearde ;

“ Whatte bootes to lyve a little space? 35

“ Thanke Jesu, I’m prepar’d :

“ Butt telle thye kynge, for myne hee’s not,

“ I’d sooner die to-daie

“ Thanne lyve hys slave, as manie are,

“ Tho’ I shoulde lyve for aie.” 40

Thenne CANTERLOUE hee dydd goe out,

To telle the maior straite .

To gett all thynges ynne reddynefs

For goode Syr CHARLESSES fate.

Thenne Maisterr CANYNGE saughte the kynge, 45

And felle down onne hys knee ;

“ I’m come,” quod hee, “ unto your grace

“ To move your clemencye.”

“ Thenne,”

V. 45. Canynge attended the king, not only officially as the Mayor of Bristol, but also as a friend to his cause ; which Edward acknowledges by saying,

You have been much our friend.

His trade, opulence, and interest with his fellow citizens, had given him no small weight

- “ Thenne,” quod the kynge, “ youre tale speke out,
 “ You have been much oure friende ; 50
 “ Whatever youre request may bee,
 “ Wee wyll to ytte attende.”
- “ My nobile liege ! alle my request
 “ Ys for a nobile knyghte,
 “ Who, tho’ may hap hee has donne wronge, 55
 “ He thoghte ytte styll was ryghte :
 “ Hee

weight with the king, though the case was probably much altered when this poem was written, wherein Rowley may be supposed to speak the sentiments of his friend ; and the warmest Lancastrian could not have drawn a more unfavourable comparison between the two kings, nor have placed the conduct of Edward in a more disadvantageous light. This change of sentiment might have been occasioned by the king’s imposing a heavy fine of 3000 marks on Canning, and endeavouring to force him into a marriage with a lady of the Widdeville family, which he avoided by taking refuge in the orders of the church. Rowley, warmed with an honest resentment, might have written this poem with a view of doing justice to Canning’s former attachment to King Edward, and of reproving that monarch’s ingratitude, by putting into Fulford’s mouth the keenest reproaches against the house of York. From the prophecies in the poem, and the dangerous political sentiments expressed in it, we must conclude it to have been written late in King Edward’s reign, probably about the year 1469, when fortune took a turn in King Henry’s favour. It was certainly very dangerous, during Edward’s reign, to take any liberties with the crown ; and nothing but the secrecy and friendship of Canning could have secured the poet from the cognizance and resentment of the king.

At this period, indeed, compositions of any kind extended very little beyond the circle of the author’s society, or the acquaintance of the patron to whom they were addressed : The number of poets were few, their admirers, far from being numerous, and the means of communication not very extensive : The modesty of the poet, and prudence of the patron, will suggest additional reasons against the circulation of a poem so political in its subject, and so free in its sentiments.

V. 53. It may be observed, that Canning’s address to the king, though full of simplicity and good sense, is nevertheless tinged with the superstition of those times : We can scarcely suppose him to have believed so absurd a doctrine as the impeccability of the Pope, which even the church of Rome itself does not acknowledge, and therefore probably he meant only the papal infallibility, under that title ; though either of those opinions might with propriety have been urged as a motive

“ Hee has a spoufe and children twaine,

“ Alle rewyn’d are for aie ;

“ Yff thatt you are refolv’d to lett

“ CHARLES BAWDIN die to-daie.”

60

“ Speke nott of fuch a traytour vile,”

The kynge ynne furie fayde ;

“ Before the evening ftarre doth fheene,

“ BAWDIN fhall loofe hys hedde :

“ Justice does loudlie for hym calle,

65

“ And hee fhalle have hys meede ^a :

“ Speke, Maifter CANYNGE ! Whatte thyngc elfe

“ Att present doe you neede ?”

^a *Reward, or deferts.*

“ My

for the king’s compaffion. The firmnefs which animates the fpeeches of Sir Baldwin as a hero, is moft beautifully contrasted with the tendernefs of his affection in the characters of hufband, father, and friend ; and the account which he gives of his life and education (which may be verified in feveral instances) fhews him to have been a man of diftinguifhed valour and high reputation. It appears by the Fulford pedigree in the Heralds Office (which is incorrect in fome instances) and by more authentic evidence, that his father’s name was Henry ; and, according to Sir William Pole (a very accurate Devonfhire antiquary and genealogift) his grandfather bore the fame name, and was a judge of the King’s Bench. Weftcot (another Devonfhire antiquary) calls this judge William, and Godwin confounds him with William Fulthorp, who pronounced fentence of death on Archbishop Scroop and Earl Marfhall Mowbray, in 1402, for high treason againft Henry the IVth. But this error, which has been followed by Prince, is corrected by Richardson in his edition of Godwyn ; for he obferves that Clement of Maydeftune, the original author, calls him *Miles non fideus* ; and his name was certainly *Fulthorp*, not *Fulford*. Though we cannot trace this Judge Fulford from any other records, yet it feems probable that Sir William Pole, and the Devonfhire antiquaries did not fpeak without authority. His name, amongst others, occurs in a commiffion iffued out by Henry the IVth, “ De inquirendo contra mendacia predicantes ^b,” by which they were empowered to examine and impofon the inventors and propagators of falfe reports concerning the king. According to the date of this commiffion, this Henry might

^a Rymer, tom. viii. p. 255. Anno 1402.

- “ My nobile leige !” goode CANYNGE sayde,
 “ Leave iustice to our Godde. 70
 “ And laye the yronne rule asyde ;
 “ Be thyne the olyve rodde.
 “ Was Godde to ferche our hertes and reines,
 “ The best were synners grete ;
 “ CHRIST’s vycarr only knowes ne synne, 75
 “ Ynne alle thys mortall state.
 “ Lett mercie rule thyne infante reigne,
 “ ’Twylle faste thye crowne fulle fure ;
 “ From race to race thy familie
 “ Alle sov’reigns shall endure : 80
 “ Butt yff wythe bloode and slaughter thou
 “ Beginne thy infante reigne,
 “ Thy crowne uponne thy childrennes brows
 “ Wylle never long remayne.”

“ CANYNGE,

have been Sir Baldwin’s father ; and this judicial character illustrates and gives a propriety to the advice which Sir Baldwin says he received from him. Had he been a military man, as the heads of principal families then were, and in which line Sir Baldwin himself had been educated, his father would have lectured him on the topics of loyalty and valour, the honour and defence of his country ; instead of which, he inculcates the principles of civil polity, of justice, and the laws, of compassion to offenders, and judicial sagacity in the determination of causes : Such precepts would naturally flow from a judge, but not so properly from a man of arms.

He taughte mee iustice and the laws
 Wyth pitie to unite,
 And eke hce taughte me howe to knowe
 The wronge cause from the ryghte. V. 157.

Sir Baldwin also observes, that he was born in London ; which is a confirmation of the same tradition. It was not usual, in those days, for military men, whose capital mansions were so remote from London, to make that city the winter residence of their families ; but the office of a judge, requiring his constant attendance in the metropolis, it is probable enough that his children were born there.

“ CANYNGE, awaie ! thys traytour vile 85

“ Has feorn’d my power and mee ;

“ Howe canst thou thenne for such a manne

“ Intreate my clemencye ?”

“ My nobile liege ! the trulie brave

“ Wylle val’rous actions prize, 90

“ Respect a brave and nobile mynde,

“ Altho’ ynne enemies.”

“ CANYNGE, awaie ! By Godde ynne Heav’n

“ Thatt dydd mee beinge gyve,

“ I wylle nott taste a bitt of breade 95

“ Whilft thys Syr CHARLES dothe lyve.

“ By MARIE, and alle Seinctes ynne Heav’n,

“ Thys funne shall be hys laste.”

Thenne CANYNGE dropt a brinie teare,

And from the prefence paste. 100

Wyth herte brymm-fulle of gnawynge grief,

Hee to Syr CHARLES dydd goe,

And satt hymm downe uponne a stoole,

And teares beganne to flowe.

“ Wee all must die,” quod brave Syr CHARLES ; 105

“ Whatte bootes ytte howe or whenne ;

“ Dethe ys the sure, the certaine fate

“ Of all wee mortall menne.

“ Saye why, my friend, this honest soul

“ Runns overr att thyne eye ; 110

“ Is ytte for my most welcome doome

“ Thatt thou dost child-lyke crye ?”

- Quod godlie CANYNGE, " I doe weepe,
 " Thatt thou see soone must dye,
 " And leave thy sonnes and helpleis wyfe; 115
 " 'Tys thys thatt wettes myne eye."
 " Thenne drie the tears thatt out thyne eye
 " From godlie fountaines sprynge;
 " Dethe I despise, and alle the power
 " Of EDWARDE, traytor kynge. 120
 " Whan through the tyrant's welcom means
 " I shall resigne my lyfe,
 " The Godde I serue wylle soone provyde
 " For bothe mye sonnes and wyfe.
 " Before I sawe the lyghtsome funne, 125
 " Thys was appointed mee;
 " Shall mortal manne repyne or grudge
 " Whatt Godde ordeynes to bee?
 " Howe oft ynne battaile have I stoode,
 " Whan thoufands dy'd arounde; 130
 " Whan smokyng freemes of crimson bloode
 " Imbrew'd the fatten'd grounde:
 " How dydd I knowe thatt ev'ry darte,
 " Thatt cutte the airie waie,
 " Myghte nott fynde passage toe my harte, 135
 " And close myne eyes for aie?
 " And shall I nowe, forr feere of dethe,
 " Looke wanne and bee dysmayde?
 " Ne! fromm my herte flie chyldeys feere,
 " Bee alle the manne display'd. 140
 " Ah,

“ Ah, goddelyke HENRIE ! Godde forefende^b,

“ And garde thee and thye sonne,

“ Yff, 'tis hys wylle ; but yff 'tis nott,

“ Why thenne hys wylle bee donne.

“ My honest friende, my faulte has beene

145

“ To serve Godde and mye prynce ;

“ And thatt I no tyme-server am,

“ My dethe wylle soone convynce.

“ Ynne Londonne cite was I borne,

“ Of parents of grete note ;

150

“ My fadre dydd a nobile armes

“ Emblazon onne hys cote :

^b *Forbid, prevent.*

“ I make

V. 151. Sir Baldwin boasts also,

That hys fadre dydd a nobile armes

Emblazon onne hys cote ;

implying, that either he or his ancestors married into a distinguished family. This fact, also, is most authentically confirmed by a seal belonging to Sir Baldwin Fulford ; a drawing of it is preserved in the Cotton library, from which the annexed engraving is taken.



The

“ I make ne doubtte butt hee ys gone

“ Where soone I hope to goe ;

“ Where wee for ever shall bee blest,

155

“ From oute the reech of woe :

“ Hee

The arms of Fitz Urse are impaled on it with those of Fulford, and the crest of Fitz Urse, which is a bear's head muzzled. The inscription round the seal is, *Sigillum Balduini de Fulford Militis*. It appears also, by their pedigree in the Heralds-office, that the family of Fitz Urse is the most ancient and honourable quartering in the Fulfords shield: John, the ancestor of Baldwin in the seventh degree, having married Alicia, daughter and heiress of Ralph Fitz Urse, the son of Reginald, who was one of Becket's murderers: There can be no doubt, therefore, that Sir Baldwin's father empaled or *emblazoned* these as a noble ARMES (for Lambard uses the word *armes* in the singular number) and most probably Sir Baldwin's seal bore the same coat-armour with his father's. This single circumstance is sufficient to dispossess Chatterton of every possible claim as the author of this poem. It may be objected, that the poet has not given, either to Sir Baldwin or his wife, their true Christian names; possibly both were assumed by him, as more harmonious to his numbers: He could not, however, be ignorant of Fulford's real Christian name; because, in his yellow roll, he is thus mentioned: “*Charles Bawdynne a Fulford, commonly clepend Bawdynne Fulford.*” We might, with equal justice, object to the authenticity of the two Bristol Chronicles before mentioned, because they call him *John*, for which there is not the least authority, either in records or his pedigree; unless he acquired this prænomen on his being made Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. As to the name of *Florence*, it was certainly more common at that time than it is at present; and therefore more likely to be used by a poet in the 15th century; especially when it is considered, that the wife of John Gorges, brother of the poet's friend Sir Theobald, was so called; and that Sir Baldwin's grandson, Humphrey, married a lady of the same name: Even the pedigree of the Fulfords, in the Heralds-office, has mistaken Sir Baldwin's wife's name, and called her *Janet*, instead of *Elizabeth*; that error, however, is corrected by Vincent's Collections. But whatever might have been the poet's true reason for using these fictitious names, it will not serve any purpose of Chatterton's claim; for if he was enabled to describe the particulars of this history with so much accuracy, why should he, any more than Rowley, mistake the name of his hero? and why should he recur to the 15th century for the name of a female, which has not often been heard of in the present age? Sir Baldwin's wife, *Elizabeth*, was the daughter and heiress of John Boson, of Boson-Zeal, in the parish of Ditsham, in Devonshire; and, notwithstanding her great affection for her husband, and excessive grief at his

“ Hee taughte mee justice and the laws

“ Wyth pitie to unite;

“ And eke hee taughte mee howe to knowe

“ The wronge cause fromm the ryghte: 160

“ Hee

execution, she was married, at least within three years, to Sir William Huddesfeild, Attorney-general to Henry the VIIth; for it appears by the register of Nevill Bishop of Exeter, p. 22. b. that Sir William, and his wife *Elizabeth*, who is there stiled *nuper uxor Baldewini Fulford*, presented jointly, as true patrons to the rectory of West Putford in Devonshire; and their clerk was instituted on their presentation, May 8th, 1464. She probably died before 1470, in which year Sir William Huddesfeild presented solely to this rectory, on the death of the former incumbent. Reg^r Booth. P. 27. a.

As to Sir Baldwin's *sons*, who are mentioned three or four times in the course of this tragedy, the poet is very accurate; Sir Thomas, according to the prophetic speech of Sir Baldwyn, having run

—— that glorious race
Which he theyre fader runne.

for although restored to the title and estate, 8th of Edward the IVth, (see the introductory account) yet he shared the same fate with his father, being attainted by name, amongst several other adherents to King Henry the VIIth, April 27th, 1471, and executed. The younger son, John, bred to the church, became vicar of Okehampton, 1497, and of Budleigh, in 1500, having been previously made archdeacon of Totness, afterwards of Cornwall, and lastly of Exeter; where he lies buried in the eastern isle of that cathedral, under a large flat monumental stone, with the following inscription, in Gothic letters, specifying his preferments.

Vic jacet magister Johannes Fulforde filius Baldwini Fulforde
Epilitis hujus Ecclesie Residentiarius, Primo Archidiaconus
Totton, deinde Cornubiæ, ultimo Eton, qui obiit xix die
Januarii Anno Dⁿⁱ m^o d^o lxxiii. Conj^a aic propitiæ Dea.

William, the brother of Sir Baldwin, who survived him thirteen years, was also Canon of Exeter, and Archdeacon of Barnstaple. He founded an obit in 1472, to pray for his own soul, and for that of *Henry* his father. The two daughters of Sir Baldwin, not mentioned in this poem, were, Alice the wife of Thomas Cary, from whom were descended the Earls of Dover and Monmouth; and Thomasin, married to Wife of Sydenham in Devonshire, from whom sprang the family of Ruffels, Earls of Bedford.

- “ Hee taughte mee wythe a prudent hande
 “ To feede the hungrie poore,
 “ Ne lett mye servants dryve awaie
 “ The hungrie fromme my doore :
- “ And none can saye, butt alle mye lyfe 165
 “ I have hys wordyes kept ;
 “ And fumm’d the actyonns of the daie
 “ Eche nyghte before I slept.
- “ I have a spouse, goe aske of her,
 “ Yff I defyl’d her bedde ? 170
 “ I have a kynge, and none can laie
 “ Blacke treason onne my hedde.

“ Ynne

Sir Baldwin seems to have signalized himself early in life as a foldier : His name occurs amongst the Devonshire Knights in 1434, in the twelfth year of Henry the VIth, and he was sheriff of the county in the thirty-sixth year of the king, only three years before Edward’s acceffion. It appears from the records above quoted, that he was a Knight of the Sepulchre ; and the duties of that order requiring them, amongst other things, *to fight against the Saracens and infidels with all their power* (See Ashmole’s Garter, p. 52) it is not improbable that he might have been in the Holy Land, or at least have waged war against the Infidels either in Spain or Italy, which kingdoms were at that time much annoyed by them. Agreeably to this idea, he says,

Howe oft ynne battaile have I floode,
 Whan thousands dy’d arounde. V. 129.

And there is a family tradition recorded to his honour by Prince, Rifdon, Westcott, and the Devonshire antiquaries, “ that he was a great foldier and traveller, of “ so undaunted a resolution, that, for the honour and liberty of a Royal Lady, in “ a castle besieged by the Infidels, he fought a combat with a Saracen, for bulk “ and bigness an unusual match, (as the representation of him in Fulford-hall “ doth plainly shew) whom yet he vanquished, and released the lady.” Prince’s Worthies, p. 300.

This circumstance, though not properly authenticated, yet shews his character to have been distinguished for valour, and therefore a worthy subject for Rowley’s

“ Whatte tho’, uphoisted onne a pole,
 “ Mye lymbes shall rotte ynne ayre,
 “ And ne ryche monument of brasse 195
 “ CHARLES BAWDIN’s name shall bear ;

“ Yett ynne the holie booke above,
 “ Whyche tyme can’t eate awaie,
 “ There wythe the servants of the Lorde
 “ Mye name shall lyve for aie. 200

“ Thenne welcome dethe ! for lyfe eterne
 “ I leave thys mortall lyfe :
 “ Farewell, vayne worlde, and alle that’s deare,
 “ Mye sonnes and lovyng wyfe !

“ Nowe dethe as welcome to mee comes, 205
 “ As e’er the moneth of Maie ;
 “ Nor woulde I even wyshe to lyve,
 “ Wyth my dere wyfe to staie.”

Quod CANYNGE, “ ’Tys a goodlie thyng
 “ To bee prepar’d to die ; 210
 “ And from thys world of peyne and grefe
 “ To Godde ynne Heav’n to flie.”

And nowe the bell beganne to tolle,
 And claryonnes to founde ;
 Syr CHARLES hee herde the horses feete 215
 A prauncyng onne the grounde :
 And

V. 195. The allusion to a rich monument of brass, corresponded with the taste of that age, when monuments and grave-stones were embellished with brass plates, whereon the figure and coat armour of the persons were engraved.

And juſt before the officers,
 His lovyng wyfe came ynne,
 Weépyng unfeigned teeres of woe,
 Wythe loude and dyſmalle dynne. 220

“ Sweet FLORENCE ! nowe I praie forbere,

“ Ynne quiet lett mee die ;

“ Praie Godde, thatt ev’ry Chriſtian ſoule

“ Maye looke onne dethe as I.

“ Sweet FLORENCE ! why theſe brinie teeres ? 225

“ Theye waſhe my ſoule awaie,

“ And almoſt make mee wyſhe for lyfe,

“ Wyth thee, ſweete dame, to ſtaie.

“ ’Tys butt a journie I ſhalle goe

“ Untoe the lande of blyſſe ; 230

“ Nowe, as a prooſe of huſbande’s love,

“ Receive thys holie kyſſe.”

Thenne FLORENCE, fault’ring ynne her ſaie,

Tremblyng theſe wordyes ſpoke,

“ Ah, cruele EDWARDE ! bloudie kynge ! 235

“ My herte ys welle nyghe broke :

“ Ah, ſweete Syr CHARLES ! why wylt thou goe,

“ Wythoute thye lovyng wyfe ?

“ The cruelle axe thatt cuttes thye necke,

“ Ytte eke ſhall ende mye lyfe.” 240

And nowe the officers came ynne

To bryng Syr CHARLES awaie,

Whoe turnedd toe his lovyng wyfe,

And thus toe her dydd ſaie :

“ I goe

“ I goe to lyfe, and nott to dethe ; 245

“ Truſte thou ynne Godde above,

“ And teache thye ſonnes to feare the Lorde,

“ And ynne theyre hertes hym love :

“ Teache them to runne the nobile race

“ Thatt I theyre fader runne : 250

“ FLORENCE ! ſhou'd dethe thee take——Adieu !

“ Yee officers, leade onne.”

Thenne FLORENCE rav'd as anie madde,

And dydd her treſſes tere ;

“ Oh ! ſtaie, mye huſbande ! lorde ! and lyfe !”— 255

Syr CHARLES thenne dropt a teare.

'Tyll tyredd oute wythe ravynges loud,

Shee fellen onne the flore ;

Syr CHARLES exerted alle hys myghte,

And march'd fromm oute the dore. 260

Uponne a ſledde hee mounted thenne,

Wythe lookes fulle brave and ſwete ;

Lookes, thatt enſhone ^c ne moe concern

Thanne anie ynne the ſtete.

Before hym went the council-menne, 265

Ynne ſcarlett robes and golde,

And taſſils ſpanglyng ynne the funne,

Muche glorious to beholde :

^c *Shewed.*

The

V. 265. The proceſſion here deſcribed was probably real, at leaſt it was ſo orderly in point of form, that no modern pen could have diſpoſed it with ſo much propriety.

The

The Freers of Seincte AUGUSTYNE next

Appeared to the syghte, 270

Alle cladd ynne homelie ruffett weedes,

Of godlie monkysh plyghte :

Ynne diffraunt partes a godlie pfaume

Mofte sweetlie theye dydd chaunt ;

Behynde theyre backes fyx mynstrelles came, 275

Who tun'd the strunge bataunt ^d.

^d *Stringed instrument.*

Thenne

The councilmen, Augustinian fryers, and a body of archers (to prevent a rescue) preceded the criminal ; another body of archers, the monks of St. James's, with the mayor and corporation, follow him. These two convents probably made a part of the procession, because they were the most numerous and considerable in Bristol ; and we may observe, that they took their station agreeably to the antiquity of their establishment : The Augustinians (now the cathedral) being founded by Robert Fitzharding, in 1148, gave the pas to the Benedictine monastery of St. James's, which was established by Robert Earl of Gloucester, in 1135.

V. 271. The poet has been charged with impropriety, for dressing the Augustinians in *ruffet weeds*, when the habit of their order was black.

Alle cladd ynne *ruffett* weedes

Of godlie monkysh plyghte.

Ruffet (in French *rouffet*) originally signified a reddish brown colour, but the garments of peasants and hermits, made of undyed wool, being of this colour, the idea of *ruffet* became affixed rather to the substance, than to the colour of the garment : Thus Pierce Plowman expresses his mean appearance, as being clad in *ruffet* * ; and he speaks of a person

Dressed in a gown of *grey ruffet* :

And in Evans's *Old Ballads*, p. 11, are mentioned

Coats of *grey ruffet*.

The Beggar's Daughter of Bethnal Green was also cloathed in *grey ruffett*. Percy, vol. ii. p. 156. Shakespear had the same idea, when in *Love's Labour Lost* he contrasts

Taffeta phrases, and silken words precise,

With *Ruffet* yeas, and honest *Kersey's* no's. Act v.

And Dryden describes the Doric dialect as a fair shepherdess in her *country ruffet*.

* Warton, vol. i. page 267.

This

Thenne fyve-and-twentye archers came ;
 Echone the bowe dydd bende,
 From rescue of kyng HENRIES friends
 Syr CHARLES forr to defend. 280

Bolde as a lyon came Syr CHARLES,
 Drawne onne a clothe-layde fledde,
 Bye two blacke stedes ynne trappynge white,
 Wyth plumes uponne theyre hedde :

Behynde hym fyve-and-twentye moe 285
 Of archers stronge and stoute,
 Wyth bended bowe echone ynne hande,
 Marched ynne goodlie route :

Seincte JAMESES Freers marched next,
 Echone hys parte dydd chaunt ; 290
 Behynde theyre backs fyx mynstrelles came,
 Who tun'd the strunge bataunt :

Thenne

This idea is conveyed in the expression of *godlie weeds*. In fact, *ruffet weeds*, being the drefs of hermits, were considered as tokens of humility and mortification, and as such, were worn by the Knights of the Bath on the eve of their creation * ; they were therefore, with great propriety, assumed in this melancholy ceremonial.

V. 292. As to the *strunge bataunt*, used in this procession, the name seems to imply, that it was a stringed instrument, like a dulcimer, played on by striking the wires with a piece of iron or wood. It is an instrument of some antiquity, and two different forms of it may be seen in Strutt's *popæ Angel Cýnnan*. Plate Ist, N^o. 17, in vol. ii. represents a dulcimer of nine strings, in the time of King Stephen, copied from the Psalter of Eadmer, in Trinity college library, Cambridge. Plate VI, N^o. 25, in the same volume, is one of a different form, of ten

* See Anstis's Essay, Appendix, p. 42.

Thenne came the maior and eldermenne,

Ynne clothe of scarlett deck't;

And theyre attending menne echone,

295

Lyke Easterne princes trickt :

And after them a multitude

Of citizenns dydd thronge ;

The wyndowes were alle fulle of heddes,

As hee dydd passe alonge.

300

And whenne hee came to the hyghe crosse,

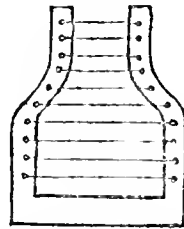
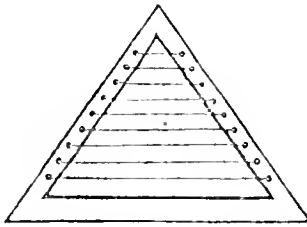
Syr CHARLES dydd turne and faie,

“ O Thou, thatt savest manne fromme synne,

“ Washe mye soule clean thys daie !”

Att

strings, from a MS. Tiberius, A. 7. in the Cotton library. See the representation of them below.



V. 293. Though Bristol was not erected into a city till 1542, the thirty-fourth year of Henry the VIIIth, yet on account of its size, populousness, and flourishing trade, the inhabitants might be filed citizens, (in poetry at least) without breach of decorum. Leland indeed, who probably wrote some part of his Itinerary before that event, expressly calls it a city. “ Bristowe upon Avonne, a great citie, well “ waulled, having a fair castel. In it now, as I remember, eighteen parochie “ churches. *St. Augustines black Canons extra mœnia.*” Itin. vol. v. p. 60. From the manner in which he mentions this church, we may conclude that it was not then erected into a cathedral ; and the same patent made Bristol a city. It had been long governed, however, by a mayor and aldermen ; for William de Wircestre, describing, in his Itinerary, the chapel on Bristol bridge, says, “ et est volta “ inferiori loco pro *Aldermannis Villa.*” P. 234.

V. 301. The high cross, by which the procession passed, then stood in the center of the city, at the meeting of the four principal streets, each of which was terminated

by

Att the grete mynsterr wyndowe fat
 The kynge ynne mycle state,
 To see CHARLES BAWDIN goe alonge
 To hys most welcom fate.

305

Soone

by a church: This crofs was afterwards removed to the middle of College Green; and, being pulled down not many years ago, was given to Henry Hoare, Esq; who has added it to the many other ornaments which grace his elegant gardens at Stourhead. St. Audoens, now called St. Ewin's, (probably the most considerable, as well as the most convenient of these four churches) was appointed for the reception of King Edward, that he might be a spectator of the procession; and this remarkable fact is confirmed by an evidence as singular as it is authentic; though probably it would never have been known, if the discovery of these poems had not occasioned a search into the records of this church, to authenticate the fact: The yearly accounts of its procurators or churchwardens, from March 20th, A.^{no}. primo Edvardi quarti, mention this among other articles of expence incurred that year:

“ Item, for washyng the church payven agaynst Kynge Edward 4th is
 “ comynge, iiiid. ob.”

It is not material to the question of authenticity, whether the king's visit to this church was to see the procession, or only to perform his devotions. His presence there, or even his being at that time in Bristol, was sufficient to justify the poet in making him both a spectator and a speaker; but we are not obliged to suppose that either he, his brother, or even the criminal, delivered their sentiments in the words of the poet, though they convey the true spirit and character of the speakers. Fulford is bold and undaunted; Edward touched with the feelings of humanity, but too much the tyrant to yield to their impulse. Gloucester (as he is generally represented) unfeeling, resentful, and merciless.

V. 305. The church where the king sat is distinguished by the title of *Minster*, denoting it to be a principal church; Mr. Warton *, presuming that the word *Minster* was almost always appropriated to cathedral churches, concludes that the poet had placed the king at the church of the Augustinians for viewing this procession, and charges him with an anachronism (which no contemporary writer could have been guilty of) in calling that church a *Minster*, almost a century before it was erected into a cathedral: But, with submission to that learned objector, his inference is founded on two mistakes; for the word *Minster* was not originally given to

* Vol. ii. p. 156.

Soone as the fledde drewe nyghe enowe,

Thatt EDWARDE hee myghte heare, 310

The brave Syr CHARLES hee dydd stande uppe,

And thus hys wordes declare :

“ Thou

cathedral churches, nor afterwards appropriated solely to them : It meant only (as the word imports) *the church of the monastery* ; episcopal sees having been placed in some of the most considerable among them, as Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Worcester, &c. the cathedral was called the *Minster*, as were also other monastic churches, where there were no bishops. The name was also given (especially in the North of England) to large and collegiate churches, as Rippon, Beverly, and Southwell, and to Winborn-minster, in Dorsetshire ; some parochial churches bore the same name ; as Upminster, Bedminster, Sturminster, Axminster, &c. A name so indeterminate in its application might be given to any church, especially to one that was considerable either for its size or situation.

But the church of the Augustinians was in every respect most improper, and therefore most unlikely to be chosen for the reception of the king ; being situated in a remote suburb of the town, and entirely out of the way, by which this and all other criminals passed from the prison of Newgate to the ancient place of execution ; which was on St. Michael's hill, either at or near the place at present appointed for that purpose. See William Wircestre's Itin. p. 243. But whether Rowley or Chatterton formed the procession, both must have been equally aware, that they would have deviated from probability in carrying it so far out of its straight and accustomed road ; and if we can allow the improbable supposition (by way of indulging the objectors) that Chatterton was previously acquainted with the entry in St. Ewin's books, he could not have been so absurd as to have contradicted that incontestible evidence, by placing the king at another church.

It may be proper here to take notice of another objection to the word *minster*, contained in the same note. In the song to Ella, the poet supposes that his spirit did

Fiery round the *Minster* glare.

As guardian of the town, he is supposed to watch over it from two of its most conspicuous and eminent parts ; from the *Castle steers*, or fortrefs, and from the principal Church, or *Minster*, of St. Ewin's, situated in the center of the town : It would ill suit the Genius of that hero, to be sent for the protection of a monastery in the suburbs, at that time under a separate jurisdiction from the town ; nor is the spirit of Ella said to be *sometimes appearing in the Minster* (as Mr. Warton has represented the quotation) but, like a *sun* or a *star* glaring round it, hovering over, and protecting it with his influence.

- “ Thou seest mee, EDWARDE ! traytour vile !
 “ Expos’d to infamie ;
 “ Butt bee assur’d, disloyall manne ! 315
 “ I’m greaterr nowe thanne thee.
 “ Bye foule proceedyngs, murdre, bloude,
 “ Thou wearest nowe a crowne ;
 “ And hast appoynted mee to dye,
 “ By power nott thyne owne. 320
 “ Thou thynkest I shall dye to-daie ;
 “ I have beene dede ’till nowe,
 “ And soone shall lyve to weare a crowne
 “ For aie uponne my browe :
 “ Whylst thou, perhaps, for som few yeares, 325
 “ Shalt rule thys fickle lande,
 “ To lett them knowe howe wyde the rule
 “ ’Twixt kynge and tyrant hande :
 “ Thye pow’r unjust, thou traytour slave !
 “ Shall falle onne thye owne hedde”— 330
 Fromm out of hearyng of the kynge
 Departed thenne the fledde.
 Kynge EDWARDE’s foule rush’d to hys face,
 Hee turn’d hys hedde awaie,
 And to hys broder GLOUCESTER 335
 Hee thus dydd speke and saie :
 “ To hym that soe-much-dreaded dethe
 “ Ne ghastlie terrors brynge,
 “ Beholde the manne ! hee spake the truthe,
 “ Hee’s greater thanne a kynge ! 340
 “ See

“ Soe lett hym die !” Duke RICHARD sayde ;

“ And maye echone oure foes

“ Bende downe theyre neckes to bloudie axe,

“ And feede the carryon crows.”

And nowe the horses gentlie drewe 345

Syr CHARLES uppe the hyghe hylle ;

The axe dydd glysterr ynne the funne,

Hys pretious bloude to spylle.

Syrr CHARLES dydd uppe the scaffold goe,

As uppe a gilded carre 350

Of victorie, bye val’rous chiefs

Gayn’d ynne the bloudie warre :

And to the people hee dydd faie,

“ Beholde you see mee dye,

“ For servyng loyally mye kynge, 355

“ Mye kynge most rightfullie.

“ As longe as EDWARDE rules thys lande,

“ Ne quiet you wylle knowe ;

“ Youre sonnes and husbandes shalle bee slayne,

“ And brookes wythe bloude shalle flowe. 360

“ You leave youre goode and lawfull kynge,

“ Whenne ynne aduersitye ;

“ Lyke mee, untoe the true cause stycke,

“ And for the true cause dye.”

Thenne hee, wyth preeftes, uponne hys knees, 365

A pray’r to Godde dydd make,

Befeechyng hym unto hymselfe

Hys partyng soule to take.

THE BRISTOWE TRAGEDIE. 351

Thenne, kneelynge downe, hée layd hys heede
 Most seemlie onne the blocke ; 370
 Whyche fromme hys bodie fayre at once
 The able heddes-manne stroke :

And oute the bloude beganne to flowe,
 And rounde the scaffolde twyne ;
 And teares, enow to washe't awaie, 375
 Dydd flowe fromme each mann's eyne.

The bloudie axe hys bodie fayre
 Ynnto foure parties cutte ;
 And ev'rye parte, and eke hys hedde,
 Uponne a pole was putte. 380

One parte dydd rotte onne Kynwulph-hylle,
 One onne the mynster-tower,
 And one from off the castle-gate
 The crowen dydd devoure :

The other onne Seyncte Powle's goode gate, 385
 A dreery spectacle ;
 Hys hedde was plac'd onne the hyghe crosse,
 Ynne hyghe streete most nobile.

Thus

V. 381. It may also be observed, that in the exposure of the criminal's quarters, after execution, one of them was fixed on the *Mynster* Tower, as a most conspicuous place, and in the center of the town ; one on *Kynwulph's Hill*, so called from Kenwulf, king of Mercia, and probably the same spot which still bears the name of *King's Down*, a very eminent part of the city, and not far distant from Michael's Hill, the place of execution ; another at the castle ; and the fourth at St. Paul's gate (the situation of which is uncertain, though supposed to have been at Temple-gate) ; and his head was fixed on the high cross.

Thus was the ende of BAWDIN's fate :

Godde prosper longe oure kynge,

390

And grante hee maye, wyth BAWDIN's soule,

Ynne heav'n Godd's mercie syng!

V. 391. The concluding prayer in this poem marks the political principles of its author, and proves it to have been written during Edward's reign; as a Lancastrian, he takes it for granted that Bawdin's soul is actually in Heaven, but he can only *wish* that King Edward's may bear him company there.

THE ENGLISH METAMORPHOSIS.

THE English Metamorphosis may be considered as a mythological poem, and an imitation of Ovid, to whose works we cannot suppose Rowley to have been a stranger; especially, as Mr. Warton observes, that many French versions, both of the Greek and Latin classics, began to appear in England about the middle of the fourteenth century. There was a French translation of Ovid's Metamorphosis in Duke Humphrey's library; and another, written by an ecclesiastic of Normandy, in 1467: A poet who wanted this assistance, might have learned from either of these authors the method of treating such subjects: But the successful imitator of the Iliad, might be well acquainted with the Metamorphosis in the original. The distinction of *Book the first* seems to imply, that the author had written, or at least intended to write, other histories of this kind; and Chatterton thought so too, by professing, in the note, his endeavour to get the remainder of these poems.

The fertility of Rowley's invention was well adapted to the taste of that age, which delighted in romances and fabulous histories.

The poem is founded on that part of Geoffroi of Monmouth's History, which describes the landing of Brute, the division of his kingdom, the history and death of his eldest son Locrine, in a war waged against him by Guendolen his wife, her revenge on his concubine Elfrid and her daughter Sabrina, by drowning them

both in the Severn, and ordering that the river should hereafter bear the damsel's name. Lib. 2. Rowley has taken the principal facts in this history, without fervilely copying his original; a circumstance very favourable to the authenticity of the poem. Indeed, the history itself was beyond the compass of Chatterton's erudition: He could not have understood the original if it had come in his way; and even the English translation, by Aaron Thompson, is not commonly to be met with. Later English poets have also copied this history. An anonymous dramatic author of the sixteenth century, wrote a tragedy called *Lochner*, which for some time passed under Shakespeare's name, but has long since been excluded from his works. Drayton has given us this history in his sixth song, and Milton has introduced it in his *Mask at Ludlow castle*; wherein Sabrina is received by the Water Nymphs, who make her the Goddess of the river. It was very natural for Rowley to chuse this subject for his poem; the scene of it was laid in his own country, and not far from Bristol, which he so much delighted to honour. The fable, as far as it related to the deaths of Elfrid and Sabrina, was ready made to his hands; but it was reserved for the powers of his imagination to dignify the Metamorphosis, by changing Elfrid into the spring of St. Vincent, and making her bones the rocks which contained the waters of her daughter Sabrina. No modern poet would have chosen so obsolete and fabulous a tale for the subject of an entire poem; least of all would Chatterton have employed his time in celebrating any event wherein the honour of Bristol was concerned. Indeed the composition bespeaks a more learned hand. It swells into a kind of epic style, with epithets more compounded, and numbers less harmonious, than those of his other poems; and though the story itself is not interesting, yet the magnificence of his descriptive powers is happily displayed, particularly in his representation of the Giant.

ENGLISH METAMORPHOSIS:

Bie T. ROWLEIE.

B O O K E 1st^a.

W HANNE Scythyanes, saluage as the wolves theie
chacde,

Peyncted in horrowe ^b formes bie nature dyghte ^c,

Heckled ^d yn beaftskyns, slepte uponne the wafte,

And wyth the morneynge rouzed the wolfe to fyghte,

Sweifte as descendeynge lemes ^e of roddie lyghte 5

Plonged to the hulfred ^f bedde of laveyng ^g seas,

Gerd ^h the blacke mountayn okes yn drybblets ⁱ twighte ^j,

And ranne yn thoughte alonge the azure mees,

^a I will endeavour to get the remainder of these poems. ^b Unseemly, disagreeable.

^c *Dressed*. ^d *Wrapped*. ^e *Rays*. ^f *Hidden, secret*. ^g *Washing*. ^h *Broke, rent, struck*. ⁱ *Small pieces*. ^j *Pulled, rent*.

Whose

V. 1. The first stanza is rendered obscure by too great an assemblage of compound ideas, describing the fury, swiftness, and terror accompanying the Scythian invaders.

V. 7. *Gird* signifies to strike. *Through girt*, in the *Knights Tale*, means *pierced through*:

Thurgh girt with many a grievous bloody wound. V. 1012.

V. 8. The *mees* or meadows are said to be azure, from the reflected blue lightening. It is called the *azure vapour*, v. 105; and is here said to *run in thought*, i. e. as swift as thought. See this expression used, B. H. N° 2. v. 217 and 513; and *swift as the wishe*, Ecl. 2. v. 85, and *Ella*, v. 910.

Whose eyne dyd feerie sheene, like blue-hayred defs ^k,
That dreerie hange upon Dover's emblaunched ^l clefs. 10

Soft boundeynge over swelleynge azure reles ^m
The salvage natyves sawe a shyppes appere;
An uncouth ⁿ denwere ^o to their bosomme steles;
Theyre myghte ys knopped ^p ynne the froste of fere.
The headed javlyn liffeth ^q here and there; 15
Theie stonde, theie ronne, theie loke wyth eger eyne;
The shyppes fayle, boleynge ^r wythe the kyndelie ayre,
Ronnethe to harbour from the beateyng bryne;

^k Vapours, meteors, *rather, spectres*. ^l Emblaunched, *white*. ^m Ridges, *blue rising waves*. ⁿ ^o Unknown tremour, *rather, doubt*. ^p Fastened, chained, congealed.
^q Boundeth. ^r Swelling.

Theie

V. 9. The *blue-hayred defs* are explained by Chatterton as *meteors* or *vapours*; they rather mean *spectres* or *fairies*, which might be supposed to inhabit these cliffs. *Deffe Netyll*, in the P. Parv. is explained *archangelus*. *Deffe* therefore may signify *spirit*; and it may be owing to some tradition about these spirits, that Edgar in Lear pretended to his father Gloucester, that he had seen one part from him on that spot.

— whose eyes

Were two full moons, he had ten thousand noses,
Horns welked and waved like the enraging sea;
It was some fiend — — —

Might not one infer from Gloucester's speech, that this spot had some connection with the fairies? for when he gives Edgar his purse, he says,

— — — fairies and gods

Prosper it with thee — — —

Act IV. Sc. 5.

Ben Johnson, in his Masque of the Sad Shepherd, Act II. Sc. 8, mentions as part of the witches enchantment,

Croaking night-crows in the air,
Blue fire-drakes in the sky.

And in another of his Masques, vol. iii. p. 376, he speaks of *blue drakes*: May we not suppose some connection between these and Rowley's *blue-hayred defs*?

V. 15. *Lyffeth*: So Tournament, v. 2.

The coursers *lyffe* about the mensuredde field.

In both places the word means to *leap, fly, or perform a very quick motion*; but in other

Theie dryve awaie aghaste, whanne to the stronde
 A burled ¹ Trojan lepes, wythe Morglaien ² sweerde yn honde. 20
 Hymme followede eftsoones hys compheeres ³, whose swerdes
 Glestred ⁴ lyke gledeynge ⁵ starres ynne frostie nete,
 Hayleynge theyre capytayne in chirckynge ⁶ wordes
 Kynge of the lande, whereon theie set theyre fete.
 The greete kynge Brutus thanne theie dyd hym greete, 25
 Prepared for battle, mareschalled the fyghte;
 Theie urg'd the warre, the natyves fledde, as flete
 As fleaynge cloudes that swymme before the fyghte;
 Tyll tyred with battles, for to ceese the fraie,
 Theie uncted ⁷ Brutus kynge, and gave the Trojanns swaie. 30

¹ Armed. ² Enchanted. ³ Companions. ⁴ Shone, or glittered. ⁵ Livid.

⁶ A confused noise, rather, a disagreeable sound. ⁷ Anointed.

Twayne

other passages it is used in a different sense, implying *confinement*, *boundary*, or *limit*; as in *Ella*, v. 53,

All thie yntente to please was *liffed* to mee.

So *Ecl.* iii. v. 86, the *unliste* or unconfined branches; and *Le.* v. 46, an *onlist*, or unbounded lecture. The modern word *boundeth*, by which Chatterton has explained this passage, admits of both significations, but it may be doubted whether the same can be said of the word *liffeth*. Cotgrave, however, has made it applicable in either sense: "*Lifer*, to *list*, or *border* a garment; also to *coast along* "by a country." So that the *liffing* of the javelin in this passage, and in that of the *courfers* in the Tournament, does not mean *to bound*, or *to sport and play*, as Chatterton has explained it; but *to describe a line*, *CIRCUIT*, or *BOUNDARY*, in their motion. Unless it should be thought that the word, in both these passages, should be read *gliffeth*, signifying *to glide* or *pass quickly*.

V. 20. *Morglaien* sword. See the note on B. H. N° 2. v. 653.

V. 22. *Gledeynge* starres, so called from their appearance like a *glide* or live coal. This allusion is different from that made to falling stars, B. H. N° 2. v. 235. Chatterton properly calls them *livid*. *Stiernhelm* derives *gladius* from *glide*, which signifies *a burning coal*, or *torch*, because of the shining surface of the swords; and Hicks observes, in his notes upon *Edda*, *Gram. Anglo Saxon*, p. 197, "that the hall of Odin was said to be enlightened only by drawn swords."

Twayne of twelve years han lemed ^b up the myndes,
 Leggende ^c the salvage unthewes ^d of theire breste,
 Improved in mysterk ^e warre, and lymmed ^f theyre kyndes,
 Whenne Brute from Brutons fonke to æterne reste.
 Eftfoons the gentle Locryne was posselt 35
 Of fwaie, and vested yn the paramente ^g;
 Halceld ^h the bykrous ⁱ Huns, who dyd infeste
 Hys wakeynge kyngdom wyth a foule intente;
 As hys broade fwerde oer Homberres heade was honge,
 He tourned toe ryver wyde, and roarynge rolled alonge. 40

He wedded Gendolyne of roieal fede,
 Upon whose countenance rodde healthe was sprede;
 Blouthing, alyche ^k the scarlette of herr wede ^l,
 She fonke to pleasaunce on the marryage bedde.
 Eftfoons her peacefull joie of mynde was fledde; 45
 Elitrid ametten ^m with the kyng Locryne;
 Unnumbered beauties were upon her shedde,
 Moche fyne, moche fayrer thanne was Gendolyne;
 The mornynge tyng ⁿ, the rose, the lillie floure,
 In ever ronneyng race on her dyd peyncte theyre powere. 50

^b Enlightened. ^c Alloyed. ^d Savage barbarity, *or, bad qualities*. ^e Mystic, *the*
business, or profession. ^f Polished. ^g A princely robe. ^h Defeated, *harrassed*.
ⁱ Warring. ^k Like. ^l Garment. ^m Met with. ⁿ *Blush of the morning*.

The

V. 33. *Mysterk warre*. Chatterton is again mistaken. The word does not mean
mystic, i. e. secret or hidden, but *practical* and *professional*, in the same sense that
 trade and handicraft are called *mysteries*.

V. 49 The description of Elitrid's beauty is no less singular in idea than it is
 in expression. It is presumed that *the mornynge tyng*, means the *soft tint* or *blush of*
the morning.

The gentle fayte of Locryne gayned her love;
 Theie lyved soft monentes to a swotic ^o age;
 Eft ⁿ wandringe yn the coppyce, delle, and grove,
 Where ne one eyne mote theyre disporte engage;
 There dydde theie tell the merrie lovyng fage ^q, 55
 Croppe the prymrosen floure to decke theyre headde;
 The feerie Gendolyne yn woman rage
 Gemoted ^r warriours to bewrecke ^s her bedde;
 Theie rose; ynne battle was greete Locryne fleene;
 The faire Elfrida fledde from the enchafed ^t queene. 60

A tye of love, a dawter fayre she hanne,
 Whose boddeynge ^u morneyng shewed a fayre daie,
 Her fadre Locrynne, once an hailie ^v manne.
 Wyth the fayre dawterre dydde she haste awaie,
 To where the Western mittee ^y pyles of claie 65
 Arise ynto the cloudes, and doe them beere;
 There dyd Elfrida and Sabryna staie;
 The fyrste tryckde out a whyle yn warryours gratch ^z and gear;
 Vyncente was she ycleped ^a, butte fulle soone fate
 Sente deathe, to telle the dame, she was notte yn regrate ^b. 70

^o Sweet. ^p Oft. ^q A tale. ^r Assembled. ^s Revenge. ^t Heated, enraged.
^u Budding. ^v Happy. ^y Mighty. ^z Apparel. ^a Called. ^b Esteem, favour.
 The

V. 65. It was natural for the poet to search for high mountains near the sources of the Severn, whence the waters of Sabrina might flow after her metamorphosis; he has therefore judiciously chosen the Cleve Hills in Shropshire, not far distant from the Severn; their situation and name agreeing with the poet's description; and for a similar reason he raised the more lofty and distant mountain of Snowdon out of the ashes of the Giant Knight. The description of him is one of Rowley's capital images, far exceeding those of Polypheme in Homer and Virgil: The latter expresses the Giant's power by the loudness of his voice, Rowley by the greatness of his actions.

He tore a ragged mountayne from the grounde,
Harried ^k uppe noddynge forrests to the skie,

^k Toft.

Thanne

wild, and well adapted to the romantick history of this poem; they seem to be borrowed from the Battle of the Giants, as described by the heathen poets, and particularly by Claudian in the following lines:

Hic rotat Æmonium præduris rupibus Æten,
Hic juga connexis manibus Pangæa coruscant,
Hunc armat glacialis Athos; hoc Ossa movente
Tollitur, hic Rhodopen Hebri cum fonte revellit,
Et socias truncavit aquas, summæque volutus
Rupe gyganteos humeros irrorat Enipeus;
Subsidit patulis tellus sine culmine campis.

Gygamachia, v. 66.

There seems to be some connection between this last line and that in the Metamorphosis:

On a broad grassie playne was layde the hill.

Claudian, in the wildness of his fancy, represents a giant lifting up the mountain on his back, and the river Enipeus, which arose from it, flowing down between his shoulders: Our poet, with a greater exertion, but with less improbability, *lets fly the mountain into the middle ayre*, buries Vincent and Sabrina under it, and poetically describes the *purple fountain* of their blood, as boiling up *thro' their sandy grave*, which, in the true spirit of metamorphosis, he transforms into a *river clear*.

Mr. Addison, in his Spectator N^o 333, has introduced this passage of Claudian, as a foil to Milton's description of the war of the Angels; observing, "that the Roman poet's ideas favour more of the burlesque than of the sublime; that they proceed from a wantonness of imagination, and rather divert the mind than astonish it: But Milton has taken every thing that is sublime in these passages, and composes out of them the following great image:

"From their foundations loosening to and fro
"They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,
"Rocks, waters, woods; and by the shaggy tops
"Uplifting, bore them in their hands."

Though the author of the Metamorphosis should be supposed to have lived since Milton's time, yet it appears that he borrowed his ideas from the Latin, and not from our English poet; and upon comparison he will not be found inferior to

Thanne wythe a fuirie, mote the erthe astounde ^l,
 To meddle ayre he lette the mountayne fle.
 The flying wolffynnes sente a yelleyng crye; 85
 Onne Vyncente and Sabryna selle the mount;
 To lyve æternalle dyd theie eftsoones die;
 Thorowe the sandie grave boiled up the purple founte,
 On a broade grassie playne was layde the hylle,
 Staieyng the rounyng course of meint a limmed ^m rylle. 90
 The goddes, who kenned the actyons of the wyghte,
 To leggen ⁿ the sadde happe of twayne so fayre,
 Houton ^o dyd make the mountaine bie theire mighte.

^l Astonish. ^m Glassy, reflecting. ⁿ Lessen, alloy. ^o Hollow, rather, lofty.

Forth:

either.—*To tear a ragged mountayne from the grounde*, is a more gigantic exertion, than *to loosen it to and fro from its foundations*—*To let it fly into the middle ayre*, a greater effort than *to bear it in his hands*, and—*To harrie up the noddynge forrests to the skie*, expresses more than *to uplift them by their shaggy tops*. The astonishment impressed on the earth, and the cry excited by the flying wolffins fear, are images peculiar to Rowley; and the *noddynge forrests*, which are omitted by Claudian, and mentioned only in general terms by Milton, are particularly pointed out by Homer, who says, “that the Giants heaped upon mount Ossa, the *forest-bearing*—“Pelion;”

————— αὐτὰρ 'εἰς' Ὀσση
 Πήλιον ἱνοσίφυλλον. Odyss. B. A. v. 314.

V. 81. *Meddle ayre*; so Robert Gloucester and P. Pl. call the world *the meddel erthe*.

V. 88. Has one, if not two, redundant syllables.

V. 93. Chatterton misinterprets the word *houton*; it does not mean *hollow*; nor could that circumstance be any alleviation to the fate of Elfrid and Sabrina; but *hawten* is explained in the Prompt. Parv. by *exalto*, and is used in this sense by Peter Langtoft; and *huntain*, in old French, signifies *proud* or *lofty*. The size and height of the mountain are mentioned as an exertion of might by the gods, to add dignity to their fate; and with the same idea, the poet has chosen the highest hill in

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre cleere,
 Roarynge and rolleynge on yn course byfmare^p; 95
 From female Vyncente shotte a ridge of stones,
 Eche fyde the ryver ryfynghe heavenwere;
 Sabrynas floode was helde ynne Elftryds bones.
 So are theie cleped; gentle and the hynde
 Can telle, that Severnes streeme bie Vyncentes rocke's ywrynde^r.

The bawfyn^r gyaunt, hee who dyd them flee, 101
 To telle Gendolyne quycklie was ysped^r;
 Whanne, as he strod alonge the shakeynge lee,
 The roddie levynne^r glesterrd^r on hys headde:
 Into hys hearte the azure vapoures spreade; 105
 He wrythde arounde yn drearie dernie^u payne;
 Whanne from his lyfe-bloode the rodde lemes^x were fed,
 He felle an hepe of ashes on the playne:
 Styлле does hys ashes shoote ynto the lyghte,
 A wondrous mountayne hie, and Snowdon ys ytte hyghte^r. 110

^p Bewildered, curious. ^q Hid, covered. ^r Huge, bulky. ^r Dispatched. ^r Red lightning. ^r Glittered, shone. ^u Cruel, or secret. ^x Flames, rays. ^y Called.

Wales for the monument of the giant: In this sense we may also understand that line in Robert Canning's epitaph.

Houton are wordes for to tell his doe.

It required *lofty*, not *hollow*, words to celebrate his praise.

V. 94. It may be imputed to Rowley's partiality for his native country, that he calls the Severn *a river clear*; but there is sufficient foundation in etymology to derive the word from *CLARUS*, *noble* or *distinguished*, an epithet more worthy of its stream.

V. 95. This, together with v. 40, are specimens of our author's expressive alliterations; a figure which he does not often make use of, though he might be sufficiently justified by the example of Homer.

V. 107. The idea is bold, and perhaps singular, of the *red* flashes of lightning being fed by the Giant's blood.

AN EXCELENTE BALADE
OF CHARITIE.

THE Excellent Ballad of Charity, so well deserving that title, was the last poem of Rowley's produced by Chatterton, who sent it to the printer of the Town and Country Magazine only a month before his death; in whose hands it remained till Mr. Tyrwhit added it to this collection: It is more fully glossed and explained by Chatterton, than any other of Rowley's works, in proportion as he became more conversant with our ancient language; but his anecdotes concerning the birth, education, and death of Rowley, must rest upon his own authority, for want of more authentic evidence, and carry such a degree of credit as the reader may be inclined to allow them. Rowley's Memoirs say, that he declined the offer of a Canonry from his friend Canning, in the church of Westbury; after whose death, he lived in a house which he had purchased in Bristol.

This poem is written in the stile of a moral satyrise, censuring the pride, pomp, and want of generosity in the wealthy Ecclesiastics of those days. It is in effect an illustration of the parable of the good Samaritan, marking, with the most severe and poignant reflections, the contrast between the charitable Limitour, and the supercilious Abbot. The satire is keen, the morality
excellent,

excellent, and the description worked up with wonderful art, propriety, and dignity of expression. The ripeness of the Autumnal season, the heat of the sun, the closeness of the atmosphere, the gradual approach of the thunder-storm, with its violent effects, the momentary intervening calm, and return of the storm, cannot be described in words more expressive of their effects.

THOMAS ROWLEY¹, 1464.

^a Thomas Rowley, the author, was born at Norton Mal-reward in Somersetsshire, educated at the Convent of St. Kenna at Keynefham, and died at Westbury in Gloucestershire. ^b *The sign of Virgo*. ^c Meads. ^d Reddened, ripened. ^e Soft. ^f Pied goldfinch. ^g Drest, arrayed. ^h Neat, ornamental. ⁱ A loose robe or mantle.

The

V. I. It was usual with our ancient poets to describe the season of the year by the signs of the Zodiac. Thus Lidgate,

When Phœbus in the Crabbe had nere his course run.

And in Chaucer's Prologue ;

— — — and the young Son

Hath in the Ram half his course run.

In the Proem to Troil. and Cress. b. ii.

And when Phœbus doth his bright beemis spread,

Right in the white Bolle.

The fun was glemeing in the midde of daie,
 Deadde still the aire, and eke the welken^k blue,
 When from the sea arift^l in drear arraie 10
 A hepe of cloudes of fable fullen hue,
 The which full fast unto the woodlande drewe,
 Hiltring^m attenesⁿ the funnis fetive^o face,
 And the blacke tempeste swolne and gatherd up apace.
 Beneathe an holme, faste by a pathwaie side, 15
 Which dide unto Seyncte Godwine's covent^p lede,
 A haples pilgrim moneynge did abide,
 Pore in his viewe, ungentle^q in his weede^r,
 Longe bretful^s of the miseries of neede,

^k The sky, the atmosphere. ^l Arose. ^m Hiding, shrouding. ⁿ At once. ^o Beautiful. ^p It would have been *charitable*, if the author had not pointed at personal characters in this Ballad of Charity. The Abbot of St. Godwin's, at the time of the writing of this; was Ralph de Lellomont, a great stickler for the Lancastrian family. Rowley was a Yorkist. ^q Beggarly. ^r *Dress*. ^s Filled with.

Where

So Skelton, in his Prologue to the Bouge of Court;
 In Autumpne, whan the Sun in Virgine,
 By radyant Sunne enrypend had our corne.
 And Gawyn Douglas's Prologue to the 13th book of the Eneid;
 Towart the evyn, amid the Someris hete,
 Quhen in the Crab Apollo held hys fete.

V. 16. The situation of St. Godwin's Abbey is amongst Rowley's historical difficulties. No Saint of that name, nor any church dedicated to such a Saint, occurs either in our Legends or Ecclesiastical History. It may be therefore a fictitious title, under which he intended to lash the character of some wealthy Abbot. The Memoirs before mentioned, speak seriously of such an abbey, to which Rowley went on a commission from Mr. Canning, in search of drawings; but to answer for the authenticity of that account, is no part of the present undertaking.

V. 18. Pore in his viewe, ungentle in his weede,
 Dunbar, the Scotch poet, has a description not unlike this, in his Golden Terge;
 Rude is thy weid, destitute, bair, and rent:

Well aucht thou be affeirit of the licht. Warton, vol. ii. p. 272.

V. 19. *Bretfull* is an expression used by Pierce Plowman; *Bretfull of breath*;—and in Chaucer's Knights Tale, *Bretfull of Ruies*.

Where from the hail-stone coulde the almer ^s flie ? 20
 He had no housen theere, ne anie covent nie.

Look in his glommed ^t face, his sprighte there scanne ;
 Howe woe-be-gone, how withered, forwynd ^u, deade !
 Hast to thi church-glebe-houfe ^x, afshrewed ^y manne !
 Hast to thie kiste ^z, thie onlie dortoure ^a bedde. 25
 Cale, as the claie whiche will gre on thie hedde,
 Is Charitie and Love aminge ^b highe elves ;
 Knightis and Barons live for pleasure and themselves.

The gatherd storme is rype ; the bigge drops falle ;
 The forfwat ^c meadowes smethe ^d, and drenche ^e the raine ; 30
 The comyng ghaftnes ^f do the cattle pall ^g,
 And the full flockes are drivynge ore the plaine ;
 Dashde from the cloudes the waters flott ^h againe ;

^s Beggar. ^t Clouded, dejected. A person of some note in the literary world is of opinion, that *glum* and *glom* are modern cant words ; and from this circumstance doubts the authenticity of Rowley's Manuscripts. *Glum*-mong in the Saxon signifies twilight, a dark or dubious light ; and the modern word *gloom* is derived from the Saxon *glum*. ^u Dry, sapless. ^x The grave. ^y Accursed, unfortunate. ^z Coffin. ^a A sleeping room. ^b Among. ^c Sun-burnt, *fiucating*. ^d Smoke. ^e Drink. ^f *Ghaftlines*. ^g Pall, a contraction from *appall*, to fright. ^h Fly, rather, *flout*.

The

V. 22. This account of the Almer's face and drefs is marked with Rowley's descriptive lineaments : The word *glommed* wanted not an explanation from Chatterton ; *clum*, in the Miller's Tale, means silence, closely connected with the *gloom* or *glommed face* of melancholy. *Woe-be-gone* is also a familiar word both with Gower and Spenser.

V. 29. The storm gathers and advances most poetically in the fifth stanza. In that which follows, the elements themselves seem to speak, and every idea is realised in the description : The slow approach, loud burst, and gradual dying away of the thunder, conveyed both in the measure and sound of the poetry, the

The welkin opes ; the yellow levynne ¹ flies ;
And the hot fierie smothe ^k in the wide lowings ^l dies. 35

Liste ! now the thunder's rattling clymmynge ^m found
Cheves ⁿ flowlie on, and then embollen ^o clangs,
Shakes the hie spyre, and losit, dispended ^p, drown'd,
Still on the gallard ^q care of terroure hanges ;
The windes are up ; the lofty elmen fwanges ; 40
Again the levynne and the thunder poures,
And the full cloudes are brafte ^r attenes in stonen showers.

Spurreynge his palfrie oere the watrie plaine,
The Abbote of Seyncte Godwynes convente came ;
His chapournette ^s was drented with the reine, 45
And his pencte ^t gyrdle met with mickle shame ;
He aynewarde tolde his bederoll ^u at the same ;
The storme encreasen, and he drew aside,
With the mist ^v almes craver neere to the holme to bide.

¹ Lightning. ^k Steam, or vapours. ^l Flashes. ^m Noisy. ⁿ Moves, *rather, trembles*.
^o Swelled, strengthened. ^p Exhausted. ^q Frighted. ^r Burst. ^s A small round hat, not unlike the shapournette in heraldry, formerly worn by ecclesiastics and lawyers. ^t Painted. ^u He told his beads backwards ; a figurative expression to signify curling. ^v Poor, needy.

His

succeeding storm of wind, the trees bending under its fury, with the return of thunder, lightning and hail, compleat a description not to be excelled either in ancient or modern poetry.

V. 37. *Cheves* expresses that tremulous sound, which is heard on the distant approach of thunder. It is used by Gower and Chaucer, as equivalent to *shiver*, R. R. 1732. *In that day I have cheverd oft* ; and in Black Knight's Tale, 231. *That now I chiver for default of hete*. Chatterton did not know the force of the expression, when he explained it by *moves*.

V. 38. *Dispended* or *exhausted*, is a word used by Gower.

V. 43. The description of the Abbot's dress is suitable to the age, and not unlike that of Chaucer's Monk :

His cope ^y was all of Lyncolne clothe so fyne, 50
 With a gold button fasten'd neere his chynne;
 His autremete ^z was edged with golden twynne,

^y A cloke. ^z A loose white robe, worn by priests, *rather, a cowl*.

And

I saw his sleevs purfled at the hand
 With gris, and that the finest in the land;
 And for to fasten his hood under his chin,
 He hadde of gold ywroughte a curious pinne. V. 193.

The girdle was a principal part of drefs, and a painted one was a capital piece of finery.

V. 50. The Abbot's cope was of *Lincolne clothe*, in high repute at that time for its fineness and colour, especially the *green*, which probably the Abbot wore, whilst the drefs of the Monks was *grey* or *black*: So Lidgate, in his *Canterbury Tale*, describes himself as the reverse in drefs and equipment from the richer ecclesiastics,

In a cope of *black*, and *not of grene*,
 On a palfray slender long and lene,
 With rusty bridle made not for the fale,
 My man to forne with a void male*.

Edward the III^d made *Lincoln* a staple for wool; and the extensive neighbouring heath, which fed great flocks of sheep, contributed to the establishment of the woollen manufacture there: Drayton, in his 25th Song, describes

Her swains in shepherds gray, her girls in *Lincoln green*:

And in the following book, Robin Hood's men are described as

All clad in *Lincoln green*:

So Spenser—All in a woodmans jacket he was clad of *Lincoln green*:

In the old ballads about Robin Hood, published by Evans, vol. i. p. 141, he is represented as clothed in a mantle of *Lincoln green*; and p. 88, it is said of his mother,

That she got on her holyday kirtle and gown,
 They were all of *Lincoln green*.

See again p. 151. It is by no means probable that Chatterton could have known the reputation of this manufacture.

V. 52. *Autremite* was not, as Chatterton explains it, *a long, loose robe*, but a *cowl*, *coif*, or *head-dress*. Skinner, who calls it simply *vestimentum*, adds *forſan q. Altera mitra*; and so it is used by Chaucer in his *Monk's Tale*, where he describes the reverse of Zenobia's fortune:

And she that *helmid* was in ſtarke ſtouris,
 Shall on her hedde now werin *Autremite*.

* Portmanteau.

AN EXCELENTE BALADE OF CHARITIE. 371

And his shoone pyke ^a a loverds ^b mighte have binne;
 Full well it shewn he thoughten coste no finne:
 The trammels of the palfrye pleasde his fighte, 55
 For the horse-millanare ^c his head with rofes dighte.

^a *Picked shoes.* ^b A lord. ^c I believe this trade is still in being, though but
 seldom employed.

An

Mr. Tyrwhit, vol. iii. p. 282, from the authority of MSS. calls it "*vitrymite*, "*wytermite*, "*wintermite*, and "*vitryte*, but acknowledges the printed editions read it "*Autremite*; which he says is equally unintelligible." But does not this passage confirm the printed text of Chaucer, both in the orthography and sense?

V. 53. The *shoone pyked*, or picked shoes, was another elegance of dress in those days. Thus, in the Story of William Canning, Truth is described as having

Ne browded mantell of a scarlett hue,
 Ne *shoone pykes* plaited o'er with ribband geere.

This custom of projecting the pikes or points of their shoes, to a most inordinate length, became so fashionable, that in 1465 (the year after this poem was written) Stowe says, "It was proclaimed through England, that the beakes or pikes of shoone
 " or boots should not pass two inches, upon pain of curfing by the clergy, and for-
 " feiting twenty shillings, to be paid, one noble to the king, another to the cord-
 " wainers of London, and the third to the chamber of London; and in other
 " cities and townes the like order was taken: Before this time, and since the year
 " of our Lord 1382, the pikes of shoon and boots were of such length, that they
 " were faine to be tyed up to their knees with chaines of silver gilt, or at the
 " least with silk lace."

This ballad bearing date a year before the proclamation, invalidates the objector's remark in Gentleman's Magazine for May 1777, p. 207, "That the Abbot was
 " a bold man, to retain this custom to the last."

V. 55. The furniture of of their horses was likewise a great object of attention: It is said of Chaucer's Monk,

That when he rode, men might his bridel here,
 Gingeling in a whiffling wind, as clere,
 And eke as loud as doth the chapelle belle. V. 169.

The host observes on the meanness of Lidgate's appearance,
 That his bridle had neither bofs nor *bell*.

And in another passage, it is remarked,
 His palfrey was as brown as a berry. V. 207.

An almes, fir prieste ! the droppynge pilgrim faide,
 O ! let me waite within your covente dore,
 Till the sunne sheneth hie above our heade,
 And the loude tempeste of the aire is oer ; 60
 Helpeles and ould am I alas ! and poor ;
 No house, ne friend, ne moneie in my pouche ;
 All yatte I call my owne is this my silver crouche ^d.

Varlet, replyd the Abbatte, cease your dinne ;
 This is no season almes and prayers to give ; 65
 Mie porter never lets a faitour ^e in ;
 None touch mie rynge who not in honour live.
 And now the sonne with the blacke cloudes did ftryve,

^d *Crucifix.* ^e A beggar, or vagabond, *deceiver, imposter.*

And

To the same purpose, Mr. Warton quotes a passage from Wicliff's Trialogue, who inveighs against the priests for their " fair hors and jolly and gay saddeles, and bridles ringing by the way." Vol. i. p. 164, note.

It is not doubted, I presume, that the persons who made trappings and furniture for horses, were called *Horse Millanars*; for though the word is now generally confined to the dress of the fair sex, yet the etymology of both is the same, taking its rise from a trade begun and carried on by the inhabitants of Milan; though we cannot regularly deduce the history and progress of it.

In a roll of expences, temp. Henry VIII. (published with the Form of Cury, by Mr. Pegge,) mention is made of *myllen sleeves of whyte satten*, and *a millon bonnett dresd with agletts*. The office of horse-milliner, however, is still preserved in the king's stables, and has a place in the Red book, with a yearly salary of ten guineas annexed to it, in favour of a female, whose business it is to supply the roses and ribbands with which the king's horses are adorned on particular occasions, such as reviews, or when the king goes in state to the House of Peers, or in any other great and solemn procession. I am also credibly informed, that the term of *Horse Milliner* is still so common at Norwich, as to be used in advertisements and hand-bills, and applied to collar-makers; who furnish most kinds of gear for farmers draught-horses, and are more generally called *Knackers*.

V. 67. It is well known that Bishops and Abbots wore rings of state, adorned with a gem, generally a sapphire; the azure colour being emblematical of heaven.

AN EXCELENTE BALADE OF CHARITIE. 373

And shettynge ^f on the grounde his glairie ^g raie,
The Abbatte spurde his steede, and eftsoones roadde awaie. 70

Once moe the skie was blacke, the thounder rolde ;
Faste reyneynge oer the plaine a prieste was seen ;
Ne dighte full proude, ne buttoned up in golde ;
His cope and jape ^h were graie, and eke were clene ;
A Limitoure ⁱ he was of order seene ; 75
And from the pathwaie side then turned hee,
Where the pore almer laie binethe the holmen tree.

An almes, sir priest ! the droppynge pilgrim sayde,
For sweete Seyncte Marie and your order sake.
The Limitoure then loofen'd his pouche threde, 80

^f *Shooting.* ^g *Clear, shining.* ^h A short surplice, worn by friars of an inferior class, and secular priests. ⁱ *A licensed begging friar.*

And

John Bishop of Ardfert, who died at St Albans, bequeathed to that Abbey no less than three magnificent sapphire rings.—(See Sir James Weare's lives of the Irish Bishops, and the Register of St. Albans in the Cotton Library.) This custom continued even after the Reformation, for Archbishop Parker bequeathed his best sapphire ring to Grindall, Archbishop of York (who happened to be his successor), and his second sapphire ring to William Cecil.—So likewise Grindall, Archbishop of Canterbury, bequeathed a sapphire ring to Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, who was also his successor.—See Strype's Lives of the Archbishops. The touching this ring by an inferior, or at least the kissing the hand which wore it, was considered as a mark of distant respect on approaching their persons; and the permission denoted an acceptance of the compliment.

V. 69. *Shettynge* for shooting, is the vulgar pronunciation of the word in Devonshire to this day.

V. 75. Limitours were friars who had a licence to beg within a certain district; the word occurs in Chaucer's Prologues. The form of his purse, his manner of wearing it, and the piece of money given in charity, speak the genuine language of that age.

And did thereoute a groate of silver take ;
 The mister ^k pilgrim dyd for halline ^l shake.
 Here take this silver, it maie eathe ^m thie care ;
 We are Goddes stewards all, nete ⁿ of oure owne we bare.

But ah ! unhailie ^o pilgrim, lerne of me, 85

Scathe ^p anie give a rentrolle ^q to their Lorde.

Here take my femecoper, thou arte bare I see ;

Tis thyne ; the Seynctes will give me mie rewarde.

He left the pilgrim, and his waie aborde ^r.

Virgynne and hallie Seyncte, who fitte yn gloure ^t, 90

Or give the mittee ^u will, or give the gode man power.

^k *Needy.* ^l *Joy.* ^m *Ease.* ⁿ *Nought.* ^o *Unhappy.* ^p *Scarce.* ^q *An account of their rent.* ^r *A short under-cloke.* ^s *Went on.* ^t *Glory.* ^u *Mighty, rich.*

V. 82. *The mister pilgrim.* This word is explained by Johnson and others as signifying trade or occupation ; and indeed Chaucer uses it in that sense,

What *mistere* men ye be. V. 5614.

But Dr. Johnson has not observed, that it also signifies *want and necessity* :

If that men had *mistere* of thee. Chaucer, v. 6078.

And han of council more *mister*. v. 6511.

So Gawen Douglas,

Quihare I offendit or *mysteris* correction.

And Spenser,

As to my name, it *mistreth* not to tell. F. Q. B. iii. l. 7. st. 51.

V. 86. *Rentrolle* here, and *renteynge rolles* in the *Storie* of William Cannyng, v. 128, mean *rent*, or the money due for what they occupy. One of these parchments called a *Rent-roll*, and containing an account of Canning's chantries, for the year 1467, is in Mr. Barret's possession : The manner of signifying the discharge of each quarter's rent, was by cutting a small hole in the left hand margin of the roll, in the shape of a lozenge.

The concluding prayer of this Ballad marks the genuine disposition of its author, who, in all his compositions, studied not less to improve, than to amuse the mind of his reader.

S O N G E T O Æ L L A.

WE may now consider Rowley's abilities in Lyric poetry, of which some specimens have been already given in the Minstrells Songs in Ella, Godwin, and the Tournament: But the Song to Ella was, in the opinion of the author, when he wrote it; *The best performance of his lyttel wytte*. The reader will determine whether the Chorus in Godwin, though imperfect, does not excel in descriptive expression.

This Song or Ode, being prefaced with a challenge to Lidgate, and followed by his answer; and the authenticity of all these pieces being questioned; the objections must be removed, before the merit of the Ode can be considered: Unfortunately for the poet, the Challenge and Answer are supposed to be spurious by Mr. Warton, on account of the affected meanness of the composition; whilst other critics, with no less precision, condemn the Ode itself, as exceeding the poetic abilities of the fifteenth century: Other objections, of a particular kind, are made to the several passages; all which shall be duly considered.

Rowley's supposed competitor, John Lidgate, Monk of Bury, was a poet of great fame at the beginning of the fifteenth century; for even the catalogue of his poems (many of which are printed) fills more than three folio pages in Tanner's Bibl. Britan. who speaks of him not only as "an elegant poet, and a good orator," but also as an expert mathematician, an acute philosopher, and

“no contemptible divine.” Having travelled in France and Italy, and acquired the languages of those countries, he enriched his native tongue with poetic translations from them. He was ordained priest in 1397, and was certainly alive in 1446, as appears by one of his poems. (See Tanner’s *Bibl. Britan.*)

If the Ballad on the Craft of Lovers, ascribed by Urry to Chaucer, p. 353, from a mistake in the date *, was written by Lidgate, (of whose poetry it makes a part, in the original MS. in the Harleian Collection) it will extend that poet’s life to a much later period, and render him still more nearly contemporary with Rowley. But notwithstanding so considerable a disparity in their age, they might have had communication with each other; and the note in the second poem on the Battle of Hastings seems to imply that Rowley had submitted that poem to Lidgate’s perusal. The Challenge is addressed to him in London, where he must frequently have been, when he presented his poems to King Henry the VIth, and to the Duke of Gloucester: The printed title calls him *Ladgate*, but Mr. Barrett convinced Chatterton, from the original, that he had mistaken it for *Lidgate*; it was not easy, however, to make him acknowledge an error, though he had fallen into other mistakes in the same poem, as appears by the various readings in the Introductory account. By the way, this was the first of Rowley’s compositions produced by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett; and, besides the apparent antiquity of the vellum, ink, and handwriting, it had this unusual, but strong proof of authenticity, that it was written in continued lines, extending the whole breadth of the parchment, like a prose composition. Mr. Warton himself has observed, vol. i. p. 35, “That it was customary with ancient scribes, when stanzas consisted of short

* Which, instead of 1347, should be 1459; for it stands thus in the original MS.
In the yere of our Lord M by rekonynge,
Four hundred fiftie & nine following.

“verfes, to throw them together like profe.” The yellow colour of the ink and parchment (which Mr. Warton concludes to be a fraud, without bringing the leaft proof to give credit to his affertion) is certainly a prefumptive argument in favour of its authenticity; but the parchment from which Mr. Warton formed his judgment, is now no longer the fubject of appeal; having been lent by Mr. Barrett, to gratify the curiofity of fome friends, it was unfortunately loft, almoft beyond the hope of recovery; that deficiency, however, may be fupplied by internal proofs.

It has been alfo objected by the fame learned critic, that the writing of this roll did not correpond with the record hand of that age; but is there any neceffity that thefe poems fhould have been written in a record hand? and as to the common running hand of the fifteenth century, it was much more deficient in regularity and orthography than the fpecimens in queftion.

As to the Challenge, it can hardly be confidered as a real competition for fame between thefe two poets. The difparity in their age, and the eftablifhed reputation of Lidgate, forbid the fuppofition, and make it more probable that this fpecimen of Rowley’s Mufe was intended as a compliment and mark of deference to Lidgate, afpiring to fame under the favour of fo confiderable a poet. Lidgate’s reply confirms the idea: He produces no poem in oppofition to Rowley: But the Anfwer is intended as a compliment to his genius, by comparing him with the firft poets of our own or other countries. Indeed Rowley feems to difclaim all idea of rivaling Lidgate, in thofe words,

Rememberr Stowe, the Brightftowe Carmalyte, &c.
He might rather fay with Lucretius,

Haud ita certandi cupidus, quam propter amorem,
Quod te imitari aveo; quid enim contendat hirundo
Cycnis?—————

May it not be supposed that Lidgate had sent to Rowley, in a manner not to be denied, expressing a curiosity to see some of his compositions; which, though no challenge, or bowting match, Rowley, in compliment to Lidgate, might affect to consider as such? *A bowting match* agrees with the language of ancient ballads. See Evans's Collection, vol. i. p. 134, where Robin Hood says,

A bowt with thee I mean to have.

As to John Clarkynge's literary merit (who is said to be *one of mickle lore*) we know nothing more of it than is here mentioned; but Stowe may mean *John Stone*, a famous divine, and Carmelite-fryar at Bristol, contemporary with Rowley, who is said by Tanner to have written *Sermones de tempore*. It has been already observed, that Chatterton frequently mistook *w* for *n* in his transcripts.

It will not detract from the authenticity of these pieces to suppose, that both the Challenge and Answer were ideal, the produce of Rowley's imagination, founded either in his love for invention, or his ambition for fame: Such fictions are not without example: Skelton, poet laureat to Henry VIIIth, represents himself as introduced by the Queen of Fame to her temple, amongst several celebrated writers and poets: Gower, Chaucer, and Lidgate compliment him separately on his poetic merit, and he is dubbed by Lidgate *Prothonotary of the Court*. See his "Crown of Laurel." The contest between Lidgate and Rowley, if it had been real, must have been very unequal. In that view, no objection can be made to the meanness of Lidgate's reply; who, notwithstanding his high reputation as a poet, and some brilliant descriptions selected from his works by Mr. Warton, is said by him to be "verbose" and diffuse in his manner, often tedious and languid, seldom "pathetic or animate." Vol. ii. p. 58.

A specimen of his literature and poetic merit will appear from a part of his Prologue to the Translation of Boccace's Fall of Princes.

I never was acquainted with Virgile,
 Nor with the fuggard ditties of Homere,
 Nor Dares Phrygius with his golden stile,
 Nor with Ovide in poetry most entire,
 Nor with the sovereign Ballads of Chaucer,
 Which among all that ever were read or sung,
 Excelld all other in our English tung.

B. ix. c. 18.

And in his addrefs to the Prince,

I was never yet at Citheron,
 Nor in the mountain called Parnafs,
 Where nine mufes have their manfion;
 I will procede furth with white and black,
 And where I fail, let Lydgate bear the lack.

But Mr. Warton, on another occafion (vol. ii. p. 59) expreffes fo much furprize at the merit of Lidgate's verfes, "that in this
 " fagacious age we fhould have judged them to be a forgery, was
 " not their genuinenefs authenticated, and their antiquity confirm-
 " ed, by Caxton's types and unquestionable manufcripts:" Why may not, then, his judgment be equally deceived with refpect to Rowley, whofe poetry is fupported by a weight of internal evidence, not inferior to the external one of Caxton's types.

There is an impropriety charged on Lidgate's Answer to the Challenge, for placing King Alfred among the poets. But it muft be acknowledged, that he was a great hiftorian and lawgiver; and eminent for his parables, which is alfo a fpecies of poetry. "In
 " parabolis ita enituit, ut nemo poft illum amplius." See Annales Winceft. apud Dugdale's Monaft. t. i. p. 32. A fpecimen of them may be feen in Spelman's Life of Alfred, lib. ii. feft. 46.

This circumftance alone might juftify the poet in faying, that

To the Saxon men
 He fang with elocation.

And for a fimilar reafon Turgotus might have been placed

in the same company; for he was most indisputably an eminent historian: And the beam which Rowley caught from him might have conveyed historic light, not poetic fire. But, in fact, Alfred is ranked by our historians among the poets. Bale says, "Poeta non vulgaris haberetur:" Spelman, in his life, quotes an author who calls him "Saxonicorum poetarum peritissimus;" and he is stiled, in the *Biographia Britannica*, "the Prince of Saxon Poets." Mr. Warton also charges the Answer rather uncandidly, for making Chaucer and Stowe contemporaries with Turgot; for it was not the intention of the poet to distinguish precisely their respective æra's, but to deduce the succession of these eminent geniuses from those of Greece and Rome, to our own countrymen, Merlin, Alfred, and Turgot, under the three successive governments of Britons, Saxons and Normans. The two persons next in order, viz. Chaucer and Stowe, could not be otherwise described, as living at a successive period: The word *then* being equivalent to *afterwards*. But it is not to be supposed, that poets of that or any other age attended to such nice chronological accuracies; nor indeed is the objection of any force; for if Chatterton had half the knowledge of poetry that his advocates wish to give him, he was not more likely than Rowley to have mistaken the age in which Chaucer lived.

But enough of Lidgate. Let us proceed to the objections made to the Song, from the excellence of its poetry, and the peculiarity of its measure. The former of these will extend to every poem in the collection, and amounts only to this, that the fifteenth century has not produced, and therefore could not produce, so great a genius as Rowley. But this point having been already considered, and answered, it may be sufficient to observe, that the like objection may be extended to every other great genius in poetry, and in all other sciences, who, by surpassing their contemporaries, have been considered as prodigies of the age in which they lived: Might not the works of Homer and Pindar, of Shakespeare

and Milton, be condemned as spurious on the same principle? and with what consistence of argument can these excellencies (uncommon as they are) be denied to a person mature in age, learned by education and profession, and yet be allowed (without the advantages of age, experience, study, and learning) to the earliest efforts of a dissipated youth of seventeen years of age, born in indigence, and educated in a charity-school?

The objections to the metre of the Song are, that the Pindaric or (to speak more properly) irregular measure, was unknown, or at least not revived in Rowley's time*. It must be acknowledged, that the first efforts of our English poets were unenriched with variety, being chiefly confined to lines of equal feet, rhiming either in couplets or alternately. The many-line stanza was afterwards introduced, and terminated by an Alexandrine. This measure was thought sufficient to describe historical events, or to express the common emotions of the human passions; and Rowley himself is a proof how adequate they are for that purpose, under the conduct of so great a poet. But might not the fire of his genius, when inspired by his subject, take the same liberty in varying the poetic *measure*, as other contemporary poets did in the *rhime*, even on a supposition that he had never seen or heard of the works of Pindar, which the objectors cannot take upon them to prove?

The irregularity in the metre of this Song is very considerable; dividing it into six stanzas of six lines each, the second answers exactly to the fifth, and the fourth to the sixth, and the difference between all four is a mere trifle. The third is quite irregular, and the first, though quite unlike the rest, is not inharmonious.

The person, character, and offices of Ella having been already described, the following remarks shall be confined to such passages of the Song as may seem to require illustration.

* Cowley observes, that Parnellius might have counted this in the list of the lost inventions of antiquity, which he made a bold and vigorous attempt to recover. See Johnson's Life of that Poet.

T O J O H N E L A D G A T E.

[SENT WITH THE FOLLOWING SONGE TO ÆLLA.]

WELL thanne, goode Johne, fythe^a ytt must needes be foe,
 Thatt thou & I a bowtyng matche must have,
 Lette ytt ne breakyng of ould friendshyppe bee,
 Thys ys the onelic all-a-boone^b I crave.

Rememberr Stowe, the Bryghtstowe Carmalyte,
 Who whanne Johne Clarkyng, one of myckle lore^c,
 Dydd throwe hys gauntlette-penne, wyth hym to fyghte,
 Hee showd smalle wytte, and showd hys weaknesse more.

Thys ys mie formance, whyche I nowe have wrytte,
 The best performance of mie lyttel wytte.

S O N G E T O Æ L L A,

LORDE OF THE CASTEL OF BRYSTOWE YNNE DAIES OF YORE.

OH thou, orr what remaynes of thee,
 Ælla, the darlyng of futurity,
 Lett thys mie songe bolde as thie courage be,
 As everlastyng to posteritye.

^a Since. ^b Favour. ^c Much learning.

Whanne

Whanne Dacya's ^d sonnes, whose hayres of bloude-redde hue 15

Lyche kyng-cuppes ^e brastyng wythe the morning due,

Arraung'd ynne dreare arraie,

Upponne the lethale daie,

Spredde farre and wyde onne Watchets shore;

Than dyddst thou furiously stande,

20

And bie thie valyante hande

Beefprengedd ^f all the mees wythe gore.

Drawne bie thyne anlace ^g felle,

Downe to the depthe of helle

Thoufandes of Dacyanns went;

25

Brystowannes, menne of myghte,

Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte,

And actedd deeds full quent ^h.

Oh thou, whereer (thie bones att reste)

Thye Spryte to haunte delyghteth beste,

30

Whetherr upponne the bloude-embrewedd pleyne,

Orr whare thou kennst fromm farre

The dysmall crye of warre,

Orr seest somme mountayne made of corse of sleyne;

^d The Danes. ^e Butter-flowers. ^f Sprinkled. ^g Terrible sword. ^h Strange.

Orr

V. 29. The invocation at the beginning of the second stanza, resembles Virgil's address to the Spirit of Cæsar.—Georg. B. i. l. 24.

Tuque adeo, quem mox quæ sint habitura Deorum

Concilia, incertum est, urbisne invisere Cæsar,

Terranisque velis curam——

An D us mmenti venias maris——

Quicquid eris——

Orr feeft the hatchedd ⁱ ftede, 35
 Ypraunceyng o'er the mede,
 And neighe to be amenged ^k the poynctedd fpeeres ;
 Orr ynne blacke armoure ftaulke arounde
 Embattel'd Bryftowe, once thie grounde,
 And glowe ^l ardurous ^m onn the Caſtle fteeres ; 40

ⁱ *Armed and covered with achievements.* ^k *Among, or mingled with.*

^l *Look earnestly, stare.* ^m *Burning.*

Orr

V. 35. The hatched horſe (in the ſtile of that age) or the horſe covered with achievements,

Yprauncyng o'er the mead,
 Who neighs to be among the pointed ſpears,

may remind the reader of the horſe in Job, ch. xxxix. v. 21.

21. He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his ſtrength : He goeth on to meet the armed men.

23. The quiver rattleth againſt him, the glittering ſpear and the ſhield.

But this may be only a caſual coincidence of ideas, which (like others before mentioned) occur to original poets without any communication with each other's works.

The critic before quoted, in the Gentleman's Magazine, May 1777, p. 207, objects to the mention of hatchments or devices on the ſhields. See B. H. N^o 2. v. 279, 280, 489, and 572 ; where each Norman knight is ſaid

To beer *war-token* in a ſhield ſo fyne.

This uſage he ſuppoſes not to be as ancient as the Conqueror's time ; but devices on ſhields, and even mottoes to them, are as old as Æſchylus and Euripides, and even as the heroes they introduce on the ſtage. See the *Ἔπτα ἐπὶ Θρόνῳ*, v. 393, of the former, and the *Phæniffæ*, v. 1114, & ſeq. of the latter. They are undoubtedly coeval with the Conqueſt, at leaſt they are to be found on the Bayeux Tapeſtry, which is ſuppoſed to be almoſt as ancient ; but if the fact was otherwiſe, ſuch a poetical anachroniſm would not affect the authenticity of the poem.

V. 36. Chatterton having miſtaken the word *ypraunceyng*, wrote it *ifrayning*. See the Intro. Account : A ſure proof that he was the copier, and not the author of the Song.

V. 40. *Caſtle fteeres*. Davie, in his *Geſte of Alexander*, uſes the word *Steris* for *apartments* ; and *ſtede* for *lodging*. See Warton, vol. iii. p. 124.

Orr fierye round the mynsterr glare ;
 Lette Brystowe styll be made thie care ;
 Guarde ytt fromme foemenne & consumynge fyre ;
 Leche Avones streame ensyrke ⁿ ytte rounde,
 Ne lette a flame enharme the grounde,
 Tylle ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyre.

45

ⁿ *Encircle.*

V. 41. Orr fierye round the mynsterr glare.

It has been already observed, that the word *mynter* can only be applied to St. Ewin's church, situated in the center of the town, where he might survey it encircled by Avon's stream; a circumstance noticed by Leland, "So that Avon doth "peninsulate the town," Itin. vol. v. p. 611; but Bristol, in its present state, can furnish no such idea.

V. 43. The danger of fire and thieves are deprecated in all cities; but Rowley's genius alone could dignify the idea, by connecting it with the general conflagration; an event which Chatterton publicly ridiculed and totally disbelieved.

A reference is made in this Song, v. 30, and in the Tragedy of Ella, to the Castle of Bristol, of which Ella was Warden or Governor in days of yore: Without recurring to the particulars relating to it in Turgot's MS. History of Bristol, it is observed by John Ross and Leland, that Robert, the natural son of Henry the first, Consul of Gloucester, who married Mabill, the heiress of Robert Fitz Hamon, founded the castle, or at least built the large square tower, called the Dongeon, with stones brought from Caen in Normandy. "Circa hæc tempora Robertus "filius Hamonis Comes Gloucestræ castrum Bristolæ fundavit cum prioratu "Sti Jacobi." Ross Warwic. p. 110.—"Robert Consul builded the castle of "Brightstowe, or the most part of it. Every man sayeth that he builded the great "square dongeon, and that the stones thereof came out of Caen in Normandy." Leland's Itin. vol. vi. p. 85. But Sir William Dugdale, Baron. vol. i. p. 535, asserts, on the authority of Glover's MS. that Walter Constable of England, the father of Milo Fitz Warren, Earl of Hereford, built the castles of London, Rochester, and *Bristol*; which cannot be strictly true, those castles having had a more early foundation; but from the nature of his office, we may suppose that he *rebuilt*, or at least *repaired* them, and the rather, because (as Sir William Dugdale observes) his son Milo came over to the Empress Maud's party *at Bristol*, and entered into a strict and solemn league with Robert, Consul of Gloucester, to aid him in *keeping his castles*. The papers now in Mr. Barrett's possession furnish a very extraordinary and authentic evidence of this fact: Amongst them are some drawings representing

the ground plan and elevation of the different parts of the castle, especially the Square Tower or Dongeon, probably as they stood in Rowley's time, in a style of architecture somewhat different from, but not of a more modern taste than the buildings of the fifteenth century. The representation of the Square Tower, or Dongeon, is conformable in its size, shape, and external disposition, to those of London, Rochester, and other ancient towers erected about the same period; but it is remarkably decorated with images, ornaments, tracery-work, and crosses within circles, in a style not usually seen in those buildings. Near the top of each buttress are alternately carved in the stone the following shields of coat armour, viz. Gules, three bow rests, Or; and Gules, two bends, one argent the other Or. The respective blazons (which are not expressed in the drawing, nor could be represented on the stone) are here mentioned, in order to shew, that the former is the coat armour of Fitz Hamon, which was born by Robert Consul of Gloucester, first founder of this castle (see Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 358) and the latter that of Milo Fitz Warren, Earl of Hereford, the second founder, or repairer of it. (Milles, p. 1061.) Amongst these drawings, one represents this Robert Earl of Gloucester, with a sword in his right hand, and a shield with his coat-armour in his left.

Can there exist a more convincing proof of the originality of these drawings, at least as far as Rowley is concerned? What can be more probable, than that the two great personages, who are said in history to have been the founders of this castle, should be represented by their coat-armour in the subsequent improvements of it? If the form of the building corresponds with that of the ancient Norman castles, why should the decorations be thought ideal, because no other buildings of the kind appear thus highly ornamented? The Caen stone, of which this Dongeon was built, is well adapted to receive carved ornaments; and, by Robert of Gloucester's account, this castle was one of the most elegant structures of the kind in England; for he says of Robert, the first Earl of Gloucester,

And Brisslow thour hys wyf was also hys,
 And he brogt in gret sta* the toun as he gut ys,
 And rerde ther an castel myd the noble tour,
 That of alle the tours of Engelond ys yholde flour. P. 433.

Let it be supposed, however, that the draughtsman, whoever he was, gave a loose to his imagination in thus ornamenting the building; yet he must have been acquainted with the history of the castle, to insert with so much propriety the arms of its respective founders; the knowledge of them, or even of the facts to which they related, would not have continued to Rowley's time, if they had not been preserved in authentic records, or represented in drawings: But if we suppose

* *State, condition.*

the drawing, like the poems, to have been the mere inventions of Chatterton, where was the history or source from which he could derive his knowledge? Was he capable of collecting, either from Leland or Dugdale, these remote and uninteresting facts? Could he have recourse to heraldic authority for their verification? And, without the advantages of age, literature, or books, could he have discovered so critical a concurrence of evidence?

It is to be observed also, that these drawings are accompanied with proper references, explaining the several views and buildings they were intended to represent; and they will be found to correspond with the accounts given of this castle by William Wircestre and Leland, whenever Mr. Barrett shall oblige the public with his History of Bristol; notwithstanding Mr. Warton objects to them as “the representation of a building which never existed, in a capricious and affected stile of Gothic architecture, reducible to no period or system.” See his *Emendations* to vol. ii. In short, if this was a real edifice, Rowley must have been the author of the drawings; if it was only ideal, he was certainly better qualified to be the inventor, than this illiterate youth, who must have been an entire stranger both to the history and form of a building, which has lain in ruin for the two last centuries.

The underwritten Lines were composed by JOHN LADGATE,
a Priest in London, and sent to ROWLIE, as an Answer to
the preceding *Songe of Ælla*.

HAVYNGE wythe mouche attentyonn redde
Whatt you dydd to mee sende,
Admyre the varfes mouche I dydd,
And thus an answerr lende.

Amongs the Greeces Homer was
A Poett mouche renownde,
Amongs the Latyns Vyrgilius
Was beste of Poets founde.

The Brytish Merlyn oftenne hanne
The gyfte of inspyration,
And Aflē^a to the Sexonne menne
Dydd synge wythe elocation^b.

Ynne Norman tymes, Turgotus and
Goode Chaucer dydd excelle,
Thenn Stowe, the Bryghtstowe Carmelyte,
Dydd bare awaie the belle.

Nowe Rowlie ynne these mokie dayes
Lendes owte hys sheenynghe lyghtes,
And Turgotus and Chaucer lyves
Ynne ev'ry lyne he wrytes.

^a *King Alfred.*

^b *Elocution.*

THE ECLOGUES.

ECLOGUE THE FIRST.

THE abilities of Rowley as a pastoral writer may be seen in his Eclogues, and in the Songs of Ella, which describe the beauties and pleasures of the different seasons of the year: If these are genuine compositions, Mr. Warton acknowledges them to be the most early specimens of pastoral writing extant in our language; for he observes, (vol. ii. p. 255.) “ that the Eclogues “ of Alexander Barclay were not written till 1514, and, like “ those of Petrarch and Mantuan, were of the moral and satirical “ kind, containing but few touches of rural description;” a point in which Rowley particularly excels, for his ideas seem to have been borrowed from Theocritus and Virgil. It is easy to trace a resemblance between the first and fourth Eclogue of Rowley, and the first and ninth Pastoral of Virgil: In both which civil dissensions are the subject of complaint; and the circumstances of the times described in some degree similar; the commotions occasioned by the Triumvirates at Rome, resembling those of the civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster; a subject interesting to such as were concerned in those tumults, and felt their effects; but too remote, both in date and consequence, to be chosen for the subject of a modern eclogue. Robert and Rauf, deprived of the profit and pleasure of their farms,

3

complain

complain in the stile of those Mantuan shepherds whom Augustus had deprived of their lands, in order to bestow them on his veteran soldiers ; and how similar is the language of Melibæus to that of our English neat-herd, when he says, in the language of Dryden,

Farewell my pastures, my paternal stock,
 My fruitful fields, and my more fruitful flock ;
 No more my sheep shall sip the morning dew,
 No more my song shall please the rural crew,
 Adieu my tuneful pipe, and all the world adieu.

DRYDEN.

P O E M S, &c.

E C L O G U E T H E F I R S T.

WHANNE Englonde, smeethynge^a from her lethall^b
 wounde,
 From her galled necke dyd twytte^c the chayne awaie,
 Kennynge her legeful sonnes falle all arounde,
 (Myghtie theie fell, 'twas Honoure ledde the fraie,)
 Thanne inne a dale, bie eve's dark surcote^d graie, 5
 Twayne lonclie shepsterres^e dyd abrodden^f flie,
 (The rostlyng^g liff doth theyr whytte hartes affraie^h;) 3
 And wythe the owlette trembled and dyd crie;
 Firste Roberte Neatherde hys fore boefom stroke,
 Then fellen on the grounde and thus yspoke. 10

R O B E R T E.

Ah, Raufe! gif thos the howres do comme alonge,
 Gif thos wee flie in chafe of farther woe,

^a Smoking, smoking; in some copies bletheynge, but in the or'al as above.
^b Deadly. ^c Pluck or pull. ^d Surcote, a cloke, or mantel, which hid all the other
 dr. fs. ^e Shepherds. ^f Abruptly, so Chaucer, dyke he abredden dyd attourne, *or*,
abroad. ^g Rustling. ^h Affright.

Oure

V. 12. Things are chased with two different views, either to catch, or to drive
 them away. The word is here used in the latter sense.

Thus

Oure fote wyllle fayle, albeytte wee bee stronge,
 Ne wyllle oure pace swefte as oure danger goe.
 To oure grete wronges we have enheped ⁱ moe, 15
 The Baronnes warre! oh! woe and well-a-daie!
 I haveth lyff, bott have efcaped foe,
 That lyff ytsel mie Senfes doe affraie.
 Oh Raufe, comme lyfte, and hear mie dernie ^k tale,
 Comme heare the balefull ^l dome ^m of Robynne of the Dale. 20

R A U F E.

Saie to mee nete; I kenne thie woe in myne;
 O! I've a tale that Sabalus ⁿ mote ^o telle.
 Swote ^p flouretts, mantled meedows, forestes dygne ^q;
 Gravots ^r far-kend ^s arounde the Errmiets ^t cell;
 The fwote ribible ^u dynning ^x yn the dell; 25
 The joyous daunceynge ynn the hoastrie ^y courte;
 Eke ^z the highe songe and everych joie farewell,
 Farewell the verie shade of fayre dysporte ^a:
 Impeftering ^b trobble onn mie heade doe comme,
 Ne on kynde Seyncte to warde ^c the aye ^d encreafynge dome. 30

ⁱ Added. ^j Sad. ^k Woeful, lamentable. ^m Fate. ⁿ The Devil. ^o Might.
^p Sweet. ^q Good, neat, genteel. ^r Groves, sometimes used for a coppice.
^s Far-reen. ^t Hermit. ^u Violin. ^x Sounding. ^y Inn, or public-house. ^z Also.
^a Pleasure. ^b Annoying. ^c To keep off. ^d Ever, always.

R O B E R T E.

Thus the Shepster

In gentle slumbers *chaced* the heat of day,B. H. N^o 2. v. 82.Not meaning to *follow* or *pursue*, but to *dispel* the heat: So in Ella,To *chace* the merkynefs of nyghte awaie. V. 1128.

In the same sense the word is to be explained in Spenser's Calendar for October,

And let us cast with what delight to *chace*,And *weary* the long lingering Phæbus race.

R O B E R T E.

Oh! I coulde waile mie kynge-coppe^d -decked mees^e,
 Mie spreedynge flockes of shepe of lillie white,
 Mie tendre applynges^f, and embodyde^g trees,
 Mie Parker's Grange^h, far spreedynge to the syghte,

^d *Butter-flowers.* ^e Meadows. ^f Grafted trees, rather, Apples, or Apple-trees.

^g Thick, stout. ^h Liberty of pasture given to the Parker, rather, Arable farm.

Mic

V. 31. The neatherds in enumerating their losses, specify almost every article of profit or pleasure which could arise from a country farm.

The *King-cups*, or *King-cobbs*, (a favourite flower with Rowley, See the Song to Ella) still adorns our meads, under the name of the *Butter-flower*.

V. 33. The *Applins*, or *Apples*, were also the produce of Tityrus's farm :

—————Sunt nobis mitia poma.

And the liquor produced by them is noticed by our early writers. Wicliff, in his translation of the New Testament, gives this character of John the Baptist, Luke i. 15. "He shall drink neither win nor sidir." But the Anglosaxon translators, who wrote before that liquor was introduced into the kingdom, expressed the sense of the original by that species of fermented liquor which was then in use among them—"þe ne tunc pyn ne beop."—*Orcheyards* belonging to convents are mentioned by Pierce Plowman; and Chaucer speaks of *four sidyr*; and the Romaunt of the Rose mentions a garden,

That peches, coines, and *apples* bare.

The epithet of *tender applins*, if applied to the tree, may be contrasted, in respect to size, with those large forest or *embodied trees*, (as he calls them) which also grew on the farm: They might be called *tender*, as young trees newly planted. *Applyn*, meaning the fruit, may be stiled *tender*, being much exposed to the casualties of weather and seasons: The reader therefore may justly wonder why this word is placed amongst the objectionable ones in Mr. Tyrwhit's Appendix. If Rowley is the first author who uses this diminutive, have not other poets at all times, and in all ages, taken the same liberty? And of all diminutives, those which terminate in *ling* are the most ancient in our language, being derived from the Saxon; such as *Etheling*, *Mindling*, *Hinderling*, &c. Shakespear might with equal justice be questioned about the word *sappling*, in Richard the III^d, because that expression may not be found in any preceding writer; some critics indeed would substitute *sappling* in this passage, instead of *applyn*, as a proper contrast to the *embodied trees*: But in that age, when the kingdom was so much encumbered with wood, the use and beauty

Mie cuyen ⁱ kyne ^k, mie bullockes stringe ^l yn fyghte, 35
 Mie gorne ^m emblaunched ⁿ with the comfreie ^o plante,
 Mie floure ^p Seyncte Marie shotteyng wythe the lyghte,
 Mie store of all the bleffynge Heaven can grant.

^l Tender. ^k Cows, rather, Cow-cattle. ⁱ Strong. ^m Garden. ⁿ Whitened.

^o Cumfrey, a favourite dish at that time. ^p Marygold.

I amma

of young forest-trees was little attended to, nor any disposition shewn either to plant or cut them down, unless for necessary uses; besides, the contrast seems more elegant between barren, and fruitful, than between smaller and larger trees of the same species. Chatterton, in explaining *applyn* by *engrafted trees*, conveys neither a true nor determinate idea; but, after all, this objection may be answered another way, by shewing that *applyn* is not a diminutive, but used as the plural number of *apple*; and for this we have authority more ancient than Rowley's time, for *applin* occurs in Robert of Gloucester (see the Glossary); and *applyn* is mentioned in the book of ancient receipts in cookery, in the time of Richard the II^d, called, *The Form of Cury*, lately published by the Reverend Mr. Pegge.—N^o 17. p. 96. *Nim appelyn*, i. e. *take apples*; and p. 97. *Par applyn*, i. e. *pare apples*. In the same book we find them called *appelys*, and *appels*; and the words *oystryn*, *pisyn*, and *hennyn*, used for *oysters*, *pens*, and *hens*.

Chatterton is no less mistaken in calling the word *Grange*, a *liberty of pasture*. It means a farm producing *grain*, which is the apparent etymology of the word: Every religious house had its farm or *grange*, which provided bread for the community: They were generally situated in very fertile spots, and many of them still retain the same name. These are therefore to be added to the proofs already given, that Chatterton did not understand the language of the poems, and therefore could not have been the author of them.

V. 34. The *Parker*, or hind, had the care of the enclosures, then called *parks*; some of which were allotted for cattle, for they are described as extensive, and *far spreedynge to the fyghte*.

V. 35. *My cuyen kine*. This is another error of Chatterton; *Cuyen* is the plural of *Cu*, the Saxon word for a cow; and *Kyne*, or *cynne*, signifies, in the same language, *species*, or *generation*; and we should call them in modern English, with great propriety, *Cow-cattle*, or the *breed of cows*, as distinguished from the males, here called *Bullockes stringe yn fyghte*; alluding to the then favourite diversion of bull-baiting, for which these animals were trained.

V. 36. The contents of Robert's garden (which, according to provincial sound and pronunciation, is here called *Gorne*) are well adapted to the necessities of the peasant, and to the taste of those times. The *Cumfrey plant*, (one species of which

I am durressed ' unto forrowes blowe,
Thanten'd ' to the peyne, will lette ne falte teare flowe.

40

‡ Hardened, *or, compelled by.* ' Accustomed.

RAUFE.

which bears a white flower) has probably never decorated any garden, except that of an herbalist, since Johnson's time; and he had every species of that plant. But if the laying out the neatherd's garden had been the work of Chatterton, he would probably have selected his flowers from Shakespear or Milton, and have planted *daisies*, *pansies*, *violets*, and *cuckow-buds*, interspersed with *eglantine* and *woodbine*, the nosegays of those poets; and not have contented himself with the homely *comfrey* and *marigold*. The latter, however, is a classical flower, the *Caltha* of Virgil, with one species of which Corydon decked the bower of his beloved Alexis:

Tum casia, atque aliis intexens suavis herbis,
Mollia lutcola pingit vaccinia *caltha*. Ecl. ii. v. 49.

And set soft hyacinths with iron blue,
To shade marsh marigolds of shining hue.

Columella also thus speaks of it,

Candida leucoia, & candentia lumina *caltha*.
Stock jilly-flowers exceeding white,
And marygolds most yellow bright.

The property of this flower is mentioned by our poets (although unnoticed by the classical writers) that it opens and shuts with the sun. So Shakespear,

The marygold that goes to bed with th' sun,
And with him rises weeping.

Winter's Tale, Act iv. sc. 3.

And winking marybuds begin to ope their golden eyes.

Cymbeline, Act ii. sc. 3.

And Sir David Lindsay,

The maryguldis, that all day were rejoyfit
Of Phœbus, now craftily ar clofit.

Warton, vol. ii. p. 313.

A flower there is that shineth bright,
Some call it marygold a.

Percy, vol. ii. p. 343.

R A U F E.

Here I wille obaie ^s untylle Dethe doe 'pere,
 Here lyche a foule empoysoned leathel ^t tree,
 Whyche sleaeth ^u everichone that commeth nere,
 Soe wille I fyxed unto thys place gre ^x.
 I to bement ^y haveth moe cause than thee; 45
 Sleene in the warre mie boolie ^z fadre liës;
 Oh! joieous I hys morthêrer would flea,
 And bie hys fyde for aie enclose myne eies.
 Calked ^a from everych joie, heere wyll I blede ^b;
 Fell ys the Cullys-yatte ^c of mie hartes castlle stede. 50

^s Abide. This line is also wrote, "Here wyll I obaie untill dethe appere," but this is modernized. ^t Deadly. ^u Destroyeth, killêth. ^x Grow. ^y Lament.
^z Much-loved, beloved. ^a Cast out, ejected, or driven. ^b Stay, abide. ^c Alluding to the portcullis, which guarded the gate, on which often depended the castle.

R O B E R T E.

V. 42. It may be questioned whether there be any European tree which strictly deserves the title of *lethal* and *empoisoned*; but those terms are in some measure applicable to the Yew, which is supposed by those ancient physicians and naturalists, Galen, Dioscorides, and Theophrastus, to be of a poisonous quality. Dioscorides observes, that sleeping under the shadow of a yew-tree caused sickness, and sometimes death; nor is it doubted that the leaves are fatal to the cattle which browse upon them.—It is also well known that bows were generally made of yew; and probably it is with reference to this, that Chaucer mentions, in his R. R. v. 923. one which was made *of a tree*

That beareth fruit of favour wicke;
 Full-crokid was that foule flicke.

V. 49. Here will I *blede*. This word, unexplained by Chatterton, should more properly have been spelt *bleve*, from the A. S. word *Beliþan*, which signifies *to abide*, and is evidently the shepherd's meaning in this passage; for *bleeding* and *death* are quite out of the question here. The comparison of the human heart to a castle, and the strength of it to the portcullis, marks in the strongest terms the military ideas of that age.

R O B E R T E.

Oure woes alyche, alyche our dome ^d shal bee.
 Mie sonne, mie sonne alleyn ^e, ystorven ^f ys;
 Here wyll I staie, and end mie lyff with thee;
 A lyff lyche myn a borden ys ywis.
 Now from een logges ^g fledden is selyness ^h,
 Mynsterres ⁱ alleyn ^k can boaste the hallie ^l Seyncte,
 Now doeth Englonde weare a boudie dresse
 And wyth her champyones gore her face depeyncte;
 Peace fledde, disorder sheweth her dark rode ^m,
 And thorow ayre doth flie, yn garments steyned with bloude. 60

^d Fate. ^e My only son. ^f Dead. ^g Cottages. ^h Happyness. ⁱ Monasterys.
^k Only. ^l Holy. ^m Complexion, *or*, countenance.

ECLOGUE THE SECOND.

THE Second Eclogue contains no pastoral idea. It is rather an ode of triumph on the military achievements of King Richard the Ist, in the Crusade *. It bears some resemblance to Virgil's fourth Eclogue, each of them celebrating the praises of a hero, the one crowned with the honours of war, the other diffusing the blessings of peace.

The poet has artfully contrived to put the praises of his hero into the mouth of a private person, who, from motives of filial affection, is interested more nearly in the exploits of Richard, than the speakers in Theocritus and Virgil are in the actions of Ptolemy and Pollio.

The history of this expedition is most happily comprised within the compass of eight stanza's. It was a favourite topic with the military spirits of those times; and the merit of Richard's exploits in that war, continued in high repute long after the Crusades were ended.

The diction of the Eclogue is suited to the dignity of the subject. It abounds with compound and majestic epithets, shewing how successfully the author could adapt his stile to his subject and his metre.

* Galfrid Vinefaulf, who wrote the *Iter Ricardi Regis*, printed in Gale's *Quindecim Scriptores*, says, "that Richard had the virtue of Hector, the magnanimity of Achilles, *nec virtute junior Rollando.*"

In a poem of this kind, strict historical truth is not to be expected; but the magnificent outset of so large and formidable a fleet corresponds with the history given of Richard's embarkation from Messina in 1180, when he was attended with one hundred and fifty ships of war; but the poet speaks not of his return, it being well known that he was taken and detained prisoner by the Duke of Austria, so that his subjects and crusaders had the mortification of returning without their prince, and humbled with the additional disgrace of his captivity.

ECLOGUE THE SECOND.

SPRYTES^a of the bleste, the pious Nygelle fed,
 Poure owte yer pleasaunce^b onn mie fadres hedde.

Rycharde of Lyons harte to fyghte is gon,
 Uponne the brede^c sea doe the banners gleme^d;

The amenused^e nationnes be aston^f,
 To ken^g fyke^h large a flete, fyke fyne, fyke bremeⁱ. 5

The barkis heafods^k coupe^l the lymed^m streme;

Oundesⁿ synkeynge oundes upon the hard ake^o riefte;

The water slughornes^p wythe a swotye^q cleme^r

Conteke^s the dynnynge^t ayre, and reche the skies. 10

Sprytes of the bleste, on gouldyn trones^u astedde^x,

Poure owte yer pleasaunce onn mie fadres hedde.

^a Spirits, souls. ^b Pleasure, or blessings. ^c Broad. ^d Shine, glimmer. ^e Diminished, lessened. ^f Astonished, confounded. See, discover, know. ^g Such, so. ^h Strong, furious. ^k Heads. ^l Cut. ^m Glassy, reflecting, polished. ⁿ Waves, billows. ^o Oak. ^p A musical instrument, not unlike a hautboy, rather, a war trumpet. ^q Sweet. ^r Sound. ^s Confuse, contend with. ^t Sounding. ^u Thrones. ^x Seated.

The

V. 9. Chatterton explains the *water slughorn* as a musical instrument, not unlike a *hautboy*; but the note on v. 90 of the *Tournament* shews, that he did not understand the nature of this instrument.

The gule ^γ depeyncted ^z oares from the black tyde,
 Decorn ^a wyth fonnes ^b rare, doe shemrynge ^c ryse;
 Upfwalynge ^d doe heie ^e shewe ynne drierie pryde, 15
 Lyche gore-red estells ^f in the eve^g-merk ^h skyes;
 The nome-depeyncted ⁱ shields, the speres aryse,
 Alyche ^k talle roshes on the water fyde;
 Alenge ^l from bark to bark the bryghte sheene ^m flyes;
 Sweft-kerv'd ⁿ delyghtes doe on the water glyde. 20
 Sprites of the bleste, and everich Seyncte ydedde,
 Poure owte youre pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde

The Sarafen lokes owte: he doethe feere,
 That Englonde's brondecous ^o fonnes do cotte the waie.
 Lyke honted bockes, theye reineth ^p here and there, 25
 Onknowlachynge ^q inne whatte place to obaie ^r.

^γ Red. ^z Painted. ^a Carved. ^b Devices. ^c Glimmering, *or shining*. ^d Rising high, swelling up. ^e They. ^f A corruption of *estoile*, Fr. a star. ^g Evening. ^h Dark. ⁱ Rebus'd shields; a herald term, when the charge of the shield implies the name of the bearer. ^k Like. ^l Along. ^m Shine. ⁿ Short-lived, *rather, quick-made bubbles*. ^o Furious. ^p Runneth. ^q Not knowing. ^r Abide.

The

V. 20. The *swift-kerv'd delights* which on the water glide, may allude to the foam and bubbles of the sea, created by the motion of their oars. Spenser has a description similar to this,

And the light bubbles daunced all along,
 Whilst the salt brine out of the billows sprung.

V. 25. Lyke honted bockes, theye reineth here and there.
 This is the idea of Homer,

Φυζακινῆς ἐλάφουσιν ἐκίεσαν, αἶτε καθ' ὕλην

* * * * *

*Αὐτως ἠλόσκειται.

Il. N. v. 102.

Like frightened fawns, from hill to hill pursu'd.

Pope, B. xiii. v. 143.

The banner glesters on the beme of daie ;
 The mitte ^f croffe Jerusalem ys scene ;
 Dhereof the syghte yer corrage doe affraie ^f,
 In balefull ^f dole their faces be ywreene ^u. 30
 Sprytes of the bleste, and everich Seyncte ydedde,
 Poure owte your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde.

The bollengers ^x and cottess ^y, foe fwyfte yn fyghte,
 Upon the sydes of everich bark appere ;
 Foorthe to his offyce lepethe everych knyghte, 35
 Eftsoones ^z hys squyer; with hys shielde and spere.
 The jynynge ^a shieldes doe shemre and moke glare ^b;
 The dosheyng oare doe make gemoted ^c dynne ;
 The reynynge ^d foemen ^e, thynckeynge gif ^f to dare,
 Boun ^e the merk ^h swerde, theie feche to fraie ⁱ, theie blyn ^k.

^f Mighty. ^a Affright. ^c Woeful. ^u Covered. ^x ^y Different kinds of boats. ^z Full soon, presently. ^a Joining. ^b Much, glitter. ^c United, assembled. ^d Running. ^e Foes. ^f If. ^g Make ready. ^h Dark. ⁱ Engage. ^k Cease, stand still.

Sprytes

V. 28. Instead of *the mitte croffe*, read *this mitte croffe, Jerusalem, ys scene*; which will correct the grammar, and add propriety and beauty to the expression.

V. 33. The *bollengers* and *cottess* were smaller vessels, used for the convenience of disembarking the troops: They are very well known to our English historians, Walsingham, Froissart, and Rymer, under the name of *Ballingers*; by Spelman erroneously called *Babingers*: Gawin Douglas mentions them in his translation of the *Æneid*;

And mony grete schip, *ballingare* and *bark*, Æn. iv. p. 113. v. 41.

Du Fresnoe calls them *navis bellicæ species*; and there is an order of Henry the IVth (issued in 1401, on the report of an invasion,) to certain cities, boroughs, and villis, to provide *bargeas* & *balingeras*, quæ cæteris navibus tempore guerræ prævalent, pro salvâ custodiâ maris. (Rymer, tom. viii. p. 172.) The *ballinger*, though probably larger than the *cott*, was smaller than the *barge*; for the navy appointed by the same king, for Thomas de Lancastre, his admiral, was to consist of “twenty grand niefs de Toure, twenty barges, and twenty balengers.” (Ibidem, p. 389.) Gawin Douglas mentions both these vessels,

Quhil at the last bayth *ballingare* and *barge*

Æn. Lib. vi. v. 2. Douglas, p. 162—19.

Sprytes of the bleste, and everyche Seyncte ydedde, 41
Powre oute yer pleasaunce onne mie fadres hedde.

Now comm the warrynge Sarafyns to fyghte ;
Kynge Rycharde, lyche a lyoncel ¹ of warre,
Inne sheenyng goulde, lyke feerie ^m gronfersⁿ, dyghte^o, 45
Shaketh alofe hys honde, and feene afarre.

Syke haveth I espyde a greter starre
Amenge the drybblett ^p ons to sheene fulle bryghte ;
Syke funnys wayne ^q wyth amayl'd ^r beames doe barr
The blaunchie ^s mone or estells ^t to gev lyghte. 50

Sprytes of the bleste, and everich Seyncte ydedde,
Poure owte your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde.

¹ A young lion. ^m Flaming. ⁿ A meteor, from *gron*, a fen, and *fer*, a corruption of fire; that is, a fire exhaled from a fen. ^o Deckt. ^p Small, insignificant. ^q Carr.
^r Enameled. ^s White, silver. ^t Stars.

Disfraughte

V. 45. The armour of King Richard, "being of *sheenyng goulde* and *lyke feerie gronfers*," was probably adorned with inlaid work, representing the sun and the stars, to which it is compared in the following lines; the same idea may be alluded to in the 68th line:

The waylynge *mone* doth fade before hys *sonne* ;
The *moon* or crescent being the standard of the Turks; and the word *waylynge* does not signify *lamenting*, but, as Chatterton has truly explained it, *decreasing*, or, as it is still called, *wayning*. The *gronfer*, a fiery meteor proceeding from *grons* or *fens*, is more than once alluded to in this poetry. It is called in *Ella*,

A sommer morie *gronfer* droke. v. 460.

— A rodde *gronfer* — v. 642.

And in Goodwin,

—— Brendeynge *gronfyres*. v. 200.

V. 47. The similies of the sun and stars are evidently copied from Homer:

Οἷος δ' ἀστὴρ εἴσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ

"Ἐσπερος, ὅς κάλλιστος ἐν ἔρανῳ ἴσται ἀστὴρ.

Il. X. v. 317.

As radiant Hesper shines with keener light,

For beaming o'er the fainter host of night.

Pope, B. xxii. l. 399.

Distrughte ^u affraie ^x, wythe lockes of blodde-red die,
 Terroure, emburled ^y yn the thonders rage,
 Deathe, lynked to dismaie, dothe ugosome ^z flie, 55
 Enchafynge ^a echone champyonne war to wage.
 Speeres bevylye ^b speres; swerdes upon swerdes engage;
 Armour on armour dynn ^c, shielde upon shielde;
 Ne dethe of thofandes can the warre assuage,
 Botte falleyng numbers fable ^d all the feelde. 60

^u Distracting. ^x Affright, *fright, or fear*. ^y Armed. ^z Terribly. ^a Encouraging, heating. ^b Break, a herald term, signifying a spear broken in tilting, *or bend to*. ^c Sounds. ^d Blacken.

Sprytes

Or, as it is said of another star,

————— ἀρίζηλοι δὲ εἰς αὐγὰς
 φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἄστρασι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ.
 Il. X. v. 27.

And o'er the feeble stars exerts his ray. Pope.

Spenser has twice copied the same idea,

————— A precious stone,
 Shaped by a lady's hand, exceeding shone,
 Like Hesperus among the lesser lights. B. i. c. 7. st. 30.

And again,

Compared to her that shone as *Phæbus bright*,
 Among the lesser stars, in evening clear.
 B. iv. c. 5. st. 14.

V. 53. The ideas conveyed in the three next lines, are those of the terrific sublime, very expressive, and much in the stile of the Iliad.

Δεῖμός τ' ἠδὲ φόβος, καὶ Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα.
 Il. Δ. v. 440.

Pale Flight around, and dreadful Terror reign,
 And Discord raging bathes the purple plain.

Pope, B. iv. v. 50.

V. 57. Nor is the following description of the engagement less Homeric;

Φράξαντες δόρυ δαρή, σάκος σάκει προθυλύνω,
 Ἄσπερ ἄρ' ἄσπερ' ἔριδι, κύρυσ κύρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ.
 Il. N. v. 130.

Spears

Sprytes of the bleste, and everych Seyncte ydedde,
Poure owte youre pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde.

The foemen fal arounde; the crofs reles ^e hye;
Steyned ynne goere, the harte of warre ys seen;
Kyng Rycharde, thorough everyche trope dothe fle, 65
And beereth meynte ^f of Turkes onto the greene;
Bie hymm the floure of Asies menn ys sleene ^g;
The waylynge ^h mone doth fade before hys sonne;
Bie hym hys knyghtes bee formed to actions deene ⁱ,
Doeynge syke marvells ^k, strongers be aston ^l. 70

Sprytes of the bleste, and everych Seyncte ydedde,
Poure owte your pleasaunce onn mie fadres hedde.

^e Waves. ^f Many, great numbers. ^g Slain. ^h Decreasing. ⁱ Glorious, worthy.
^k Wonders. ^l Astonished.

The

Spears lean on spears, on targets targets throng;
Helms stuck to helms, and man drove man along.

Pope, B. xiii. v. 181.

See also Iliad II. v. 214.

Homer indeed thus describes the *march* of the army, but Rowley is speaking of the *actual engagement*.

V. 66. The poet uses the words *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Asia's men* as synonymous; but he speaks by anticipation of the Turks, who having conquered the Saracens, against whom the Crusade was directed, became a sovereign power in 1274, and fixed their seat of empire at Constantinople in 1453. Though they were originally Heathens, they embraced Mahometism, the religion of the people whom they had conquered. The terrible ideas which the Christians had entertained of the Saracens during the crusade, made the writers of those times to rank them under the general title of Heathens, who are by them stiled *Saracens*. Thus Gower and Pierce Plowman call Trajan a *Saracen*; and a poetical version of the Gospels for Sundays, not less ancient than Chaucer's time, gives the same name to the Heathens mentioned in the Old Testament. Robert of Gloucester says, that St. Edwyn forsook the *Law Sarracyn*, i. e. the Pagan religion. And in a romance of Merlin (Cotton Library, Caligula, A. 2. f. 33,) the Saxons are called *Saracens*.

The fyghte ys wonne ; Kynge Rycharde master is ;
 The Englonde bannerr kisseth the hie ayre ;
 Full of pure joie the armie is iwys ^m, 75
 And everych one haveth it onne his bayre ⁿ ;
 Agayne to Englonde comme, and worschepped there,
 Twyghte ^o into lovyng armes, and feasted eft ^r ;
 In everych eyne aredyng ^a nete of wyere ^r,
 Of all remembrance of past peyne berefte 80
 Sprites of the bleste, and everich Seyncte ydedde,
 Syke pleasures powre upon mie fadres hedde.

Syke Nigel sed, whan from the bluie sea
 The upswol ^s sayle dyd daunce before his eyne ;
 Swefte as the wishe, hee toe the beeche dyd flee, 85
 And founde his fadre steppeynge from the bryne.
 Lette thyssen ^t menne, who haveth sprite of loove,
 Bethyncke untoe hemselfes how mote the meetynge proove.

^m Certainly. ⁿ Brow, *or beaver*. ^o Plucked, pulled. ^r Often. ^a *No consideration, or thought*. ^t Grief, trouble. ^s Swollen. ^t *These*.

V. 74. *The Englonde bannerr*, is put for *the English banner* ; and *bayre*, v. 76, is only a contraction for *beaver*, meaning his head or his face.

The poet has brought home the ship which carried Nigel's father, making it the object of joy and triumph ; but the personal return of Richard is not mentioned, either by Nigel or the poet : And as to the return of his army, what is said v. 77. is perhaps mere poetic vision, in which Nigel anticipates his wishes ; at least it might be thought improper to lessen the splendor of that expedition, by taking notice of the unfortunate accident that attended it : Nor should it pass unremarked, that the repeated invocation of the blessed spirits at the end of each stanza, is not only a mark of antiquity, but also a great additional beauty to the poem.

ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

THE third Eclogue is a moral essay formed upon a pastoral plan, wherein the author does justice to his own character as a pious ecclesiastic and instructive moralist; whilst he copies the genuine ideas and language of the peasants in their part of the dialogue. A chastity and delicacy of sentiment, united with the most serious impressions of religion and virtue, are the distinguishing characters of Rowley's poems: He seems a stranger to every irreligious and impure idea; and if there be found a passage in this Eclogue less delicate than in any other of his poems, it must be considered as a sacrifice to the justice of the character he meant to represent, by copying a deformity, in order to preserve a closer resemblance with the original.

The various metres of this dialogue, and the transition of it from a slow to a quicker measure, are remarkably expressive of gravity and mirth.

ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

WOULDST thou kenn nature in her better parte?
 Goe, ferche the logges ^a and bordels ^b of the hynde ^c;
 Gyff ^d theie have anie, itte ys roughe-made arte,
 Inne hem ^e you see the blakied ^f forme of kynde ^g.
 Haveth your mynde a lycheynge ^h of a mynde? 5
 Woulde it kenne everich thyng, as it mote ⁱ bee?
 Woulde ytte here phraſe of the vulgar from the hynde,
 Withoute wiſeegger ^k wordes and knowlache ^l free?
 Gyf ſoe, rede thys, whyche Iche dysſporteynge ^m pende;
 Gif nete beſyde, yttes rhyme maie ytte commende. 10

M A N N E.

Botte whether, fayre mayde, do ye goe?

O where do ye bende yer waie?

I wille knowe whether you goe,

I wylle not bee aſſeled ⁿ naie.

^a Lodges, huts. ^b Cottages. ^c Servant, ſlave, peaſant. ^d If. ^e A contraction of *them*. ^f Naked, original. ^g Nature. ^h Liking, *an idea of likenesſs*. ⁱ Might. The ſenſe of this line is, Would you ſee every thing in its primæval ſtate. ^k Wiſe-egger, a philoſopher. ^l Knowledge. ^m Sporting. ⁿ Answered.

W O M A N N E.

V. 11 & 12. A very natural and eaſy introduction to the dialogue, not unlike one in Evans's Collection of Ancient Ballads, vol. i. p. 91. Robin Hood ſays,

Fair lady, whither away?

O whither, fair lady, away?

W O M A N N E.

To Robyn and Nell, all downe in the delle, 15
To hele^o hem at makeynge of haie.

M A N N E.

Syr Roggerre, the parfone, hav hyred mee there,
Comme, comme, lett us tryppe ytte awaie,
We'lle wurke^p and we'lle syng, and wylle drenche^q of
stronge beer
As longe as the merrie fommers daie. 20

W O M A N N E.

How harde ys mie dome to wurch!
Moke is mie woe.
Dame Agnes, whoe lies ynn the Chyrche
With birlette^r golde,
Wythe gelten^s aumeres^t stronge^u ontolde, 25
What was shee moe than me, to be foe?

^o Aid, or help. ^p Work. ^q Drink. ^r A hood, or covering for the back part of the head. ^s Gilded. ^t Borders of gold and silver, on which was laid thin plates of either metal counterchanged, not unlike the present spangled laces, or bracelets. ^u Strung.

M A N N E.

V. 24. The object of envy and discontent in the woman, was the *head-dress* and *girdle* of Dame Agnes, which were at that time the distinguishing parts of female attire: So late as Henry the VIIIth's time, anno 1534, Sir Thomas More thus writes to Mrs. Roper, "which thing, (i.e. a farther search of his houses) if it should happen, can make but game to us that know the trouth of my poverty; but if (i.e. unless) they fynd out my wyves *gay gyrdle and her gilden bedes*." See his works, p. 1447.

The *Birlette* or *Beurelette*, a diminutive from the French *Beurette*, (in modern Italian *Beretta*) signified a covering for the head, which was probably ornamented with gold, not unlike the head-dress of Olympias, described by Adam Davie.

Yer yallow har was fayre attired,

Mid riche stringe of gold wired. Warton, vol. i. p. 223.

V. 25. The *gelten aumeres stronge ontolde*, might have been golden or gilt bracelets

M A N N E.

I kenne Syr Roger from afar

Tryppynge over the lea ;

Ich ask whie the loverds^x son

Is moe than mee.

30

S Y R R O G E R R E.

The sweltrie^y sonne dothe hie apace hys wayne^z,From everich beme a sème^a of lyfe doe falle;Swythyn^b scille^c oppe the haie uponne the playne ;Methynckes the cockes begynneth to gre^d talle.Thys ys alyche oure doome^e; the great, the smalle, 35Moste withe^f and bee forwyned^g by deathis darte.See ! the swote^h flouretteⁱ hathe noe swote at alle ;Itte wythe the ranke wede bereth eualle^k parte.The cravent^l, warrioure, and the wyfe be blente^m,Alyche to drie awaie wythe those theie dyd bementeⁿ. 40

M A N N E.

All-a-boon^o, Syr Priest, all-a-boon,

Bye yer preeftschype nowe faye unto mee ;

^x Lord. ^y Sultry. ^z Car. ^a Seed. ^b Quickly, presently. ^c Gather, *or*, *close up*.^d Grow. ^e Fate. ^f A contraction of wither. ^g Dried. ^h Sweet. ⁱ Flower.^k Equal. ^l Coward. ^m Ceased, dead, no more, *rather, mixed, united*. ⁿ Lament.^o A manner of asking a favour.

Syr

bracelets or girdles, strung with a number of glass or amber beads ; an ornament much used in those days.

V. 39. Chatterton has mistaken the meaning of the word *blent*, which in this passage signifies *mixed*, not *ceased*, or *dead*. This participle, as Mr. Tyrwhit has observed, is derived from four different verbs, and applied to four different significations, viz. *dead*, *blinded*, *mixed*, and *shrunk*.

The daily amusements of the peasant are characteristical of that age, and it would have been difficult for a modern poet to have drawn so just a resemblance.

V. 41. The term *a la boon*, is as much as to say, *by your favour* ; and the repetition of it is justified by the Ballad of King Arthur ;

A Boon,

Syr Gaufryd the knyghte, who lyvethe harde bie,
Whie shoulde hee than mee

Bee more greate,

45

Inne honnoure, knyghtehood and estate?

S Y R R O G E R R E.

Attourne^r thine cyne arounde thys haied mee,

Tentyflie^a loke arounde the chaper^r delle^s;

An answere to thie barganette^r here see,

Thys welked^u flourette wylle a lesen telle :

50

Arif^t it blew^y, itte florished, and dyd welle,

Lokeynge ascaunce^z upon the naighboure greene;

Yet with the deigned^a greene yttes rennome^b felle,

Eftsoones^c ytte shronke upon the daie-brente^d playne,

Didde not yttes loke, whilest ytte there dyd stonde,

55

To croppes ytte in the bodde move somme dred honde.

Syke^e ys the waie of lyffe; the loverds^f ente^g

Mooveth the robber hym therfor to flea^h;

Gyf thou has etheⁱ, the shadowe of contente,

^r Turn. ^a Carefully, with circumspection. ^t Dry, sun-burnt. ^s Valley.
^e A song, or ballad. ^u Withered. ^x Arisen, or arose. ^y Blossomed. ^z Disdain-
fully, aside. ^a Disdained. ^b Glory. ^c Quickly. ^d Burnt. ^e Such. ^f Lord's.
^g A purse or bag. ^h Slay. ⁱ Ease.

Believe

A Boone, A Boone, O King Arthur,

I beg a Boone of thee. Percy, vol. iii. p. 12.

So in Evans's Old Ballads, vol. i. p. 124.

Aboon, Aboon then Robin cries,

if thou will grant it me.

And in the Ballad of Robin Hood and the Curtal Fryer; p. 140.

Aboon, Aboon, thou Curtal Fryer;

I beg it on my knee.

See also, p. 153.

V. 56. The *dred honde* means a bold hand, one that was to be dreaded.

Beleive the trothe *, theres none moe haile ¹ yan thee. 60
 Thou wurchest ^m; welle, canne thatte a trobble bee?
 Slothe moe wulde jade thee than the roughest daie.
 Coudest thou the kiverled ⁿ of foughlys ^o fee,
 Thou wouldst eftsoones ^p fee trothe ynne whatte I faie;
 Botte lette me heere thie waie of lyffe, and thenne 65
 Heare thou from me the lyffes of odher menne.

M A N N E.

I ryse wythe the sonne,
 Lyche hym to dryve the wayne ^q,
 And eere mie wurchen is don
 I synge a songe or twayne ^r. 70
 I followe the plough-tayle,
 Wythe a longe jubb ^s of ale.
 Botte of the maydens, oh!
 Itte lacketh notte to telle;
 Syre Preefte mote notte crie woe, 75
 Culde hys bull do as welle.
 I daunce the beste heiedeygnes ^t,
 And foile ^u the wyfest feygnes ^x.
 On everych Seynctes hie daie
 Wythe the mynstrelle ^y am I seene, 80
 All a footeygne it awaie,
 Wythe maydens on the greene.
 But oh! I wyshe to be moe greate,
 In rennome, tenure, and estate.

* Truth. ¹ Happy. ^m Workest. ⁿ The hidden or secret part of. ^o Souls.
^p Full soon, or presently. ^q Car. ^r Two. ^s A bottle. ^t A country dance, still
 practised in the North. ^u Baffle. ^x A corruption of scints, *a term of fencing*.
^y A minstrel is a musician.

SYR ROGERRE.

Has thou ne feene a tree uponne a hylle, 85

Whose unliste ^z braunces ^a rechen far toe fyghte;

Whan fuired ^b unwers ^c doe the heaven fylle,

Itte shaketh deere ^d yn dole ^e and moke affryghte.

Whylest the congeon ^f flowrette abessie ^g dyghte ^h,

Stondethe unhurte, unquaced ⁱ bie the storme: 90

Syke is a picte ^k of lyffe: the manne of myghte

Is tempest-chast ^l, hys woe greate as hys forme,

Thiefelfe a flowrette of a small accounte,

Wouldst harder felle the wynde, as hygher thee dydste mounte.

^z Unbounded. ^a Branches. ^b Furious. ^c Tempests, storms. ^d Dire. ^e Dismay.
^f Dwarf. ^g Humility. ^h Decked, *or*, *humbly clad*. ⁱ Unhurt, *not destroyed*.
^k Picture. ^l Tempest-beaten.

V. 91. *Syke is a pyete of lyffe*: and can any pencil paint it in more just and lively colours? But how could an unprincipled youth, who knew little, and thought less about the mutability of human affairs, whose attention had been directed to the objects of pleasure and of dissipation only, dictate a conversation replete with sentiments of religion and morality, and so well adapted in every respect to the characters of the speakers?

The concluding simile may remind the reader of Horace's observation:

Sæpius ventis agitur ingens
 Pinus, et celsæ graviore lapsu
 Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
 Fulmina montes.

And in this respect it bears the distinguishing mark of Rowley, who generally concludes his subject either with a striking catastrophe or with an excellent precept of morality. The first and fourth Eclogues, the Ode to Ella, and the English Metamorphosis, terminate in the former stile; whilst the Tragedies of Ella and Godwin, the Ballad of Charity, the History of Sir Charles Bawdin, the second and third Eclogue, and the two Poems on our Lady's Church, may serve as examples of the latter.

E C L O G U E T H E F O U R T H,

O R

E L I N O U R E A N D J U G A.

THE fourth Eclogue is truly pastoral, and formed on the same plan with the first; representing the confusion and melancholy effects of the civil war at that time raging between the Houses of York and Lancaster. In the first Eclogue, the complainants were peasants deploring the loss of their substance; in this, *two pynnyng maydens* lament their lovers slain at the battle of Bernard's Heath, near Saint Albans, fought on the 17th of February 1461, between Queen Margaret and the Earl of Warwick, wherein the Earl was defeated with the loss of 2800 men, and in consequence of it King Henry regained his liberty. The scene of the dialogue is properly laid on the banks of a rivulet, which rises a few miles north of the village of *Rudborn* in Hertfordshire, and passing near Saint Albans, mixes its waters with the Colne: The etymology of the rivulet is alluded to, v. 39, and explained by Chatterton's note on v. 1. It was undoubtedly its original Saxon name, the village being still denominated from it; though, where it washes the ruins of the ancient Verulamium, it is called *Verlume*, and by the modern maps *Wonner*. But it is

no unusual circumstance for rivers to bear different names in different part of their course, and to assume those of the towns or parishes by which they pass. The vicinity of it to the scene of battle justifies the poet's choice, and makes it incredible that Chatterton could have been the author of the Eclogue, unless we can suppose him to have been acquainted not only with the history of that battle, but also with the geography of the country, together with the situation and etymology of the place, which he has chosen for the scene of the poem.

If Chatterton had been the author of this Eclogue, it is highly improbable that he should at the same time have penned an imitation of it in modern poetry, exerting his best abilities under a feigned name, and then attempting to rival himself under another signature, which equally concealed him from the public. The original Eclogue, sent by him to the Town and Country Magazine, was dated May 1769, and printed in the same month. The imitation either accompanied or soon followed the original, for it appeared in the Magazine for June, but was not subscribed with Chatterton's usual initials, D. B. which he sometimes varied, and at other times totally omitted; it professed to be written by *W. S. A. aged 16*. The short interval between the publication of these two pieces, the style of poetry so much resembling Chatterton's other compositions, and the age of the author so accurately pointed out, determine this second Eclogue to Chatterton; it was probably written some time before it was sent to the Printer, especially as the original had been at least a twelvemonth in his possession. The simplicity of Rowley's ideas, the purity, ease, and fluency of his language, might have encouraged this attempt; in which he has so far succeeded, as only not to equal the original; but there wants no better proof of his inferiority to Rowley in point of poetic expression, than to compare the concluding lines of his imitation, with those of the original Eclogue.

ELINORE

E L I N O U R E A N D J U G A.

ONNE Ruddeborne^a bank twa pynynge Maydens fate,
 Their teares faste dryppeynge to the waterre cleere;
 Echone bementynge^b for her absente mate,
 Who atte Seyncte Albouns shouke the morthynge^c speare.
 The nottebrowne Elinoure to Juga fayre 5
 Dydde speke acroole^d wythe languishment of eyne,
 Lyche droppes of pearlie dew, lemed^e the quyvryng brine.

E L I N O U R E.

O gentle Juga! heare mie dernie^f plainte,
 To fyghte for Yorke mie love ys dyghte^g in stele;
 O maie ne sanguen^h steine the whyte rose peyncte, 10
 Maie good Senecte Cuthberte wathe Syrre Roberte wele.
 Mokeⁱ moe thanne deathe in phantasie I feele;
 See! see! upon the grounde he bleedynge lies;
 Inhild^k some joice^l of lyfe, or else mie deare love dies.

^a Rudborne (in Saxon, red-water), a river near Saint Albans, famous for the battles there fought between the Houses of Lancaster and York. ^b Lamenting. ^c Murdering. ^d Faintly, *rather, in a murmuring tone*. ^e Glistered. ^f Sad complaint, *or secret*. ^g Arrayed, or cased. ^h Bloody. ⁱ Much. ^k Infuse. ^l Juice.

J U G A.

J U G A.

Syfters in forrowe, on thys daife-ey'd ^m banke, 15
 Where melancholych broods, we wyll lamente;
 Be wette wythe mornynge dewe and evene danke;
 Lyche levynde ⁿ okes in eche the odher bente,
 Or lyche forlettenn ^o halles of merriemente,
 Whose gaftlie mitches ^p holde the traine of fryghte ^q, 20
 Where lethale ^r ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.

[E L I N O U R E.]

No moe the mifkynette ^s fhall wake the morne,
 The minftrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
 No moe the amblynge palfrie and the horne
 Shall from the leffel ^t rouze the foxe awaie; 25
 I'll feke the forefte alle the lyve-longe daie;
 Alle nete ^u amenge the gravde chyrche glebe ^x wyll goe,
 And to the paffante Spryghtes lecture ^y mie tale of woe.

^m Probably *daified*. ⁿ Blasted, with lightning. ^o Forfaken. ^p Ruins, fragments.
^q Fear. ^r Deadly, or deathboding. ^s A small bagpipe. ^t In a confined fenfe, a
 bufh or hedge, though fometimes ufed as a foreft. ^u Night. ^x Church-yard.
^y Relate.

[J U G A.]

V. 19. Conveys fome of thofe horrid ideas, which receive wonderful force from the powers of Rowley's imagination. The ghafly *mitches*, in Latin *micæ*, in French *miches*, mean the broken and hideous *scraps*, or *fragments*, of ruined buildings. The ftile of the following ftanza has a caft of that poet's turn, whom *melancholy had marked for her own*, and who found a fingular pleafure in expreffing fuch folitary ideas :

The breezy call of incenfe-breathing morn,
 The fwallow twittering from his ftaw-built fhed,
 The cock's thrill clarion, or the ecchoing horn,
 No more fhall rouse them from their lonely bed.

Poem in a Church-yard.

[JUGA.]

Whan mokie ^e cloudis do hange upon the ieme
 Of leden ^a Moon, ynn sylver mantels dyghte ; 30
 The tryppeynge Faeries weve the golden dreme
 Of Selynefs ^b, whyche flyethe wythe the nyghte ;
 Thenne (botte the Seynctes forbydde !) gif to a spryte
 Syrr Rychardes forme ys lyped ^c, I'll holde dystraughte ^d
 Hys bledeynge claie-colde corse, and die eche daie ynn thoughte.

E L I N O U R E.

Ah woe bementynge ^e wordes ; what wordes can shewe ! 36
 Thou limer ^f ryver, on thie linche ^g maie bleede
 Champyons, whose bloude wyll wythe thie waterres flowe,
 And Rudborne streeme be Rudborne streeme indeede !
 Haste, gentle Juga, tryppe ytte oere the meade, 40
 To knowe, or wheder we muste waile agayne,
 Or wythe oure fallen knyghtes be mended ^h onne the plain.

Soe sayinge, lyke twa levyn-blasted ⁱ trees,
 Or twayne of cloudes that holdeth stormie rayne ;
 Theie moved gentle oere the dewie mees ^k, 45
 To where Seyncte Albons holic shrynes remayne.
 There dyd theye fynde that bothe their knyghtes were slayne,
 Distraughte ^l theie wandered to swollen Rudbornes fyde,
 Yelled theyre leathalle knelle ^m, sonke ynn the waves, and dyde.

^a Black, or thick. ^b Decreasing, or heavy. ^c Happiness. ^d Linked, or likened, *qu.*
^e Distracted. ^f Wee-bewailing. ^g Glassy. ^h Bank. ⁱ Mingled. ^j Lightning-
 fruck. ^k Meadows. ^l Distracted. ^m Funeral knell.

ONN OURE LADIES CHYRCHE.

UNDER the last head of Rowley's poetry, are to be ranked those compositions which celebrate the history and munificence of his friend Canning, and to these he lays a personal claim, by declaring the merits of his patron to be

Greeter than can bie *Rowlies* pen be scande. v. 12.

The two poems on our Lady's (i. e. Redcliff) church, seem to be misplaced in point of chronological order; for the latter, which mentions its *defying fyre-levyn and mokie storms*, and speaks of the *tall spire*, v. 20, as a wonderful structure, must have been penned before that spire was thrown down by lightning; which, according to the MS. Chronicles of Bristol, happened in 1445, soon after it was erected, and, it is said, did much hurt in divers places: William of Wircestre, who wrote about the year 1480, speaks in more than one passage of the accident which happened to this steeple:—"Altitudo turris de Redcliff continet 300 pedes, " de quibus 100 pedes, sunt per fulmen dejecti." p. 120. Again, p. 196, "Quæ quidem spera stat modo ultra 100 pedes." And again, p. 244, "Speræ altitudo ut isto die stat, quamvis defalcatur ex fortunâ procellæ & fulminis 200 pedes, per relationem " Norton Magistri Ecclesiæ de Redcliff." The second poem, therefore, must have been penned before the year 1445, unless the

author wilfully concealed the accident which had happened to the favourite structure of his beloved friend. As to the former of these poems, the date is clearly ascertained by the title of *Reverend Father*, given to Canning, which could not belong to him till the year 1468, when he was ordained priest, by Carpenter, bishop of Worcester.

Though the fabrick is stiled in this poem *our Ladies Church*, yet it is more than once called a *chapel*, as if it was only a part of, and not the entire edifice. It is also put on the same footing with a chapel which he built at Westbury;

And eke another in the town,
Where glassy bubbling Trim doth run.

But that chapel, which only made a part of the present parochial church of Westbury, cannot be admitted to any comparison with the magnificent structure of Redcliff church; and it seems to be a question yet undecided, whether William Canning was the sole builder, or only the principal benefactor to this latter edifice: In both these poems, and in one called *the Parliament of Sprites*, (yet unpublished in Mr. Barrett's hands) he is spoken of as the sole founder; but the Chronicle of Bristol, before cited, gives him only the credit of a principal benefactor. "Anno 1441. "This year, William Canninge, and *others* of the worshipfulle "towne of Bristol, employed masons, workmen, and labourers, "and did repair, edify, cover, and glaze Saint Mary Redcliff "church, at his and their own proper costs."

It may be observed also, that William Wircestre, a native of Bristol, and contemporary with Canning, (whose accounts and measurements of that building are so precise and accurate) who mentions Canning's trade and riches, his house and college of priests at Redcliff, does not speak of him either as the *sole*, or even *principal benefactor* to the work; even the evidence contained in Canning's will is far from being decisive; for he orders himself to be buried "*in loco quem construi feci in parte australi*
" *ejusdem*

“ ejusdem ecclesiæ, juxta altare S^{te} Catharinæ, ubi corpus
 “ Johannæ uxoris meæ est sepultum *.”

Accordingly, his monument is placed under the principal southern window, in the south transept of the church, near to which the altar of Saint Catharine probably stood: But would Canning have defined the place of his interment by the words *locum quem construi feci*, if he had been the sole builder of the church? It may be inferred, on the other hand, from the uniformity of the structure, that the whole was built at the same time; and both ancient and modern tradition give the credit of it to Mr. Canning; nor is the acknowledgement of this point more in favour of Chatterton's, than of Rowley's claim to these poems.

The church of Westbury (to the deanery of which William Canning was collated June 3d 1469, on the resignation of Henry Sampson) was originally collegiate, founded by Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, in 1288, and afterwards augmented by various benefactors. It had five prebendal stalls, one of which, (viz. that of Aust) was enjoyed by the famous Wicliff. Bishop Carpenter conceived such a partiality for the place, that he spent a great part of his time there, adding the title of Westbury to his episcopal one of Worcester, (whence William Wircestre calls it “ Ecclesiam Cathedralen”) and ordered himself to be buried there, though he died at Northwick in Worcestershire. It appears by Canning's will, that Bishop Carpenter founded a chapel there for six priests and six almsmen; for he bequeaths “ sex presbiteris novæ capellæ nuper fundatæ per reverendum admodum Johannem Episcopum Wigornensem, 3s. & “ 4d. ad orandum pro animâ meâ.—Sex pauperibus elemosynariis de Westbury fundatis per eundem Episcopum 12d.;” and though he is said by Sir Robert Atkyns and Bishop Tanner

* William Canning's will is dated November 12, 1474. It was proved the 29th of the same month, and is in the Prerogative Office, in a book called Wattie, p. 125.

“ to have rebuilt the college, and to have founded an almshouse “ there,” yet the former might be meant chiefly of the habitable part of the building, and the chapel begun by Bishop Carpenter, which he might have finished, and to whose priests and almsmen, as well as to the fellows, chaplains, deacons, and choristers of the church, he bequeaths small legacies, without mentioning any endowment of his own ; and gives only forty shillings to the fabrick of the church.

The new chapel of Bishop Carpenter, is probably that which now forms the southern chancel of the parish church ; on the north side of which is a recumbent figure in stone of Bishop Carpenter, dressed in his episcopal habit ; and on the floor are many painted tiles, some with the arms of Bishop Carpenter, others with those of the Berkeley family, the remains of the ancient pavement. Ross of Warwick tells us, that miracles were performed at the tomb of Bishop Carpenter ; a proof that he was highly beloved and respected in that neighbourhood.

ONN OURE LADIES CHYRCHE.

A S onn a hylle one eve fittyng,
 At oure Ladie's Chyrche mouche wonderyng,
 The counyng handieworke so fyne,
 Han well nighe dazeled mine eyne ;
 Quod I ; some counyng fairie hande 5
 Yreer'd ^a this chapelle in this lande ;
 Full well I wote ^b so fine a syghte
 Was ne yreer'd of mortall wighte.
 Quod Trouthe ; thou lackest knowlachyng ^c ;
 Thou forsoth ne wotteth of the thyng. 10
 A Rev'rend Fadre, William Canyng hight ^d ,
 Yreered uppe this chapelle brighte ;
 And eke another in the Towne,
 Where glassie bubblyng Trymme doth roun.
 Quod I ; ne doubte for all he's given 15
 His fowle will certes goe to heaven.
 Yea, quod Trouthe ; than goe thou home,
 And see thou doe as hee hath donne.
 Quod I ; I doubte, that can ne bee ;
 I have ne gotten markes three. 20

^a *Erected.* ^b *Knew.* ^c *Understanding.* ^d *Named.*

Quod Trouthe ; as thou haft got, give almes-dedes foe ;
 Canynges and Gaunts culde doe ne moe.

T. R.

V. 22. *Gaunts* was a collegiate church, founded by Sir Henry Gaunt, who quitted the world, and retired thither for devotion. It was afterwards converted into an hospital for orphans. See Leland's Itin. vol. vii. p. 85.

ON THE SAME.

STAY, curious traveller, and pafs not bye,
 Until this fetive ^a pile aftounde thine eye.
 Whole rocks on rocks with yron joynd furveie,
 And okes with okes entremed ^b difponed ^c lie.
 This mightie pile, that keeps the wyndes at baie, 5
 Fyre-levyn ^d and the mokie ^e ftorme defie,
 That fhootes aloofe into the reaulmes of daie,
 Shall be the record of the Buylfers fame for aie.

Thou feeft this mayftrie of a human hand,
 The pride of Bryftowe and the Westerne lande, 10
 Yet is the Buylfers vertues much moe greete,
 Greeter than can bie Rowlies pen be fcande.
 Thou feeft the faynctes and kynges in ftonen ftate,
 That feemd with breath and human foule difpande ^f,

^a *Elegant.* ^b *Intermixed.* ^c *Disposed.* ^d *Lightning.* ^e *Mighty, or, cloudy.*
^f *Expanded.*

As

There are fome particulars in this fecond poem, relative to Redcliff church, which deferue notice.

V. 13. How could Chatterton have been enabled thus to describe the ftatues which

As payrde ⁶ to us enseem these men of slate, 15
Such is greette Canynge's mynde when payrd to God elate.

Well maieft thou be astound, but view it well ;
Go not from hence before thou see thy fill,
And learn the Builder's vertues and his name ;
Of this tall spyre in every countye telle, 20
And with thy tale the lazing rych men shame ;
Showe howe the glorious Canynge did excelle ;

⁶ *Compared.*

How

which were formerly placed in the niches surrounding the northern portico of the church, which, by Wircestre's account, was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and which he describes in the following words. But the outermost porch, which he calls *round*, is *hexagonal*; the inner is an oblong.

"Longitudo primæ portæ porticus ecclesiæ per meridiem continet septem virgas, & capella continuata ad portam introitus portæ ecclesiæ principalis continet sex virgas." And again (p. 221) "Quantitas rotunditatis principalis capelle S^{te} Marie cum ymaginibus regum operatis subtiliter in opere de Frestone, continet in circuitu cum hostio introitus subtiliter operatis 44 virgas."

The *vinga*, by which he computes the measure of this chapel, is a yard. The real dimensions of the outward porch, and of the inner chapel are as follow : Each side of the hexagonal porch is eight feet six inches long ; its breadth, from the outer door to the steps of the chapel, fourteen feet seven inches. There are six steps, each one foot and one inch broad. The inner chapel is twelve feet five inches wide, and sixteen feet five inches long, from the uppermost step to the door at the entrance into the church. This chapel is decorated on each side with a row of five small short pillars of Purbeck marble, making a kind of recess, and supporting a small pointed arcade, which appears by its form to be much more ancient than the church itself or the hexagonal portico. The entrance from the chapel to the church is through a stone door-case, apparently coeval with the church, neatly carved, but square at top, and not arched ; as other ancient door-cases usually were. This communication therefore seems to have been made subsequent to the building of the church ; and indeed tradition still calls it *St. Mary's Chapel*, and reports it to have *been built by a Pirate an hundred and thirty years antecedent to the church*. May we not therefore suppose it to have been erected by Lamington the Pirate, or rather by his cognamesake the priest,

How hee good man a friend for kynges became,
And gloryous paved at once the way to heaven and fame.

before mentioned, whose monument has been before described, and on whose head the tonsure is very observable; and that this chapel was *Lamington's Ladie's Chamber*, which the Pirate is said not to have pulled down, as he did the rest of Burton's church, hoping that it might hereafter pass for his work?

Though Rowley professes his inability to describe the masterly beauties of this building, yet he has given a degree of animation to these *stone* figures, in a simile which does honour to the sculptor's art, and to Canning's mind, by marking the resemblance, at the same time that it expresses the infinite distance between him and his great Creator.

V. 23. Canning is elsewhere called by Rowley "the friend of kings," alluding to the influence which he had with Edward the fourth, on account of his trade, his interest, and his riches.

E P I T A P H

 EPITAPH ON ROBERT CANYNGE.

THYS mornynge starre of Radcleves ryfynge raie,
 A true manne good of mynde and Canynge hyghte,
 Benethe thys stone lies moltrynge ^a ynto claie,
 Untylle the darke tombe sheene an eterne lyghte.
 Thyrd fromme hys loynes the presēt Canynge came;
 Houton ^b are wordes for to telle hys doe;
 For aye shall lyve hys heaven-recorded name,
 Ne shall yt dye whanne tyme shalle bee no moe;
 Whanne Mychael's trumpe shall sounde to rife the folle ^c,
 He'll wyng to heavn wyth kynne, and happie bee hys dolle ^d.

^a *Mouldering.* ^b *Magnificent, or lofty.* ^c *Soul.* ^d *Portion.*

This epitaph implies that he was the great grandfather of William Canning, if the expression *third from his loins*, is to be understood of a lineal descent. A note of Rowley, in the possession of Mr. Barrett, says, "that in the year 1431, " Robert Canynge was buried in the minster of St. John's;" but no such Christian name appears in the pedigree of the Cannings of Foxcote, in Warwickshire; William Canning is there said to be the son of John, the son of Jeffery Canning, from whose elder brother Thomas, the family of Foxcote are descended. His father, and consequently William's grandfather, was called John. But this pedigree differs from some authentic records of the family at Bristol, collected by Mr. Barrett, which he will be better able to explain. The misnomer, however, might have been a mistake in the transcript; nor is it of much consequence, any more than the Epitaph itself, except that it records an ancestor of William Canning, and shews in another instance how well the poet could adapt his language to his subject.

THE STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE.

THE Story of William Canning is on many accounts one of the most interesting pieces in the whole collection. The first thirty-six lines are still extant in the original parchment; which being brown and dirty with age, has been made still more dark, by Mr. Barrett's having stained it with the infusion of galls, in order to restore the decayed writing. This slip of parchment is about eight inches and a half long, and four and a half broad. The four or five first lines in it are the conclusion of Rowley's list of skilled Painters and Carvellers, and contain an account of John Challenner, a Monke of St. Austyne's, a natyf of Bristowe, a skylled Carveiler, &c; then follow the arms of Canning, with the following account or preface to the poem: " William
" Canynge was borne second son of John, son of William, sonne
" of Robert Canynge, alle of St. Mary of Radeclive: He was
" related to Gurnies, Nevylles, Mountaccute, and oder gentilee
" howses; butte he dereivethe hys glory in oderwyse than bie
" Payncters and Carvellers, ande soe wylle I gyve ytte in verse."

Anent a brooklette, &c.

This was the second piece of Rowley's composition, produced by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett; and though the remainder of the

poem is not extant in the original, yet the uniformity in stile and sentiment, and its similarity to other compositions ascribed to Rowley, are almost as convincing a proof of its originality, as if the whole had been authenticated by the same kind of evidence. The hand in which this fragment is written, is somewhat different from *The Accounte of Canynges Feast*; of which the engraved fac simile does not do justice to the original. It has been objected to both, that they are not written in the usual record-hand of that age; but why is the supposition necessary, that they must have been written in that hand? Why might they not have been transcribed by different amanuenses? and is there not a very great difference and variety observable in the hand-writing of that, and of the following century, as well in respect of spelling and grammar, as in the manner of forming their letters? The signatures of the three last Henries, of Edward the IVth, and Richard the Third, which are to be found in the Cotton Library, and in Mr. Asple's collection of fac similes, contain the most decisive proofs of this variety.

Though Canynge is the principal character celebrated in this poem, yet occasion is taken from his history to introduce those famous men who had done honour to Bristol, either by their birth or achievements, their sanctity or good works; such as Ella and St. Warburghus, Briktric and Fitzharding.

THE STORIE OF WILLIAM
CANYNGE.

A NENT ^a a brooklette as I laie reclynd,
 Lifestyng to heare the water glyde alonge,
 Myndeinge how thorowe the grene mees ^b yt twynd,
 Awhilst the cavys respons'd ^c yts mottring songe,
 At distaunt ryfyng Avonne to he sped ^d, 5
 Amenged ^e with ryfyng hylles dyd shewe yts head;
 Engarlanded wyth crownes of ofyer weedes
 And wraytes ^f of alders of a bercie scent,

^a Near. ^b Meadows. ^c Answered to. ^d To be sped, or hastened. ^e Mingled.
^f Wreaths.

And

V. 1. The brooklet, near which he describes himself as laying reclined, bears a remarkable similitude in point of situation with the rivulet Trym at Westbury, where he is supposed to have retired with his friend Canning, when he became Dean of that church. This *glassy bubbling brooklet* (as he truly describes it in the Poem on our Lady's Church) having past Westbury, trickles through the green meadows, and joins the Avon at Pill, two miles below Bristol: It is, indeed, the only rivulet in that neighbourhood which answers to the description of mixing its waters with the Avon, near the place of its union with the *blatant Severn*, which

Rores flemie o'er the sandes that she hepde.

V. 8. The *wraytes of alders* may mean the wreaths of alders, corresponding with the *garlands of ofyer weeds* in the preceding line, and with the *reytes* which crowned the
 the

And stickeynge out wyth clowde agested ^z reedes,
 The hoarie Avonne show'd dyre semblamente ^h, 10
 Whylest blataunt ⁱ Severne, from Sabryna clepde ^k,
 Rores flemie ^l o'er the sandes that she hepde.

These eynegears ^m swythyn ⁿ bringethe to mie thoughte
 Of hardie champyons knowen to the floude,
 How onne the bankes thereof brave Ælle foughte, 15
 Ælle descended from Merce kynglie bloude,
 Warden of Brystowe towne and castel stede,
 Who ever and anon made Danes to blede.

Methoughte such doughtie ^o menn must have a sprighte
 Dote ^p yn the armour brace ^q that Mychael bore, 20
 Whan he wyth Satan kyng of helle dyd fyghte,
 And earthe was drented ^r yn a mere of gore;

^z Lying on the earth or clodde. ^h Appearance. ⁱ Noisy. ^k Named. ^l Frighted.
^m Objects of the eyes. ⁿ Quickly. ^o Valiant. ^p Dressed. ^q Suit of armour, or
 accoutrements for the arms. ^r Drenched.

Orr,

the *water-witches* in the Roundelai of Ella, v. 899. But if *wraytes* and *reytes* signify *reeds*, and not *wreaths*, we must read the passage,

Wraytes and alders of a bercie scent.

The meaning of *bercie* is not explained in any of our glossaries; but, as *byrce* is the Saxon word for a birch-tree, which frequently grows in moist situations, it may probably be the subject of this allusion.

V. 9. *Clowde agested reeds*, is an unintelligible expression; but the change of two letters will give sense and propriety to it. Read *clod-agested reeds*, or reeds lying or *agisted on the clod*, or earth out of which they grow, and the difficulty is removed.

V. 13. The *eynegears* are the objects of the eye. The word *gear* has a very extensive signification, implying *manner*, *form*, *dress*, and all kinds of *implements* and *furniture*.

V. 20. *Dote* is a participle of the verb *dight*, which signifies to *dress*, or *prepare*. The participle, regularly formed, should be *dighted*; but many similar instances are collected in the preface to Lye's Glossary.

Orr, foone as theie dyd see the worldis lyghte,
 Fate had wrott downe, thys mann ys borne to fyghte.

Ælle, I sayd, or els my mynde dyd saie, 25
 Whie ys thy actyons left so spare yn storie?
 Were I toe dispone^o, there should lyvven aie
 In erthe and hevenis rolles thie tale of glorie;
 Thie actes see doughtie should for aie abyde,
 And bie theyre teste all after actes be tryde. 30

Next holie Wareburghus fylld mie mynde,
 As fayre a fayncte as anie towne can boaste,

^o *Dispose.*

Or

The *armeurbrace* may mean the *armerbrace*, or that which was braced on the arm; so the Squiers yeoman, in Chaucer,

Upon his arm wore a gay *bracer*.

V. 26. The poet complains, that the actions of his favourite Ella are *left so spare yn storie*, which may be intended as an apology for introducing an ideal hero; or, if he was a real personage, may imply, that he was possessed of some anecdotes concerning him, which had not been mentioned by other historians.

V. 31. His favourite saint, Wareburghus, is truly apocryphal; nor is his name to be found in any of our English legends, which speak only of the female saint Werburga, the daughter of Wulfer, king of Mercia, who reigned about the year 659. According to the MS. History of Bristol amongst Rowley's papers, ascribed to Turgot, she was baptised by this Wareburghus; so that it was not ignorance of the real saint, and of her merits, that induced Turgot or Rowley to substitute a commentitious one in her place. She was made Abbess of Ely, and died in high reputation for sanctity. Her body was removed from Henbury, in Staffordshire, the original place of her interment, to the present cathedral church of Chester, which is dedicated to her, as are some other parochial churches in England and Ireland: But the Saint Wareburghus of Rowley (or rather of Turgot, whose MS. History of Bristol contains the legend) preached in 638, to the inhabitants of Caer Brito, which is said to have been situated on the banks of the Severn, not far from the present city of Bristol; but, on their treating the Saint with neglect, he threatened to destroy them with a flood, and, ascending by the banks

banks of the Avon, stuck his staff in the channel of the river, opposite to Redcliff, where the people of the place attentively heard him. In consequence of the Saint's denunciation against Caer Brito, at midnight the Severn overflowed its banks, and the inhabitants fled to the hills, with the loss of their goods and cattle: But by Wareburghus's intercession the waters retired, and the inhabitants came and built their city opposite to Redcliff, making a wooden bridge over the river. Six years afterwards, viz. A. D. 644, the inhabitants of Redcliff built a wooden church, cased with *fable* stone, by the water-side, which they dedicated to our Lady and St. Wareburghus. It was rebuilt in stone by Briktricus, in 789, with a tower; but was fallen down when Turgot is supposed to have written this account. The church which he describes, seems to have been situated at Redcliff, whereas that dedicated to the female Saint of the same name (called by William Wircestre *ecclesia sanctæ Werburgæ*) stands in Corn-street, nearer to the centre of the city, and, according to the Chronicle of Bristol before-mentioned, was erected in 1384. It would be mispending time, to point out the inconsistencies of this legend. Such a collection of fables could not be the work of so respectable a pen as Turgot's, and there are several circumstances which make it impossible to have been the invention of Chatterton: To whom then can it be ascribed but to Rowley? whose fertile invention, and sportive fancy, instead of being confined to the simplicity of facts, delighted, in this instance also

To soar above the truth of historie.

His account of the ceremonial in passing the new bridge at Bristol, referring to the year 1247 (when, according to Leland, Itin. vol. vii. p. 88, and the Bristol Chronicle, the new bridge was built,) was the first of Rowley's papers communicated to the public by Chatterton, being printed in Farley's Bristol Journal, Oct. 1st, 1768. A part of that ceremony consisted in singing a hymn to the honour of St. Wareburghus, and another to St. Baldwin. Neither of these hymns having been printed, either in that paper or elsewhere, they may afford some entertainment to the reader; exhibiting additional specimens of Rowley's poetical talents, and affording room for fresh observations on the subject.

SONG OF SEYNCTE WARBURGHE.

I.

WHANNE Kynge Kynghill^a ynn his honde
 Helde the sceptre of thys londe,
 Sheenyng starre of Chrystes lyghte,
 The merkic^b myfts of pagann nyghte
 Gan to scatterr farr and wyde:
 Thanne Seyncte Warburghe hee arose,
 Doffed hys honnores and fyne clothes;

^a King Cornwall. ^b Dark.

Preechyng hys Lorde Jefus name,
 Toe the lande of West Sexx came,
 Whare blacke^c Severn rolls hys tyde.

II.

Stronge ynn faithfullneffe, he trodde
 Overr the waterr lyke a Godde,
 Till he gaynde the diftaunt hecke^d,
 Ynn whofe bankes hys ftaffe dydd fleck,
 Wytnesse to the myrracle;
 Thenne he preechedd nyghte and daie,
 And fet manee ynn ryghte waie.
 Thys goode ftaffe great wonders wroughte,
 Moc thann guefte bie mortalle thoghte,
 Orr thann mortall tonge can tell.

III.

Thenn the foulke a brydge dydd make
 Overr the ftreme untoe the hecke,
 All of wode eke longe and wyde,
 Pryde and glorie of the tyde;
 Whye he ynn tyme dydd falle awaie:
 Then Erle Leof^e he befpedde^f
 Thys grete ryverr fromme hys bedde,
 Round hys caſtle for to rynne,
 T'was in trothe ann anyante onne,
 But warre and tyme wyll all decaie.

IV.

Now agayne, wythe bremie^g force,
 Severn ynn hys aynciant courſe
 Rolls hys rappyd ftreeme alonge,
 With a fable^h fwifte and ftonge,
 Moreyingⁱ manie ann okie wood;
 Wee the menne of Briſtowe towne
 Have yreerd thys brydge of ſtone,
 Wyſhyng echone that ytt maie laſte
 Till the date of daies be paſt,
 Standyng where the other ſtoode.

There appears a remarkable anachroniſm in this Song; for St. Werburgh, who is ſaid to have preached here in 638, is made contemporary with King

^c Yellow. ^d Height. ^e Earl Leofwin. ^f Diſpatched, turned away. ^g Furious, violent. ^h Sand. ⁱ Rooting up, ſo explained in the gloſſary to Robert Glouceſter---Mored, i. e. digged, grubbed. The roots of trees are ſtill called Mores in Devonſhire.

Kynghill, or Coenwulf, king of Mercia, who did not reign till 796. And the terms in which he describes Leof's or Leofwin's castle,

T'was in trothe ann anyante onne,
But warre and tyme wyll all decaie.

are not applicable to so early a period as 1247, at which time the castle was in its full strength; but might be very true at the time when Rowley wrote; and indeed it is so described by his contemporary William of Wircestre.

“Aula quondam magnifica in longitudine latitudine, altitudine *est totum ad ruinam*; capella alia magnifica pro Rege & Dominis & Dominabus feita in “principalissimâ wardâ, exparte boreali aulæ, ubi cameræ pulcherrimæ sunt ædificatæ, sed *discovertæ, nudæ, & vacuæ de planchers & copertura*,” p. 270. And Leland, in describing this castle, observes, *that all tendith to ruine*. Itin. vol. vii. p. 84.

The Chronicle of Bristol before mentioned, says, “that in the year 1247, the “mayor and commonalty of Bristol concluded to build a bridge over the river “Avon, with the consent of the governors of Redcliff and Temple, thereby to incorporate them with the town of Bristowe, and to make of the two but one corporate town: For this purpose they purchased lands of Sir William Bradstone, “then Abbot of St. Augustin.” See Leland’s Itin. vol. vii. p. 88.

Another part of this ceremony consisted in singing the following song of St. Baldwyn.

SONGE OF SEYNCTE BALDWYNNE.

WHANN Norrurs^a & hys menne of myghte,
Uponne thys brydge darde all to fyghte,
For slagenn manie warriours laie,
And Dacyanns well nie wonne the daie.
Whanne doughty Baldwinus arose,
And scatterd deathe amonge hys foes,
Fromme out the brydge the purlinge blood:
Embolled^b hie the runnyng floude.
Dethe dydd uponne hys anlace hange,
And all hys arms were *gutte de sangue*^c.
His doughtinesse wrought thilk dismaye,
The foreign warriors ranne awaie.
Erle Baldwynus regardedd well,
How manie menn for slaggen fell;
To Heaven lyft oppe hys holie eye,
And thankedd Godd for victorie;
Thenne threw hys anlace ynn the tyde,
Lyvdd ynne a cell, and hermytte died.

^a King of Norway. ^b Swelled. ^c i.e. Drops of blood; an herallic allusion, suitable to the genius of that age.

The history of this hero-saint is alluded to in a part of the ceremony, "A mickle strong man in armour, representing St. Baldwin, carried a huge anlace—stode on the fyrst top of a mound yreered in the midft of the brydge, and when the procession arrived there, they sung the Songe of St. Baldwynne; which being done, the manne on the top threw, with great myght, his anlace into the sea." But this Saint, and his history, like that of St. Warburgh, is totally unnoticed by our writers, and not at all explained by the song.

The engagement here alluded to, was with the Danes or Dacyans; for *Norrurs* signifies the King of Norway: But the æra is not ascertained. The name of Baldwin was little, if at all, known in England during the incursion of the Danes; but some countenance is given to this legend, by Baldwin's cross, which formerly stood in the city of Bristol, and a street which is still called by that name.

Upon the whole, it appears from authentic records, that a new bridge was built at Bristol in 1247; and a procession might have been instituted on that occasion, in which the hymns to these two Saints were introduced. The ceremony might have been performed but once, or it might have been renewed every century; this, however, is the only memorial of it now extant, and is far from being a perfect or satisfactory account. If no such ceremony had ever been performed, Rowley could have had no inducement to invent so strange a tale; nor could he hope to impose on his friend Canning, or on the inhabitants of Bristol, the names of two Saints, of whom they never before had heard: If that ceremony was renewed, and exhibited in Rowley's time, the two songs, as they now stand, might have been substituted by him in the place of some more ancient and less elegant compositions on the same subject; the language of them being too modern for the thirteenth century, and the state of Leofwin's castle, as therein described, though suitable to the age of Rowley, was not applicable to the other more early period, in which the castle was in its full strength. If the ceremony was represented only in 1247, at the time here mentioned, his sportive genius was both capable and ready to dress up this old story in his own language, for the entertainment of Mr. Canning; but it is impossible to conceive that Chatterton could be acquainted with any of those historical facts, which were necessary to give a plausibility to the account.

A singular circumstance relating to the history of this ceremony has been communicated to the public within these two last years; and candour requires that it should not pass unnoticed here, especially as the character of the relator leaves no room for suspicion. The objectors to the authenticity of these poems may possibly triumph in the discovery of a fact, which contains, in their opinion, a decisive proof that Chatterton was the author of this paper, and (as they would infer) of all the poetry which he produced under Rowley's name; but, when the circumstances are attentively examined, the reader will probably find, that even this fact tends rather to establish, than to invalidate the authenticity of the poems.

Mr. John Ruddall, a native and inhabitant of Bristol, and formerly apprentice to Mr. Francis Gresley, an apothecary in that city, was well acquainted with Chatterton, whilst he was apprentice to Mr. Lambert: During that time, Chatterton frequently called upon him at his master's house, and, soon after he had printed this

this account of the bridge in the Bristol paper, told Mr. Ruddall, that he was the author of it; but it occurring to him afterwards, that he might be called upon to produce the original, he brought to him one day a piece of parchment, about the size of a half-sheet of Fools-cap paper; Mr. Ruddall does not think that any thing was written on it when produced by Chatterton, but he saw him write several words, if not lines, in a character which Mr. Ruddall did not understand, which he says was totally unlike English, and, as he apprehended, was meant by Chatterton to imitate or represent the original from which this account was printed. He cannot determine precisely how much Chatterton wrote in this manner, but says, that the time he spent in that visit did not exceed three quarters of an hour; the size of the parchment, however, (even supposing it to have been filled with writing) will in some measure ascertain the quantity which it contained. He says also, that when Chatterton had written on the parchment, he held it over the candle, to give it the appearance of antiquity, *which changed the colour of the ink, and made the parchment appear black and a little contracted*; he never saw him make any similar attempt, nor was the parchment produced afterwards by Chatterton to him, or (as far as he knows) to any other person. From a perfect knowledge of Chatterton's abilities, he thinks him to have been incapable of writing the Battle of Hastings, or any of those poems produced by him under the name of Rowley; nor does he remember that Chatterton ever mentioned Rowley's Poems to him, either as originals or the contrary, but sometimes (though very rarely) intimated that he was possessed of some valuable literary productions. Mr. Ruddall had promised Chatterton not to reveal this secret, and he scrupulously kept his word till the year 1779; but, on the prospect of procuring a gratuity of ten pounds for Chatterton's mother, from a gentleman who came to Bristol in order to collect information concerning her son's history, he thought so material a benefit to the family would fully justify him for divulging a secret, by which no person now living could be a sufferer. It ought to be mentioned, that Chatterton soon after broke off his acquaintance with Mr. Ruddall, improperly resenting by a challenge some good advice which Mr. Ruddall had given him, in a point very essential to his temporal and eternal happiness; and the propriety of that advice too soon appeared, in the subsequent fate of that unhappy youth.

This account only proves that Chatterton was disposed to exercise his inventive genius, and to make Mr. Ruddall believe that he could counterfeit the hand-writing and appearance of ancient MSS.: But the experiment does not seem in any respect to have answered the end he proposed; for the *contraction of the parchment* is no discriminating mark of antiquity: The *blackness* given by smoke appears upon trial to be very different from the *yellow* tinge which parchment acquires by age; and *the ink does not change its colour*, as Mr. Ruddall seems to apprehend. Nor indeed did this experiment carry proper conviction even to Mr. Ruddall; who, professing himself ignorant of the character in which Chatterton wrote, and being a stranger to the other supposed originals, which Chatterton had never shewn or even spoke of to him, could be no judge of their resemblance or disagreement with each other: If Chatterton really meant to convince Mr. Ruddall of the adroitness of this manœuvre, he would have produced and compared them in his presence (even on the supposition

that they had all been forgeries,) unless he meant to act by him, as he afterwards did by Mr. Barrett, and chose to declare himself the author of the paper, that he might avoid producing the original. Indeed his conduct on this occasion shews that he did not seriously mean an imposition on the public: If he was capable of inventing this account, which he printed as an ancient fragment, and wished to authenticate it by a forged original, would he not have prepared it *before the publication*, that it might be produced in evidence, to establish the credit of his account, whensoever it should be questioned? But instead of such a premeditated plan, this act of forgery was in consequence of an afterthought, that the original might be called for; nor did he make any use of the experiment, either thinking it unnecessary, or because he was convinced of its imperfection and insufficiency for his purpose; as Mr. Ruddall never afterwards either saw the parchment, or heard Chatterton mention it. It was not shewn by him either to Mr. Barrett or Mr. Catcott, nor has it appeared amongst the originals he left behind him. It is also very improbable, that in this early period of his life, he should have formed a design to impose his own performances upon the world for ancient anecdotes, before he had either information or abilities to compose them. For, when he shewed this parchment to Mr. Ruddall, he was not sixteen years of age, had been discharged only three months from Colston's school, where he could have no opportunity to borrow books, nor leisure to read them; much less to collect anecdotes relating to the history of Bristol. It is to be observed also, that this poem was the second piece of Rowley's composition which Chatterton produced to Mr. Barrett. As he was not acquainted with the ancient parchments till after he became apprentice to Mr. Lambert, the period of three months, which intervened between that event and the publication of this paper, was little more than sufficient for him to select, decypher, and transcribe this account for the press.

The transaction with Mr. Ruddall, as he says, followed at the distance of about ten days or a fortnight; for the recency of the publication, and the conversation consequent upon it, gave rise to Chatterton's forgery: Had the subject been a short poem, or any prose account, which required only genius and invention in the author, Chatterton might be supposed equal to it; or, if the forgery consisted only of a few lines, he might have imitated an ancient hand with a tolerable degree of accuracy and uniformity; but the length of this account, including the two Songs, would have made it very difficult for him to preserve the same uniformity, and much more so to transcribe all those reputed originals which are now in Mr. Barrett's hands, under the name of Rowley, and of which he has obligingly furnished me with the following catalogue.

Parchments penes me, W. B.

The Song to Ella, with the Challenge to Lidgate, and the Answer. This poem was sent by Mr. Barrett to a friend, and is unfortunately lost.

Canynges Feast: A poem.

The first thirty-six lines of the Storie of William Canynge.

The following are Historical Prose Compositions.

1. The Yellow Roll, containing an Account of the origin of Coinage in England, and of the Curiosities in Canynge's Cabinet. This also was lent, with the Song to Ella, by Mr. Barrett to a friend, and is lost.
2. The Purple Roll, thirteen inches by ten, containing an Account of particular Coins, and the second and third Sections of Turgotus's History of Bristol. *N. B.* The first Section above quoted is also extant in Chatterton's own hand, but the original does not appear.
3. Vita Burtoni, a parchment roll, about eight inches long and four broad, very closely written; containing an account of Sir Simon De Burton, and his rebuilding Redcliff Church.
4. Knights Templars Church; a History of its foundation, &c.
5. St. Mary's Church of the Port: A History of it from its foundation, ending with the Verses on Robert Canynge.
6. Roll of St. Bartholomew's Priory, with a List of the Priors.
7. An Account of the Chapel and House of Calendars: A drawing of the Chapel, and underneath an explanation of it.
8. Ellas Chapple. No drawing, except of the Kist of Ella; but there is an account of its foundation.
9. St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel: A drawing only.
10. Grey Friars Church: A drawing only.
11. Drawing of three monumental inscriptions.
12. Ancient Monument, and Rudhall: Mere delineations.
13. Lesser and Greater St. John's: Only a rude delineation.
14. Several drawings of the Castle of Bristol.
15. Strong Hold of the Castle: A drawing, and account of its foundation by Robert Earl of Gloucester, and site thereof.
16. Old Wall of Bristol: Mere drawings.
17. Carne of Robert Curthofes Mynde in Castlestead: A drawing or figure, with the words *Carne*, &c. underneath.

The historical anecdote which Chatterton pretended to have written, and of which he affected to forge the original, was so far founded in truth, that a new bridge was built over the Avon at Bristol in 1247; but the ceremony performed at the opening of it, rests solely on the authority of this account. If the fact was true, Chatterton must have been indebted for it to Rowley's papers, or to some other ancient documents: If it was a fable, the genius of Rowley might be equal to the invention, but the subject was altogether foreign to Chatterton's ideas, and the circumstances beyond the reach of his knowledge or imagination; for though we should suppose him capable of dressing up a mock procession of the mayor and citizens parading over the new bridge, yet how could he invent so circumstantial a history

Or bee the erthe wyth lyghte or merke ' ywrynde ",
 I see hys ymage waulkeyng throwe the coaste :
 Fitz Hardyng, Bithrickus, and twentie moe 35
 Ynn visyonn fore mie phantasie dyd goe.

Thus all mie wandrynge faytour " thynkeynge strayde,
 And eche dygne buylder dequac'd * onn mie mynde,
 Whan from the distaunt streeme arose a mayde,
 Whose gentle tressies mov'd not to the wynde ; 40

' *Darkness.* " *Covered.* * *Deceiver.* * *Dashed.*

Lyche

a history of St. Wareburghus, in whose honour a song was sung as a part of the ceremony? The account of that Saint, is the same with that given by Turgot in his first section of the History of Bristol, and an allusion is made to the same history in the poem now before us: Must we not therefore infer, that all three are the work of the same author; and if they are not to be ascribed to Rowley, must we not suppose, in contradiction to reason and experience, and to the testimony of Chatterton's own friends and acquaintance, that this illiterate youth, at the age of sixteen, was capable of writing all these poems, of compiling the historical anecdotes in prose, which are still extant in Mr. Barrett's possession, and of giving to them all the appearance of authenticity, by transcribing them in a feigned but uniform character, affecting to be ancient? To such dilemmas as these are the opponents to Rowley, and the advocates for Chatterton, reduced; and if any further argument was wanted, to shew that the authenticity of the poetry could not be affected by this single instance of Chatterton's forgery, the learned Editor of the poems might be appealed to, as an able and impartial judge; who, in his preface, has thus given his opinion of the point in question:

" If the writing of the fragment shall be judged to be counterfeit, and forged by Chatterton, it will not of necessity follow, that the matter of them was also forged by him; and still less, that all the other compositions, which he professed to have copied from ancient MSS. were merely inventions of his own: *In either case, the decision must depend upon the internal evidence.*"

V. 35. But the history of Rowley's other heroes is better authenticated; for Leland observes, that Brietric was Lord of Bristow before the conquest. See also the note on B. H. N° 2. v. 116. The name of Robert Fitzharding is perpetuated as the founder of the Augustinian convent, now the cathedral church.

V. 40. The beautiful simplicity in the personification of Truth need not be suggested to the reader, nor the modest description of the Poet's innocent and virtuous sentiments, so truly correspondent to his profession;

For well he minded what by vow he hete.

Lyche to the fylver moone yn frostie neete,
The damoiselle dyd come foe blythe and sweete.

Ne browded ^y mantell of a scarlette hue,
Ne shoone pykes ^z plaited o'er wyth ribbande geere,
Ne costlie paraments ^a of woden ^b blue, 45
Noughte of a dresse, but bewtie dyd shee weere ;
Naked she was, and loked swete of youthe,
All dyd bewryen ^c that her name was Trouthe.

The ethie ^d ringletts of her notte-browne hayre
What ne a manne should see dyd fwotelie ^e hyde, 50
Whych on her milk-white bodykin ^f so fayre
Dyd showe lyke browne streemes fowlyng the white tyde,
Or veynes of brown hue yn a marble cuarr ^g,
Whyche by the traveller ys kenn'd from farr.

Astounded mickle there I fylente laie, 55
Still scauncing ^h wondrous at the walkynge syghte ;
Mie senses forgarde ⁱ ne coulde reyn awaie ;
But was ne forstraughte ^k whan shee dyd alyghte
Anie to mee, dreste up yn naked viewe,
Whych mote yn some ewbrycious ^l thoughtes abrewed ^m.

But I ne dyd once thynke of wanton thoughte ; 61
For well I mynded what bie vowe I hete ⁿ,
And yn mie pockate han a crouchee ^o broughte,
Whych yn the blofom woulde such sins anete ^p ;

^y Embroidered. ^z Piked or picked shoes. ^a Robes of state. ^b Dyed with wood.
^c Discover, shew. ^d Easy. ^e Sweetly. ^f Body. ^g Quarry. ^h Looking obliquely.
ⁱ Lost. ^k Confounded. ^l Adultrous. ^m Brew, or mix. ⁿ Promised. ^o Crucifix.
^p Destroy, annihilate.

I lok'd wyth eyne as pure as angelles doe, 65
And dyd the everie thoughte of foule eschewe.

Wyth sweet semblate ^a and an angel's grace
Shee 'gan to lecture from her gentle breste;
For Trouthis wordes ys her myndes face,
Falso oratoryes she dyd aie deteste : 70
Sweetnesse was yn eche worde she dyd ywreene ^r,
Tho she strove not to make that sweetnesse sheene.

Shee sayd; mie manner of appereynge here
Mie name and sleighted myndbruch ^r maie thee telle;
I'm Trouthe, that dyd descende fromm heaven were, 75
Goulers ^r and courtiers doe not kenne mee welle;
Thie inmoste thoughtes, thie labrynge brayne I fawe,
And from thie gentle dreeme will thee adawe ^r.

Full manie champyons and menne of lore ^a,
Payncters and carvellers have gaine good name, 80
But there's a Canynge, to encrease the store,
A Canynge, who shall buie uppe all theyre fame.
Take thou mie power, and see yn chylde and manne.
What troulie noblenesse yn Canynge ranne.

^a Appearance. ^r Display. ^r Firmness. ^r Usurers. ^r Awaken. ^r Learning.

As.

V. 69. The observation that
Trouthis wordes ys her myndes face,
is an improvement of that idea in Gower;

It needeth not to make it quaint,

For trouthe hys wordis will not paint. p. 9.

V. 80. The poet here alludes to the list of skilld Painctours and Carvellers already mentioned. The several references which are made to persons and things mentioned by him in other poems, shews a connection of ideas, which is a strong presumptive evidence in favour of the authenticity of the whole.

As when a bordelier ^w onn ethie ^a bedde, 85
 Tyr'd wyth the laboures maynt of sweltrie daie,
 Yn slepeis bosom laieth hys deft ^y headde,
 So, fenses sonke to reste, mie boddie laie ;
 Eftsoons mie sprighte, from erthlie bandes untyde,
 Immengde ^z yn flanced ^a ayre wyth Trouthe asyde. 90

Strayte was I carryd back to tymes of yore,
 Whylst Canynge swathed yet yn fleshlie bedde,
 And saw all actyons whych han been before,
 And all the scroll of Fate unravelled ;
 And when the fate-mark'd babe acome to syghte, 95
 I saw hym eager gaspynge after lyghte.

^w Peasant. ^a Easy. ^y Neat, cleanly. ^z Mingled. ^a The arched firmament.

In

V. 91. Rowley was certainly well qualified to draw the character of Canning from his childhood, if (according to the unpublished account of his life) their friendship commenced with their education at the White Fryars, or Carmelites, at Bristol. The expression of his *eating down learning with the wastel-cake* may appear childish, and suggest the idea of a gingerbread horn-book; but is any objection made to a similar phrase, *to suck in wisdom with the milk*? The gravity of Rowley's pen, and the nature of his subject, forbid us to suppose any sarcasm implied in the comparison between Canning's wisdom and that of the mayor and aldermen, though Canning himself has elsewhere made free with them.

With regard to Canning's family, the father, whose name was John, and the elder brother *Robert*, are characterised in this poem, as being attentive only to money. The unpublished life of Canning, in Mr. Barrett's hands, seems to say that they did not long survive each other, and that "the father loved not William" "as he did Roberte, fithence he bent not hys wholle rede to gette lucre:" But neither the poem nor these memorials mention any other brother except John. "Hys brodher Robert was than hym oulder, John yingere.—Brodher John is a "lacklande, beyinge left uponne mie goode wyllle:" And in another letter of Canning, he tells Rowley, "that he shall goe to Londonne to fettle his brodher "Johne;" agreeably to what is mentioned in the stanza from line 127. But John was not the brother—whom he put in such a trade,

That he lorde mayor of Londonne towne was made;

In all hys shepen ^b gambols and chyldes plaie,
 In everie merriemakeyng, fayre or wake,
 I kenn'd a perpled ^c lyghte of Wyfdom's raie ;
 He eate downe learynge wyth the wastle cake ^d. 100.
 As wise as anie of the eldermenne,
 He'd wytte enowe toe make a mayre at tenne.

^b Innocent, or simple. ^c Scattered. ^d The whitest bread.

As

for the person who held that high office anno 1457, 36 Henry VIth, was called *Thomas*. This stanza, therefore, may allude to two different persons; he might supply the wants of his brother John, and even settle him in London; but Thomas had probably an earlier establishment in trade, by the success of which, he was advanced to the highest city honours. Canning's son William died before him, leaving a son of the same name, to whom the grandfather bequeathed some tenements in Bristol, together with the reversion of another tenement, then possessed by Isabella Pewett, who is stiled *nuper uxor Willelmi Cannynge filii mei defuncti*.

It would be foreign to the present purpose, as well as anticipating a more perfect account of Canning's family (which we are to expect from Mr. Barrett) to enter more largely into his history. It may be sufficient, therefore, to add the portraiture of him and his family, as it appears among Rowley's papers.

"Hee is taile and statelie, his eyes and haire are jette blacke, hys aspecte
 "sweete, and skin ablaunche; Han he not foe moke swootinesse, proude and dis-
 "courteous inne look; hys lypes are rudde, and hys lymbes, albeytte large, are
 "hung * ne lyk a strong pole. Maystres Cannynge's chyltren doe gree lyk
 "himselfe." This portraiture cannot be more exactly verified, than by compar-
 ing it with the alabaſter figure on his monument, in Redcliff church, especially
 that which represents him in his ecclesiastical habit (for there is another in his
 city drefs) in which his length of stature, and the strong lines of his features, are
 particularly marked out.

William Wircestre calls him "ditissimus & sapientissimus mercator ville Bris-
 "tolie," p. 83. We may judge of the extent of his traffic and wealth from the
 same author, who says, that he kept eight hundred sailors employed for eight years,
 and maintained daily a hundred carpenters and masons, and had ten ships in trade,
 consisting of above two thousand nine hundred ton of shipping; and that he paid

* Either *ne* should be omitted, or the word *unlyk* be substituted instead of *lyk*.

As the dulce ^e downie barbe beganne to gre,
 So was the well thyghte ^r texture of hys lore ^s ;
 Eche daie enhedeynge ^h mockler ⁱ for to bee, 105
 Greete yn hys counceyl for the daies he bore:
 All tongues, all carrols dyd unto hym synge,
 Wondryng at one foe wyfe, and yet foe yinge ^k.

Encreasfeynge yn the yeares of mortal lyfe,
 And hasteynge to hys journie ynto heaven, 110
 Hee thoughte ytt proper for to cheefe ^l a wyfe,
 And use the sexes for the purpose gevene.
 Hee then was yothe of comelic femelikeede ^m,
 And hee had made a mayden's herte to blede.

He had a fader, (Jesús rest hys soule !)
 Who loved money, as hys charie joie ; 115

* Soft. ^e Consolidated, connected. ^s Learning. ^h Being careful. ⁱ Stronger. ^k Young.

^l Choose. ^m Appearance.

Hee

three thousand marks to Edward the IVth, "pro pace habendâ." We must not omit giving him his due credit for his skill in poetry and painting: The former will appear in the pieces which close this collection; and Rowley, speaking of him in the List of Painters and Carvers, says, "Maystre Cannyng ys ne soule paynter, ne bad verser." As a proof of the former, he "dyd paynte the depycture of the Kynges, the Vyrgyn, and odhere matters in the windowes of the ille of the Ladies table." Indeed the choice of his three friends, and their poetical merits, are a convincing proof of his taste, and justify every thing that his panegyrist has said in his favour. How far he was concerned in rebuilding Redcliff church has been already mentioned. The menace of King Edward, to force a daughter of Woodville, Lord Rivers, upon him for a wife, and his sheltering himself under the protection of holy orders, is a fact established by the most authentic records.

As to his poetical merit, *The Poem on Happiness* is thought by many not inferior to those of his friend Rowley.

Hee had a broder (happie manne be's dole !)
 Yn mynde and boddie, hys owne fadre's boie ;
 What then could Canynge wiffen " as a parte
 To gyve to her whoe had made chop of hearte ? 120

But landes and castle tenures, golde and bighes °,
 And hoardes of fylver rousted yn the ent p,
 Canynge and hys fayre sweete dyd that despyfe,
 To change of troulie love was theyr content ;
 Theie lyv'd togeder yn a house adygne ³, 125
 Of goode sendaument ' commilie and fyne.

But soone hys broder and hys fyre dyd die,
 And lefte to Willyam states and renteynge rolles,
 And at hys wyll hys broder Johne supplie.
 Hee gave a chauntrie to redeeme theyre soules ; 130
 And put hys broder ynto fyke a trade,
 That he lorde mayor of Londonne towne was made.

Eftsoons hys mornynge tournd to gloomie nyghte ;
 Hys dame, hys feconde selfe, gyve upp her brethe,
 Seekeynge for eterne lyfe and endles lyghte, 135
 And flead good Canynge; fad mystake of dethe!
 Soe have I seen a flower ynn Sommer tyme
 Trodde downe and broke and widder ynn ytts pryme.

Next Radcleeve chyrche (oh worke of hande of heav'n,
 Whare Canynge sheweth as an instrumente,) 140

• *Wife.* ° *Jewels.* p *Purse.* ³ *Creditable.* ' *Appearance.*

Was to my bismarde ' eyne-fyghte newlie giv'n ;
 'Tis past to blazonne ytt to good contente.
 You that woulde faygn the fetyve ' buyldynge see
 Repayre to Radcleve, and contented bee.

I sawe the myndbruch " of hys nobille foule 145
 Whan Edwarde meniced a seconde wyfe ;
 I saw what Pheryons yn hys mynde dyd rolle ;
 Nowe fyx'd fromm seconde dames a preefte for lyfe.
 Thys ys the manne of menne, the vision spoke ;
 Then belle for even-songe mie senses woke. 150

' *Deluded.* ' *Elegant.* " *Firmness.*

O N H A P P I E N E S S E,
 BY WILLIAM CANYNGE.

MAIE Selyneffe ^a on erthes boundes bee hadde ?
 Maie yt adyghte ^b yn human shape bee founde ?

^a *Happinefs,* ^b *Dressed, cloathed.*

Wote

Chatterton has written a poem on the same subject, which has also been printed. Whether this now before us was penned by Canning himself, or whether it was written by Rowley, (See *Love and Madnefs*, p. 155) whose stile it resembles, and who might give his friend and patron the credit of the performance; in either view we cannot but observe the different stile, sentiment, design, and manner in which the subject is treated in the two poems.

Wote yee, ytt was wyth Edin's bower bestadde ^c,
 Or quite eraced from the scaunce-layd ^d grounde,
 Whan from the secreet fontes the waterres dyd abounde? ^e
 Does yt agrosed ^e shun the bodyed waulke,
 Lyve to ytfelf and to yttes ecchoe taulke?

All hayle, Contente, thou mayde of turtle-eyne,
 As thie behoulders thynke thou arte iwreene ^f,
 To ope the dore to Selyness ys thyne, 10
 And Chrystis glorie doth upponne thee sheene.
 Doer of the foule thyng ne hath thee seene;
 In caves, ynn wodes, ynn woe, and dole ^g distresse,
 Whoere hath thee hath gotten Selyness.

^c Fixed. ^d Uneven. ^e Frighted. ^f Displayed. ^g Sorrowful.

Canning, in the spirit and meekness of Christianity, places happiness in a virtuous and religious contentment—Chatterton, on the other hand, after having in the grossest manner insulted revelation, and represented *education as entitled to the curses of mankind*, resolves happiness into mere opinion, and concludes his poem with an assertion too false and profligate for his editor and apologist to give it to the public; nor should it have a place here, if it were not to shew the contrast between the spirit of Chatterton, and those of Rowley and Canning:

The faint and sinner, wise and fool, attain
 An equal share of easiness and pain.

V. 3. *Bestad* signifies strictly a state or situation, but it is very frequently joined with an adjective, implying uneasiness and distress. Thus we have in Isaiah *hardly bestad*; in Gower, *sorrowfully bestad*. In the present passage it seems merely to imply a fixed situation.

V. 4. The *scaunce-layd grounde*, alludes to the obliquity and unevenness in the surface of the earth, which is supposed to have been the effect of the deluge, and affords another instance of the sense in which the word *scaunse*, or *ascaunces*, is applied by our poet.

V. 6. *Agrosed*, or *agrised*, signifies *terrified*, and the word is thus explained by Mr. Tyrwhit in his Glossary.

ONN JOHNE A DALBENIE,

BY THE SAME.

JOHNE makes a jarre boute Lancaster and Yorke;
Bee stille, gode manne, and learne to mynde thie worke.

This Distich furnishes no other remark, but that the family is of ancient origin, and long continuance in Bristol. Maister Gregory Dalbenie makes a principal figure in the ceremony of opening the new bridge, anno 1247. Sir Giles Dawbeny, amongst other offices, was appointed constable of Bristol castle, 1st Henry VIIth, Rot. Parl. p. 374; afterwards created Lord Dawbeny, 7 Hen. VIIth. This John Dalbenie was probably of the same family; and the Dawbenies still subsist with good credit in Bristol.

THE GOULER'S REQUIEM,

BY THE SAME.

MIE boolie ^a entes ^b, adieu! ne moe the syghte
Of guilden merke shall mete mie joieous cyne,

^a Belov'd.

^b Purfes.

Ne

Goule, according to the Pr. Parv. means *usury*. Skinner, who quotes the word from the ancient English Dictionary, as derived from *gula*, doubts both the extent and etymology of the term: Where then could Chatterton meet with it, but in a Latin Glossarist, whom he did not understand, and who did not believe the word to be ancient?

V. 2. Canning does not speak of the *mark* and *noble* in the strict language of

Ne moe the sylver noble sheenyng bryghte
 Schall fyll mie honde with weight to speke ytt fyne;
 Ne moe, ne moe, alafs! I call you myne: 5
 Whydder must you, ah! whydder must I goe?
 I kenn not either; oh mie emmers^c dygne,
 To parte wyth you wyll wurcke mee myckle woe;
 I muste be gonne, botte whare I dare ne telle;
 O storth^d unto mie mynde! I goe to helle. 10

Soone as the morne dyd dyghte^e the roddie funne,
 A shade of theves eche streake of lyght dyd seeme;
 Whann ynn the heavn full half hys course was runn,
 Eche stirryng nayghbour dyd mie harte asseme^f;
 Thye los, or quicke or slepe, was aie mie dreame; 15
 For thee, O gould, I dyd the lawe ycrase^g;
 For thee I gotten or bie wiles or breme^h;
 Ynn thee I all mie joie and good dyd place;

^c Coined money. ^d Death. ^e Dress, or prepare. ^f Terrify. ^g Break. ^h Violence.

Botte

the mint: The former was a nummular estimate, in value two-thirds of a pound; The latter, a gold coin, half the value of the mark; but they were the common names by which sums were then computed. Our ancient records speak of *golden marks*, which consisted of two-thirds of a pound in gold; and the memory of them is still preserved in the royal coronations, where the King makes two offerings, viz. one in a *pound*, the other in a *mark of gold*. The mark and the noble being considered here as money of account, rather than as species of coin, the larger denomination is given to the gold, and the smaller to the silver.

V. 7. They may be called *emmers*, either from the yellow colour of gold, resembling *embers*, or live coals of fire, as Pindar calls gold

———— χρύσος αἰθέμενον πύρ. (Olymp. v. 2.)

or as the gold coin of the lower empire was stiled *ὑπέρυρον*; or from their circular form, deriving *emmer*, like *aumere* and *emmerthyng*, from the A. S. preposition *ymb-her*, which signifies to *encircle* or *surround*.

THE ACCOUNTE OF W. CANYNGES FEAST. 451

Botte now to mee thie pleasaunce ys ne moe,
I kenne notte botte for thee I to the quede ¹ must goe. 20

¹ *The devil.*

V. 20. *Quad*, according to Skinner and the glossarists, signifies *evil* or *wicked*; but Rowley uses it, both here and in a passage of *Ella*, emphatically for the *devil*.

THE ACCOUNTE OF W. CANYNGES
FEAST.

THOROWE the halle the belle han founde;
Bylecoyle ^a doe the Grave befeeme ^b;
The ealdermenne doe fytte arounde,
Ande snoffelle oppe the cheorte ^c steeme.

^a *Fair welcome.* ^b *Is becoming, or proper.* ^c *Cheerful.*

Lyche

Mr. Warton has objected to the word *Accounte*, in the title of this last piece, as having been formerly used only in an arithmetical sense; but the French words *enter*, and *raconter*, are at least as ancient as Rowley's time, and have been always applicable in this sense. Indeed it is so used by Gower,

Which for to *acompte* is but a jape,
As thing which thou might overschape. P. 20. col. 2.

V. 2. *Bialacoil*, in modern French *Bel accueil*, *fair welcome*, or *good reception*, is personified by Chaucer, and uniformly explained by the Glossarists; Spenser also

Lyche affes wylde ynne defarte wafte
Swotelye the morneynge ayre doe tafte.

Syke keene theie ate ; the minstrels plaie,
The dynne of angelles doe theie keepe ;
Heie styll the gwestes ha ne to faie,
Butte nodde yer thanks ande falle aflape.
Thus echone daie bee I to deene,
Gyf Rowley, Ifcamm, or Tyb. Gorges be ne seene.

uses the expression of *seeming Bel-accoil*, B. iv. C. 6. St. 25. The passage means, that the grave Aldermen deserve a civil reception. The picture of them at table is humorous, but equally applicable to any other corporation-feast ; and though the simile here introduced might not be meant as a compliment, yet it is copied from a very respectable original.

The prophet Jeremiah describes *the wild asfs in the wildernes, as snuffing up the wind at his pleasure*. Chap. ii. v. 24.

The *wild asses* did stand in the high places ; they *snuffed up the wind like dragons*. Chap. xiv. 6.

But the account of this festivity might relate principally to the public occasional entertainments given by Canning, either as mayor, or as a wealthy merchant of the town.

THE END OF THE POEMS.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE.

THE series of external and internal evidence contained in the preceding sheets, unite in confuting every idea which would ascribe these poems to Chatterton as their author. If the cause wanted further support, it would receive the strongest confirmation from the following letter, which was communicated too late to be added to the other external evidence contained in the Preliminary Dissertation. Possibly it may be introduced with equal propriety in this place, where it may prove decisive of the question, and carry the most satisfactory conviction to the mind of every reader. The author, who is at present settled in a profession in this metropolis, was a native of Bristol, where his acquaintance with Chatterton commenced and terminated; and in consequence of it, is enabled not only to bear testimony to the existence of the ancient parchments, and to the transcripts made of them by Chatterton, but also to describe, with great accuracy, the situation, circumstances, genius, temper, pursuits, and amusements of this extraordinary youth: A testimony which comes recommended by this circumstance, that it corresponds with the accounts given of Chatterton by himself, his nearest relations, and most intimate friends; but Mr. Thistlethwaite's account must be delivered in his own words.

“ S I R

“ S I R,

“ IN obedience to your request, and my own promise, I sit
 “ down to give you the best account in my power, of the rise,
 “ progress, and termination of my acquaintance with the late
 “ unfortunate Thomas Chatterton.

“ In the summer of 1763, being then in the 12th year of my
 “ age, I contracted an intimacy with one Thomas Phillips, who
 “ was some time usher or assistant master of a hospital, or charity-
 “ school, founded for the education and maintenance of youth at
 “ Bristol, by Edward Colston, Esquire. Phillips, notwithstand-
 “ ing the disadvantage of a very confined education, possessed
 “ a taste for history and poetry; of the latter, the magazines, and
 “ other periodicals of that time, furnish no very contemptible
 “ specimen.

“ Towards the latter end of that year, by means of my inti-
 “ macy with Phillips, I formed a connection with Chatterton,
 “ who was on the foundation of that school, and about fourteen
 “ months younger than myself. The poetical attempts of Phil-
 “ lips had excited a kind of literary emulation amongst the elder
 “ classes of the scholars; the love of fame animated their bosoms,
 “ and a variety of competitors appeared to dispute the laurel with
 “ him: Their endeavours however, in general, did not meet with
 “ the success which their zeal and assiduity deserved; and Phil-
 “ lips still, to the mortification of his opponents, came off
 “ victorious and unhurt.

“ In all these trifling contentions, the fruits of which are
 “ now, and have been long since deservedly and entirely for-
 “ gotten, Chatterton appeared merely as an idle spectator, no
 “ ways interested in the business of the drama; simply content-
 “ ing himself with the sports and pastimes more immediately
 “ adapted to his age, he apparently possessed neither inclination
 “ nor indeed ability for literary pursuits; nor do I believe (not-
 “ withstanding the evidence adduced to the contrary by the au-

“ thor of Love and Madnefs) that he attempted the compo-
 “ fition of a fingle couplet, during the firft three years of my
 “ acquaintance with him.

“ Going down Horfe-ftreet, near the fchool, one day, during
 “ the fummer of 1764, I accidentally met with Chatterton :
 “ Entering into converfation with him, the fubject of which
 “ I do not now recollect, he informed me that he was in poffef-
 “ fion of certain old MSS, which had been found deposited in
 “ a cheft in Redcliffe church, and that he had lent fome or one
 “ of them to Phillips. Within a day or two after this, I faw
 “ Phillips, and repeated to him the information I had received
 “ from Chatterton. Phillips produced a MS, on parchment or
 “ vellum, which I am confident was *Elenoure and Jurga*, a kind
 “ of Pastoral Eclogue, afterwards published in the Town and
 “ Country Magazine for May 1769. The parchment or vellum
 “ appeared to have been clofely pared round the margin, for
 “ what purpofe, or by what accident, I know not, but the words
 “ were evidently entire and unmutilated. As the writing was
 “ yellow and pale, manifetly (as I conceive) occafioned by age,
 “ and confequently difficult to decypher, Phillips had with his
 “ pen traced and gone over feveral of the lines (which, as far as
 “ my recollection ferves, were written in the manner of profe,
 “ and without any regard to punctuation) and by that means
 “ laboured to attain the object of his purfuit, an investigation of
 “ their meaning. I endeavoured to affift him; but, from an almoft
 “ total ignorance of the characters, manners, language, and ortho-
 “ graphy of the age in which the lines were written, all our
 “ efforts were unprofitably exerted; and although we arrived at
 “ an explanation of, and connected many of the words, ftill the
 “ fenfe was notoriously deficient.

“ For my own part, having little or no tafte for fuch ftudies,
 “ I repined not at the difappointment: Phillips, on the con-
 “ trary, was to all appearance mortified, indeed much more fo
 “ than

“ than at that time I thought the object deserved, expressing his
 “ sorrow at his want of success, and repeatedly declaring his
 “ intention of resuming the attempt at a future period. Whether
 “ he kept his word or not, is a circumstance I am entirely un-
 “ acquainted with, nor do I conceive a determination thereof
 “ any ways material at present.

“ In the year 1765, I was put apprentice to a stationer at
 “ Bristol, at which period my acquaintance and correspondence
 “ with Chatterton and Phillips seem to have undergone a tempo-
 “ rary dissolution; however, towards the latter end of 1767, or
 “ at the beginning of 1768, being sent to the office of Mr. Lam-
 “ bert, an attorney then resident at Bristol, for some books which
 “ wanted binding, in the execution of that errand, I found Chat-
 “ terton, who was an articled clerk to Mr. Lambert, and who,
 “ as I collected from his own conversation, had been adventur-
 “ ing in the fields of Parnassus, having produced several trifles,
 “ both in prose and verse, which had then lately made their ap-
 “ pearance in the public prints.

“ In the course of the year 1768 and 1769, wherein I fre-
 “ quently saw and conversed with Chatterton, the excentricity
 “ of his mind, and the versatility of his disposition, seem to have
 “ been singularly displayed. One day he might be found busily
 “ employed in the study of Heraldry and English Antiquities,
 “ both of which are numbered amongst the most favourite of his
 “ pursuits; the next, discovered him deeply engaged, confounded,
 “ and perplexed, amidst the subtleties of metaphysical disquisition,
 “ or lost and bewildered in the abstruse labyrinth of mathematical
 “ researches; and these in an instant again neglected and thrown
 “ aside to make room for astronomy and music, of both which
 “ sciences his knowledge was entirely confined to theory. Even
 “ physic was not without a charm to allure his imagination, and
 “ he would talk of Galen, Hippocrates, and Paracelsus, with all
 “ the confidence and familiarity of a modern empirick.

“ To a genius so fickle and wavering, however comprehensive
 “ the mind may be, no real or solid attainment could reasonably
 “ be expected. True it is, that by not confining himself to one
 “ science only, he contracted an acquaintance with many, but
 “ such an acquaintance, as superficial in itself, neither contri-
 “ buted to his interest nor his credit.

“ During the year 1768, at divers visits I made him, I found
 “ him employed in copying Rowley, from what I then considered,
 “ and do still consider, as authentic and undoubted originals.
 “ By the assistance he received from the glossary to Chaucer, he
 “ was enabled to read, with great facility, even the most difficult
 “ of them; and, unless my memory very much deceives me,
 “ I once saw him consulting the *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae*
 “ of Skinner.

“ Amongst others, I perfectly remember to have read several
 “ stanzas copied from the *Death of Syr Charles Bawdin*, the
 “ original also of which then lay before him. The beautiful sim-
 “ plicity, animation, and pathos, that so abundantly prevail thro’
 “ the course of that poem, made a lasting impression on my
 “ memory; I am nevertheless of opinion, that the language, as
 “ I then saw it, was much more obsolete than it appears in the
 “ edition published by Mr. Tyrwhitt; probably occasioned by
 “ certain interpolations of Chatterton, ignorantly made, with
 “ an intention, as he thought, of improving them.

“ Several pieces which afterwards made their appearance in
 “ the Town and Country Magazine, (notwithstanding their
 “ more modern date) were written by him during this year,
 “ 1768, particularly certain pretended translations from the
 “ Saxon and Ancient British; very humble, and in some in-
 “ stances very unsuccessful attempts at the manner and stile
 “ of Ossian. Chatterton, whenever asked for the originals of
 “ *these* pieces, hesitated not to confess, that they existed only
 “ in his own imagination, and were merely the offspring and

“ invention of fancy ; on the contrary, his declaration, when-
 “ ever questioned as to the authenticity of the poems attributed
 “ to Rowley, was invariably and uniformly in support of their
 “ antiquity, and the reputation of their author Rowley, instantly
 “ sacrificing thereby all the credit he might, without a possibi-
 “ lity of detection, have taken to himself, by assuming a cha-
 “ racter to which he was conscious he had no legal claim ;
 “ a circumstance which I am assured could not, in its effect,
 “ fail of operating upon a mind like his, prone to vanity, and
 “ eager of applause even to an extreme.

“ With respect to the first poem of the *Battle of Hastings*,
 “ it has been said that Chatterton himself acknowledged it to be
 “ a forgery of *his own* ; but let any unprejudiced person, of com-
 “ mon discernment, advert only for a moment to the situation in
 “ which Chatterton then stood, and the reason and necessity of
 “ such a declaration will be apparent.

“ The very contracted state of his finances, aided by a vain
 “ desire of appearing superior to what his circumstances afforded,
 “ induced him, from time to time, to dispose of the poems in his
 “ possession, to those from whose generosity and patronage he ex-
 “ pected to derive some considerable pecuniary advantages : I will
 “ not hesitate to assert (and I speak from no less authority than
 “ Chatterton himself) that he was disappointed in this expecta-
 “ tion, and thought himself not sufficiently rewarded by his
 “ Bristol patrons, in proportion to what he thought his commu-
 “ nications deserved.

“ From this circumstance, it is easy to account for the answer
 “ given to Mr. Barrett, on his repeated solicitations for the
 “ original, viz. *that he himself wrote that poem for a friend* ; think-
 “ ing, perhaps, that if he parted with the original poem, he
 “ might not be properly rewarded for the loss of it.

“ That vanity, and an inordinate thirst after praise, eminently
 “ distinguished Chatterton, all who knew him will readily ad-
 “ mit.—From a long and intimate acquaintancé with him, I

“ venture

“ venture to assert, that from the date of his first poetical attempt,
 “ until the final period of his departure from Bristol, he never
 “ wrote any piece, however trifling in its nature, and even un-
 “ worthy of himself, but he first communicated it to every ac-
 “ quaintance he met, indiscriminately, as wishing to derive ap-
 “ plause, from productions which I am assured, were he now
 “ living, he would be heartily ashamed of : from a full assurance
 “ of the truth of which proposition, I conceive myself at liberty
 “ to draw the following inference—that, had Chatterton been the
 “ author of the poems imputed to Rowley, so far from secreting
 “ such a circumstance, he would have made it his first, his
 “ greatest pride ; for to suppose him ignorant of the intrinsic
 “ beauty of those compositions, would be a most unpardonable
 “ presumption.

“ Towards the spring of 1770, some differences having pre-
 “ viously thereto arisen between Chatterton and his master
 “ Mr. Lambert, the former publicly expressed his intention of
 “ quitting his situation, and repairing to the metropolis, which
 “ he flattered himself would afford him a more enlarged field for
 “ the successful exercise and display of his abilities ; accordingly,
 “ in April, he began making the necessary preparations for his
 “ journey. Anxious for his welfare, I interrogated him as
 “ to the object of his views and expectations, and what mode
 “ of life he intended to pursue on his arrival at London. The
 “ answer I received was a memorable one ; ‘ My first attempt, said
 “ he, shall be in the literary way : The promises I have received
 “ are sufficient to dispel doubt ; but should I, contrary to my ex-
 “ pectations, find myself deceived, I will, in that case, turn
 “ Methodist preacher : Credulity is as potent a deity as ever, and
 “ a new sect may easily be devised. But if that too should fail me,
 “ my last and final resource is a pistol.’

“ That spirit of literary Quixotism which he possessed, and
 “ which had the immediate ascendancy over every other confide-
 “ ration, had been much increased by his correspondence with

“ divers bookfellers and printers ; who finding him of advantage
 “ to them in their publications, were by no means sparing of
 “ their praises and compliments ; adding thereto, the most liberal
 “ promises of assistance and employment, should he choose to
 “ make London the place of his residence.

“ These were the hopes upon which he relied : This it was
 “ which induced him to quit the place of his nativity, and throw
 “ himself for a precarious subsistence upon strangers. It is un-
 “ necessary to remark, how far his expectations were answered :
 “ His unfortunate and untimely exit, deplorably shews the fallacy
 “ of his hopes, and the extreme deficiency of his knowledge of
 “ the world ; who could for a moment idly suppose that the most
 “ distinguished talents, unpatronized, would meet with success,
 “ and lift him to that eminence which he flattered himself he
 “ merited.

“ Thus, Sir, I have attempted, in a hasty and cursory manner,
 “ to present you with whatever comes within the limits of my
 “ own observation and knowledge relative to this extraordinary
 “ youth ; in respect to whose memory, I beg leave to make one
 “ further remark.

“ It has been said, that he was an unprincipled libertine, de-
 “ praved in his mind, and profligate in his morals ; whose abi-
 “ lities were prostituted to serve the cause of vice, and whose lei-
 “ sure hours were wasted in continued scenes of debauchery and
 “ obscenity.

“ Mr. Warton tells us, that he was ‘ an hireling in the trade
 “ of literature, unprincipled, and compelled to subsist by ex-
 “ pedients.’ (See his emendations to the second volume of History
 “ of Poetry :) And another gentleman tells us, ‘ that his death
 “ was of no great consequence, since he could not long have
 “ escaped hanging.’ (See Love and Madness, p. 132.) Whether
 “ any or all of these epithets are meant as arguments to prove
 “ that Chatterton is the author of Rowley’s Poems, abounding
 “ as they do with piety and morality, and the most refined senti-
 “ ment,

“ ment, I know not ; but I cannot help observing, that such ex-
 “ pressions (unsupported, as they appear to be, by truth and
 “ reason) neither do credit to the heads or to the hearts of those
 “ who so uncharitably bestow them.

“ I admit, that amongst Chatterton’s papers may be found many
 “ passages, not only immoral, but bordering upon a libertinism
 “ gross and unpardonable. It is not my intention to attempt a
 “ vindication of those passages, which, for the regard I bear his
 “ memory, I wish he had never written ; but which I neverthe-
 “ less believe to have originated rather from a warmth of imagi-
 “ nation, aided by a vain affectation of singularity, than from any
 “ natural depravity, or from a heart vitiated by evil-example.

“ The opportunities a long acquaintance with him afforded
 “ me, justify me in saying, that whilst he lived in Bristol he was
 “ not the debauched character represented. Temperate in his
 “ living, moderate in his pleasures, and regular in his exercises, he
 “ was undeserving of the aspersions.—What change London might
 “ have effected in him, I know not ; but from the strain of his
 “ letters to his mother and sister, and his conduct towards them
 “ after he quitted Bristol, and also from the testimony of those
 “ with whom he lodged, I have no doubt but the intemperances
 “ and irregularities laid to his charge did either not exist at all,
 “ or, at the worst, are considerably aggravated beyond what can-
 “ dour can approve.

“ I am, Sir,

“ with the utmost respect,

4th April, 1781.

“ your most humble servant,

“ JAS THISTLETHWAITE.”

This letter may be illustrated by Chatterton’s correspondence with his mother and sister, printed in a pamphlet entitled *Love and Madness* ; in which it appears, that the turn of his thoughts, the objects of his pursuit, and the choice of his company, were
 directly

directly opposite to the principles professed by the author of these poems.

In a letter written to his mother, May the 14th 1770, p. 175, he acknowledges that, "although, as an apprentice, no one had "greater liberties than himself, yet the thoughts of servitude "killed him." On his first arrival in London, he was happy to find himself in the company of printers and bookfellers: Mr. Edmonds, Mr. Fell, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Doddsley, were among his first acquaintance, and he plumed himself not a little on the encouragement he hoped to receive from them. (Letter April 26th 1770, p. 169.)—And yet his ambition, at that time, soared no higher than to be a writer in a Magazine, by which alone he boasted that he could get four guineas a month; adding, in a strain of exultation, "What a glorious prospect!" (Letter May 6th, page 171.)—He was also to write occasional essays for the daily papers, and to assist in compiling a History of England. He flattered himself, that all deficiencies both of character and conduct would be made up by his pen.—"A character, says he, " (Letter May the 6th) is now unnecessary; an author carries his "character in his pen;" and so highly did he rate the patronage of bookfellers, that, "without this necessary knowledge, he "thought the greatest genius must starve, and with it the greatest "dunce live in splendor." This knowledge he thought he had pretty well dipped into; and observes in another letter, (May the 14th, p. 177) "that if Rowley had been a Londoner, instead of "a Bristowyan, he might have lived by copying his works." What encouragement then might he not have expected, if he had really been the author of these poems; and how easy and pleasant was his road to opulence and fame, if he could have continued to exercise his genius in the same stile of poetry? But he had not the least idea of any such resource. In fact, his fund of ancient poetry was exhausted, having been distributed among his friends at Bristol; one piece only remained in his possession, the Ballad
of

of Charity, which he had taken the trouble to explain by a copious glossary: but (if we judge by the letter that accompanied it) he was very little solicitous of reaping either honour or profit by the performance; for he sent it to the printer of the Town and Country Magazine, not much more than a month before his death, under his usual signature of D. B. but without eulogium or recommendation. (See the Introd. Account).—As he could not compose other poems in this style, and his vanity for his own compositions increased in proportion as his prospects improved, he naturally indulged his pen on those subjects which were most agreeable to his inclination, viz. Satire, Romance, and Love: and it cannot be supposed that a History of England, or Essays in a Gospel Magazine, (both which he tells his sister he was engaged to write,) could flourish under the direction of so desultory and licentious a genius. (See his letter, May the 6th, p. 171, and July 11th, p. 186).

But could the author of these poems thus debase his pen, at the time when he was most encouraged to dignify it? Could a mind, which had been habituated to ideas so delicate, so chaste, and so lofty, condescend to sink at once into a hackney writer, and submit to pen political squibs for either party, declaring, “that he “was a poor author, who could not write on both sides?” (Letter May the 30th, p. 179.)—Such a conduct, though totally irreconcilable with every idea that can be formed of the author of this poetry, is very consistent with the character of Chatterton, as the transcriber of it.

Without repeating the arguments which every page of these poems has furnished in support of their authenticity, it may be sufficient to observe, that they stand distinguished by the following great and characteristic lineaments.

First, A loftiness of idea, dignity of sentiment, luxuriance of imagination, and uncommon powers of description.

Secondly, A purity of language, uniformity of style, accuracy

of metre, and harmony of numbers; nor is the author less to be admired for the chastity of his ideas, the integrity of his principles, the consistence of his character, his knowledge of human nature, and his skill in conducting the passions.

These characters, which mark a great poetical genius, as well as a learned, judicious, and experienced writer, are rarely united in one person; and though some of them might have been attainable by Chatterton, yet it is beyond credibility, that he should have possessed them all, and that to this rare assemblage, should be added such a perfect knowledge of the language, idiom, and phraseology of the fifteenth century, as to enable him to write it with the same ease and accuracy with which he penned the language of his own time.

To avoid the force of such powerful evidence, the learned Editor has denied the last of these assertions, and published an Appendix to these poems, expressly endeavouring to prove, *that the language of them is not the language of the fifteenth century, and therefore that they were not written by any ancient author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton.*

This assertion, both in its negative and positive part, will require all the support which so able a pen can give it. The two propositions are distinct and unconnected; nor does the latter necessarily follow on the establishment of the former. Whether the learned objector has proved either or both his assertions, must be determined by the candid reader; to whom the following remarks are offered, in defence of the antiquity and consistency of the language of our poet.

The arguments drawn by the author of the Appendix, from this part of the internal evidence, against the authenticity of the poems, does not appear to *lay within a narrow compass*, nor to be *so decisive of the question* as the learned Editor seems to apprehend.

If, indeed, the language of the fifteenth century could be distinguished by certain criteria from that of the preceding and following

following periods, the question might be tried by the contemporary writers, though they are few in number, and inconsiderable in merit. But if the same words were used by writers from the beginning of the thirteenth, to the middle of the sixteenth century, a very extensive field will be opened for enquiry; the prose writers, as well as poets, during that whole period, must then be produced as witnesses to the *usage, signification, and inflection* of words; and it does not seem to be within the compass of any man's industry or reading to convict these poems of forgery on this principle, or to prove a negative against Rowley from the works of the writers during those three centuries.

The learned objector has indulged himself in all this latitude of proof; and, instead of adhering to the standard which himself had established, and trying the language of Rowley by that of his contemporaries, has usually appealed to Chaucer, a writer of the preceding century, to whom he refers as almost the sole touchstone of truth and antiquity: (See the Appendix from page 315 to page 320, and pages 326 and 327.) He is well apprised, however, that the writers of that period are not so much distinguished by the words they make use of, as by their manner of putting them together. Some of our poets, who lived long after Chaucer, being more uncouth in their numbers, more antiquated and obsolete in their expressions, and in every respect more inferior to Chaucer, than Chaucer is to Rowley.

Mr. Warton, who considers Chaucer as *a genial day in an English spring*, (vol. ii. p. 51) acknowledges, "that most of the
 "poets who immediately succeeded him, seem rather relapsing
 "into barbarism, than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgement and imagination had disclosed:" And in another passage, (page 188) he says, "that the versification
 "of Bradshaw (a poet who died in 1513) is infinitely inferior to
 "Lidgate's worst manner."

But to proceed to the objections in the Appendix, which are made,
First, to such words as are not used by any other writer.

Secondly, to such as are used by other writers, but in a different sense. And

Thirdly, to such as are inflected in a manner contrary to grammar and custom.

Specimens under each head are produced, and by them let the question be decided.

The first of these objections, if admitted, must affect the works of all our ancient poets; for each of them have some original words, and a phraseology peculiar to themselves. There are expressions in Gower, which do not occur in Occleve or Lidgate; and those two poets make use of words which are not to be found in Chaucer. Would it then be unreasonable to extend the argument arising from this fact, to the works of Rowley?

Our language, originally barren, has been enriched by successive additions from the Saxon, Danish, and Norman tongues. Every denomination of writers, especially the poets, have taken the liberty of adding and changing, of compounding and introducing words upon their own authority; not to mention their use of provincial expressions, which are confined to certain districts, and of technical terms, which are arbitrary in their origin, confined in their use, and short in their duration. Even the learned editor of Chaucer, who produces this objection, has taken notice of above fifty words in his author, which remain yet unexplained, and therefore, we may presume, unauthenticated by other writers.

But it will not follow, from a want of such authentication, that the words themselves are modern, much less that they were chosen to give colour to a forgery. The present objection is an unanswerable proof, that such a conduct would defeat, instead of promoting that end.

In copying the language of antiquity, a writer would be ill advised, who should either lose sight of his original, or attempt to write in a stile different from that of his own age, till he was furnished with a sufficient number of authentic and established words and phrases, without being obliged to coin them from his own imagination, or to use those of doubtful and disputable origin. With regard to smaller inaccuracies of expression, grammatical errors, and variation of orthography, our ancient poets are equally liable to censure, and differ as frequently from themselves as they do from one another in that respect. By what rule then, of justice or criticism, shall the authenticity of these poems be questioned, on a point which has never yet been urged in objection to any other ancient writer?

The force of the objection will depend upon the extent of it. If by *words not used by any other writer*, it is meant that *every word and phrase* in these poems should be authenticated by preceding or contemporary writers, in a strictness of signification and orthography, the rule of criticism will be found too strict for the language of that age, which was liable to great variation, inaccuracy, and uncertainty; and if any latitude be allowed to the words taken notice of by the learned editor, they will no longer be the objects of his censure; some of them differing in the addition of the A. S. prefix, others varying only in their orthography, either on account of rime or measure, or from the uncertainty that then prevailed in the manner of spelling. There are, again, others arbitrarily compounded, contracted, or altered, at the fancy of the authors who use them; a liberty at all times taken, especially by the poets, without the least impeachment to the authenticity of their works. Some technical words, or terms of art, may also be found in these poems, which do not occur in other authors: Instances of all these will appear in the specimen of objectionable words, and therefore the authority for each must be separately considered.

1. ABESSIE. This word, with its various synonyms of *Abasse*, *Abesse*, *Abaisser*, *Abassare*, and *Abaxare*, in the English, French, Italian, and Spanish languages, is established beyond contradiction, in point of etymology and antiquity: Lye and Skinner explain it by *deficere* and *deprimere*. But it may be more to the purpose to observe, that Gower uses the expression “To *Abesse* his royalty,” (page 19. col. a:) *Abessie dyghte*, corresponds exactly with the Scripture phrase, to be *cloathed with humility*, 1 Peter v. 5. *Abessie* is here put adverbially, and joined with a participle: So Spenser has the expression of *warlike-dight*, (B. v. c. 4. st. 21.)

2. ABORNE, like many other words in these poems, has the A. S. prefix, which Rowley, and all our ancient poets, insert or omit at their pleasure; for there seems to be no certain rule to determine the proper or improper use of it. This observation may serve as an answer to the objection made in the Appendix, p. 351, *That Chatterton uses the prefix, without any regard to custom or propriety.*

Burne, *Burned*, *Bourne*, and *Ybourned*, are frequently used by our ancient poets in the sense here affixed to them. Gower describes a Coppe,

Which stood upon a foote on highte,
Of *borned* gold. (Page 22, col. a.)

and of a suit of armour,

Which *burned* was as silver. (Page 100, col. c.)

Lidgate mentions the wayne of Apollo, as

Of gold *ybourned* bright and fair :

And Chaucer speaks of armour

Wrought all of *burnid* steele.

Aborne or *Yborne* is here used as a participle, with the final *d* omitted; a liberty frequently taken by Chaucer and other poets.

3. ABREDYNGE, *Upbraiding*. Both the orthography and meaning of this word are justified by Speght and Skinner: Gower speaks of a Roman consul, who put an end to his life, for having committed an offence which himself had made capital, saying,

That

That Rome should never *abrayde*
 His heires, whan he were of dawē,
 That hir ancestres broke the lawe. (P. 157. col. d.)

The word *upbraid*, which has the same etymology, is more frequently used by our ancient writers, and is sometimes spelt *Obraid*, as in the ballad of Gill Morrice.

Obraid me not, my Lord Barnard,
Obraid me not, for shame. See Percy.

The Saxon participle *Abraid* admits great variety of significations; it means, according to Speght and Skinner, *arose, recovered, broken off, upstart*; but *Abrede*, and *Upbraid*, seem rather to have their origin from the A. S. word *Redan*, to *counsel* or *advise*.

4. ACROOLE, with the prefix,

Did speak *Acroole* with languishment of eyne,
 expresses strongly the meaning affixed to it by Skinner, *To speak in a murmuring voice*. Hence comes our modern word *growl*; and nearly allied to it is the word *crowde*, used by Gawin Douglas for the noise made by doves. (P. 404. v. 29.)

So pricking hir green courage for to *crowde*.

The same author expresses the noise of cranes by *crowping*:

Of crannies *crowping* fleing in the aire.

(P. 326. v. 32.)

and his glossarist has also, to *crune*, or *croyne*, signifying *mugire*, to *low*, fortè ab A. S. *Runnian, susurrare*. See Ray in Gloss. Northumb. p. 140. Bailey has also “to *croo* or *crookell*, or to make “a noise like a dove.”

5. ADAVE is the past tense of *Addaw*, a word of established antiquity and signification, used by our ancient poets to signify either the awaking from sleep, the rising of the sun, or the dawning of the day: So Gower says,

The day *beddaweth*; (P. 94. col. c.)

Chaucer, in his Prologue to the Legend of Good Women,

That *daweth* me no day;

and

and Lidgate, in his Life of our Lady, compares her to a star,

That down from Heavyn *addarweth* all our sorrowe.

Warton, vol. ii. p. 58.

Mr. Warton has explained this word by two others of very different import, viz. *Affright* and *Remove*; both equally distant from the true meaning of this passage; which signifies *to shine upon, to brighten, or to gild our sorrow*. So Kenewelche was “the fynest dame the sun or moon *adave*,” i. e. *arose* or *shone upon*. If an objection be made to the irregularity of the tense, it may be justified by many similar instances in our ancient writers, who form *gaff* from *give*, *droff* from *drive*, *groff* from *grafen*, *thobte* from *thinchan*, with various other irregular past tenses mentioned in Manning’s Saxon Grammar, prefixed to Lye’s Glossary.

6. ADENT, with the prefix, admits of two different origins and significations. *Dent* signifies in Chaucer a *stroke*, or a *bruise*, and is derived from the A. S. word *DINT*. In this sense we may understand the *adented* or *bruised* shield of Hurra, (*Æ.* 490) and the *dentful* bruise made by Alfwold’s bill, (*B. H.* N° 2. v. 673:) But the two passages referred to in the Appendix, viz.

Unto this veste the rodde sonne ys *adente*; (*Æ.* 395.)

and

Adented proves to the gite of wite; (*G.* 32.)

with a third,

Adented to a load of peyne; (*Æ.* 263.)

must be rendered *fixed* or *fastened*, from the French word *Adenter*; which signifies, according to Cotgrave, “to join by a mortaise, “or to enchase one thing within another.” The idea is borrowed from the *teeth* of a saw, or from the union of the upper or lower jaw. In reference to this, the lance and fighting spear are called, (*B. H.* N° 1. ver. 196, 257) *Dented*, i. e. *sharp* and *pointed*; and *the denting of briars*, in the Roundelai of *Ælla*, (v. 885) is crossing them in an *indented form*, as still practised in our church yards.

7. ADRAMES.

7. *ADRAMES*. *Dolt Adrames*, may signify either *stupid dreamers*, or *dreaming churls*. We have the authority of Shakespeare for this word, and for the sense in which it is used.

Hamlet, in his soliloquy upon the actors, thus expresses his own inattention, and absence of thought:

Like *John a Dreames*, impregnant of my cause,
I can say nothing——— Act ii. scene last.

A word somewhat similar occurs in the *Exmoor Courtship*, (which contains a specimen of the dialect spoken in that part of Devonshire) where, to *tell Doil*, and *Dildrames*, means “the deliriums of a sick man, or old wives fables.” Douglas uses the word *Dram* for *sorrowful*; and in this sense it might be said of Vervan’s Tales, and of his audience, that they were at once very serious and very absurd. This may be put in the list of provincial words.

8. *ALATCHE*, admits of various explanations. It may be equivalent to *alledge* or *declare*, from the A. S. verb *Alegan*. So Gower says,

And many other cause *alleyde*. (P. 73.)

In this sense, the threat must be thus understood, “*Leave me, or I will accuse you;*” or it may be the same with Chaucer’s word *Lachen*, which signifies, according to Mr. Tyrwhit, to *blame*, or *find fault*. *Lacken*, also, according to Skinner, signifies to *despise* or *condemn*; or the word may mean the opposite to *ylached*, i. e. *enclosed*, *shut up*; (See B. H. N° 2. v. 436;) or lastly, it may be deduced from the French word *Lacher*, to *loose*, or to *let go*; *Lacher le pied*, to *run away*; and *Latch*, in old English, signifies to *leave*: as if she had said “*Let me alone, or I will run away from you.*”

9. *ALMER*, called also *Almes-crauer*, and more than once *Pilgrim*: And why may not this word be applied to the *receiver* as well as to the *giver* of alms; as *Treasurer* is derived from *treasure*, and *Prisoner* from *prison*? At least, such an application of the word in Latin is justified by Canning’s will, who leaves legacies to the
almshouses

almsmen of Westbury College, under the title of *Elemosynarii* or *Almers*. This inaccuracy (if it is one) might be easily corrected, by changing *Almer* into *Palmer*; but the meaning of the words is too much alike to make any alteration necessary. See the distinction between *Palmer* and *Pilgrim* in Speght's Glossary.

10. ALUST, and 12. ALYSE, may be considered as the same word. If *Alystan* is not to be found amongst the A. S. verbs, at least the participle *Alyfed*, or *Aluste*, may be formed from *Alýran*; and it is not uncommon with our ancient poets to use the participle instead of the infinitive mood; we have two instances of it in the Tragedy of Ella. Magnus says,

So did I in the air my javelin *toſte*, (or *tofs*.) V. 458.

And in a preceding line, the participle is substituted instead of a substantive,

Magnus preſſynge wroghte his foemen *loaſte*, (for *loſt*.)

So Gower,

V. 455.

As thou haſt heard me *ſaide*. (P. 92. col. B.)

And Occleve,

To *hope* him, (instead of to *help* him.)

Warton, vol. ii. p. 42.

If the insertion of the *t* be considered either as a grammatical error; or as a blunder in the original MS, or transcript, we shall have the word *Alyſe* perfectly correspondent in meaning with the several passages where it occurs. According to Lye, it bears the double signification of *liberare* and *ſolvere*, implying both *deliverance* and *payment*, and he brings many quotations from Saxon authors to confirm it. As *Redimere* terram, i. e. tributum pendere, *ſolvere jejuniū*, *Alýrde exſolvebam*: So Versteegan explains *Alife* to *releaſe*, *Alýednefs*, *releaſe*, *raſom*, and *redemption*. Alured could not *Aluſte*, i. e. *Alyſe* or *free himſelf* from his ſailing horſe. (B. H. N° 1. v. 88.) So alſo Celmond wiſhes to upriſe Ella's witt from marvel,

And the warrior to *alyſe*. (*Æ* 277.)

i. e. to *deliver* or *free* his warlike ſpirit from the attachment of
his

his love to Birtha. Thus again, in his soliloquy on the prospect of success in his treachery against Birtha (v. 407) he says,

Blake standeth future doom, and joye doth me *alyse*.

i. e. my future success is evident, and joy *frees* me from all doubt and anxiety. In the other sense of the word, as it may imply *delivery, payment, or allowance*, we may understand those passages in Godwin,

Whilst Edward to thie sonnes wyll nete *alyse*. (V. 36.)

Full twentie manca's I wyll thee *alise*. (V. 180.)

i. e. " whilst Edward will *pay* no regard, or *make* no *allowance*, to " Englishmen." And nearly in the same sense may be understood that passage in the letter to Canning,

Some drybblette share you shoulde to yatte *alyse*. (V. 29.)

i. e. you should *pay some regard* to it; or, as Horace expresses it,

Verum age, et his qui se lectori credere malunt,

Curam redde brevem.

There seems to be no foundation, therefore, for the conjecture, that Chatterton borrowed this word from Skinner, mistaking it for *Alipēd*. The three first of these passages being left without a gloss, and the three last being explained by *Allow*, shew that he only guessed at the meaning of the word, and therefore could not be the author of those passages where it occurs. Instead of being accused of plagiarism, he may more justly be charged with mistake and misapprehension.

II. *ALYNE*, with some small variation in the spelling and signification, occurs very frequently in these poems, viz. *Alyne*, *Alleyn*, *Alleyne*, and *Aleine*; sometimes it is put adverbially for *only*, (*Æ*. v. 276, 370, 487, 545, 822, 1185;) at other times it is used as an adjective for *alone*, (*Ecl*. i. v. 56. *Æ*. 174, 191, 243, and 297. *G*. v. 183;) and in other places it emphatically signifies *single* and *separate*; (*T*. v. 19. *Æ*. v. 340, and 425.) In this last sense Burton is said to have jousted *Alleine*, (*T*. v. 158) i. e. *singly* and *separately*.

So Ælla says, (v. 289)

Ne schall the wynde uponne us blowe *alleyn*.

In the passage referred to in the Appendix, T. 79. Duke William, after he had finished his sport, slung his bow over his shoulders *Alyne*, i. e. *single* and *separated* from the concomitant quiver. So likewise (Ecl. i. v. 52)

Mie sonne *alleyn* ystorven ys;

which expression, if it does not imply his *only son*, may signify that his son died *separated* and at a distance from his father.

There will be no difficulty, however, in defending this expression from the objection in the Appendix, viz, “that no such phrase was ever used by any ancient writer;” for there will be found more harsh and unnatural transpositions than this, in our ancient poets, Chaucer himself not excepted: What shall we say, for instance, to the following expressions:—*To broken ben the statutes*, instead of *The statutes to be broken?* or to *The Greeks horse Sinon*, instead of *The horse of Sinon the Greek?* (See his Ballad of the Village without Painting, and the Squire’s Tale). Mr. Tyrwhit, (vol. iv. p. 291) acknowledges the latter to be an *awkward expression*. And if such transpositions had not been then common, Gascoigne would not have given this caution, in his rules for English verse; “Not to follow the Latin idiom, “in putting the adjective after the substantive, as some who “write thus,

“Now let us go to *temple ours*.

“I will go visit *mother mine*.”

And yet, notwithstanding this censure, we find him frequently using the like transposition; as for instance—*O father mine*. p. 118.—*O worthy mother mine*. Jocasta, p. 91. b.—*Dear daughter mine*. p. 94.—*O lovely lady mine*. Fable of Geronimo, p. 277.—*This country mine*. p. 138. Even Shakespeare himself is guilty of the same transposition—*O mistress mine*. Twelfth Night, Act ii. sc. 3. To abate the severity of criticism
against

against these liberties taken with our language, as well as to remove some of the objections made to the words used by our poet, the following quaint observation of Gascoigne may be applied. "This poetical licence is a shrewd fellow, and com-
 "mitteth many faults in a verse; it maketh words longer,
 "shorter, mo syllables, or fewer, newer, older, truer, falsier;
 "and to conclude, it turneth all things at pleasure: for example,
 "ydone for *done*, adowne for *down*, orecome for *overcome*, tane for
 "taken, &c."

As to the authority of the word itself, Gower uses *Allonly*, as Douglas does *Allane*, for *alone*, and *myne Allane* for *myself alone*; *Alanerly* and *Anerly* for *only* or *particularly*. *Alleine* (as it is spelt in these poems) is properly speaking a German word, explained by Ludwig, who gives it two significations, very correspondent to the sense in which it is here applied.

1st, *Alone*, *All alone*, *By yourself*, *Single*.

2dly, *Only*, *But*.—And thus also Skinner explains it, *Solus*, *schum*, *prorsus unus*, *nullis aliis conjunctus ad conficiendum numerum*.

13. *ANERE*, for *another*. Contractions of this kind are to be found in Gower, Lidgate, Chaucer, Skelton, and Spenser, not only in the intermediate, but also in the initial and final syllables of words. See Upton's notes, and Warton's observations on Spenser. But Mr. Tyrwhit himself has answered this objection, by quoting a word from Chaucer, very analogous in sound, though not in sense.

"Nere," says he, "is a contraction for *nerre*, and that for "*nerere* (nigher) the comparative of *near*;" and in his Glossary, we find *n'ere*, and *n'ere it*, as contractions for *were not*, and *were it not*. See also his note upon *Ferre*, (vol. iv. p. 191.) "*Ferre*, "i. e. *Ferer*, the comparative of *Fer*, (*Far*): So Chaucer uses "*Derre* for *Derer*, the comparative of *Dere* (*Dear*)."
 Robert of Gloucester has also *Nadde*, *Nas*, *Nast*, and *Nille*, for *bad not*,

art not, has not, will not. Had either of these poets more authority than Rowley for making such contractions?

14. ANETE, is the old English word *Nete* or *nought*, with the A. S. prefix; *Nete* is still in vulgar use, to which corresponds the old French verb *Aneantised*, (*Anibilated*) which is used by Chaucer.

15. APPLYNs. Enough has been said on this word, in the observations on the first Eclogue; to which may be added, that Chaucer has justified this diminutive (if it be one) by using the word *Setling* for *a graft*, from *fetteles*. (Test of Love, p. 515 a. p. 518 b.)

16. ARROW-LEDE, may be a mis-spelling for *arrow-bede*; for it is said of Duke William,

An arrow with a *silver bede* drewe he.

B. H. N° 1. v. 102.

And in Evans's Collection of Ancient Ballads, vol. i. p. 227, mention is made of

An arrow with a *golden bede*,

And shafte of *silver white*:

And if arrows were headed with gold and silver, might they not also be with lead? But the orthography or meaning of such terms of art can be of little weight in deciding the question of authenticity, any more than the word *Asenglave*, next mentioned in the Appendix, which has been already fully explained. (See p. 86).

18. ASLEE, here signifies, *to flink away like a coward*; as Creseid is described in Troilus, "tender-hearted *sliding* of "courage;" or, according to Speght, *faint*. Ray, amongst his north-country words, has *to slive*, *humi trabere*, *a sleverly fellow*, a name given in Lincolnshire to a *sloven*, *an idle*, or *lazy fellow*. The word is probably derived from the A. S. *Slapian*, *Piger esse*. See Lye's Glossary. Hence the modern words *sloth*, *slouch*, and *slawney*, signifying, *an indolent or idle man*.

19. ASSWAIE.

19. ASSWAIE. Ella's departure from Birtha, made him *experience*, or *suffer the trial* of most torturing pains: What is this but the French word *essayer*, and in English *assay*, *trial*? So Gower,

I fall in such *assaie*. (P. 51.)

But Spenser comes nearer to the word,

Didst *fway* so sharp a battle. (B. v. c. 3. st. 22.)

20. ASTEND, i. e. *Afound*, is probably spelt in this manner on account of the rime, such liberties being frequent with our ancient poets. So Chaucer uses *fare* for *fore*, and *sa* for *so*, and it would be endless to quote similar instances from other poets.

Upon examining, therefore, the twenty words which compose the first list in the Appendix, we find all of them, except three or four, used by ancient writers, some with, others without the A. S. prefix; others varying only in their orthography; and as to the few words where such authority is wanting, it may be supplied by their being deducible in signification, and according to the strict rules of etymology, from words of established antiquity and usage.

If the criterion laid down in the Appendix is insufficient to determine the question of authenticity, as to the *usage* of words, it is still less admissible with regard to their *signification*; for it cannot be supposed that the meaning of an ancient word is to be determined by the authority of a single writer, or confined to the sense of the author who first uses it. Instances occur in the course of these remarks, of the same word being used in different senses, remote and unconnected with each other, and many of our Anglo-Saxon verbs admit a great variety of significations. The objections made in the Appendix, to words under this head, relate either to a difference in orthography, to the application of nouns in an improper number, to their being used as verbs, or to their being applied in a different meaning from that which Chaucer has affixed to them. The difference in all these cases is

is so immaterial, that it might be thought unnecessary to justify them by a circumstantial proof; but, as the words in this list may be authenticated upon the best authority; justice to the poet, and respect to the learned objector, require that each of them should be separately considered.

1. ABOUNDE. His crested beaver did him small *abounde*. This word is questioned, because not applied in its most usual sense; but, in fact, it has two different significations and etymologies. To *abound*, as it implies *plenty*, is derived from *Unda* and *Undare*, alluding to the overflowing of water; (See Vossius's Etymol. in voce *onda*;) but *Abounde*, in the sense to which it is here applied, is derived from *Bonum*, and is equivalent to *bonum facere* in Latin, to *abbonir* in French, and *abbonare* in Italian: It might be deduced also from the English word *Boon* or *favour*; i. e. his crested beaver did not *favour* or *protect* him: But our ancient poets do not confine themselves to the most generally received signification of Latin words. Thus, though the word *invent* usually implies an exertion of the mind and imagination, yet Spenser uses it in that sense of *invenire*, which signifies *to find by seeking*: So Florimel forsook the court,

Till Marinel alive or dead she did *invent*.

B. iii. c. 5. ft. 10.

It is to be observed also, that the same word frequently bears two different and very remote significations; *Coyshrel*, for instance, is used by Chaucer for a *drinking-cup*; but in the language of other writers, it means a *serving lad*. See the note on this word, p. 106. So likewise *Dole* signifies *grief*; but it means also a *part* or *share* of any thing.

2. ALLEGE, and ALLEGEANCE, signify in Chaucer *relief*, and *alleviation*: But are not the verb *leggen*, (M. v. 92) and the participle *leggende*, (ibid. v. 32) applied in the same sense? and will not even the present passage admit of that construction? i. e.

Let not your anger cease, nor stand *composed* (or *relieved*.)

If

If we are to deduce this word from an Anglo-Saxon origin, we shall find in Junius Ælgan coarctatus, and Ælgd exterritus, both equally applicable to this passage, and to the situation of the persons described in it.

3. ALABOON. The *phrase* only, and not the meaning of the words, is objected to in the Appendix; but Speght and Skinner both consider it as a *phrase*; the former gives it an English origin, and explains *bade alaboon*, *he made request*; Skinner interprets it *preces, supplicatio, petitio viro principi adhibita*; and Chatterton calls it a *manner of asking a favor*. Thus *Benvenu* is used by Gower, and *Bialacoil*, *Belaccoil*, and *Byelecoyle*, by Chaucer, Spenser, and Rowley, as a *salutation* or *welcome*. The explanation of the Glossarists, and the objections made to them in the Appendix, are founded on the following passage in Chaucer's Merchants Tale:

And alder first he bade them *allabone*,

That non of hem non argumentes make.

Mr. Tyrwhit, instead of considering the three words collectively as one phrase, applies the word *all* to the persons then present; but is not the sense of the passage at least as perfect, in admitting it as a phrase, agreeably to the explanation of the Glossarists? According to the idiom of the English language, *all* is sometimes used as an expletive, sometimes intensive, and sometimes inclusive. Thus in Sir Thopaz,

His good steed he *al* bestrode; (v. 1383)

and in the Monk's Tale,

Al were it so,—and *Al* so soon,—and *Al* were this Odenate.

In these poems, it seems to be used only as an expletive. In the Challenge to Lidgate, *All a boone* signifies simply *favor*, unless *all* is coupled with *only*, meaning the *only* and *all* the favor he craved. In the Address to the Priest, (Eclogue 3d) it is a supplicatory salutation, and the repetition of it is very conformable to the language of our ancient poets. In Queen Eleanor's Confession (Percy, vol. ii. p. 147)

Aboone, Aboone, quoth Earl Marshal,
And fell on his bended knee :

And in the same ballad the Queen is thus address'd,

Aboon, Aboon, our gracious Queen,
That you sent so hastily.

See also Evans's Collection of Old Ballads, vol. i. p. 140.

4. ALLEYN. This word having fully explained under N° 11 of the first list, it is unnecessary to add any thing more in this place.

5. ASCAUNCES, and ASKAUNCE, seem to be applied by Chaucer and Gascoigne in two different senses, both conveying an idea of obliquity : The former is explained by Speght, *as who should say, as though, as if, and aside* ; agreeably to the meaning affixed to it by Mr. Tyrwhit, who makes it equivalent to *quasi dicessè* in Italian ; but does not even this imply a speech supposed to be spoken or delivered privately or *aside*, which the persons present were not to hear ? and though some of the passages in Chaucer, quoted by Mr. Tyrwhit, may convey that meaning, yet the two following instances seem to mark an obliquity even in the look : The stop in the latter of these passages is placed immediately after *ascaunses*, as if to point out the particular direction of the countenance :

And with that word he gan cast up the brow,
Ascaunses lo, is this not well ispoken ?

Troil. B. i. v. 205.

And again, verse 292,

Her look a little aside she let fall in such mannere,
Ascaunses, what may I not stand here ?

But the meaning of the word is more precisely determined by the following passage in *La belle Dame sans merci* :

When they full fore begin to sigh *askaunce*.

P. 242. col. a.

i. e. they

i. e. they uttered their sighs *afide*, or in private, that they might not be heard.

It is said in the Appendix, that Gascoigne uses *Afcaunfe* in the sense adopted by Mr. Tyrwhit, alluding, probably, to the two following passages in that poet :

Afkaunfes loe now I could kill your corse,
And yet my life is unto thee refynde.

and, (Dan. Bart. p. 78.)

Therewith he raifde his heavy head alighte,
Afkaunces, ha indeed! and thinks thou so?

(Ibid. p. 101.)

But in another passage of the same poet, it signifies *obliquely*, or *sideways* :

I lookt of late, and fawe thee loke *afkance*
Upon my doore, to see if I fat there.

(Flowers, p. 16.)

So Lidgate describes Fortune,

Looking *afcoyne*, as she had had difdain.

And of the same import and etymology is the word *afkie*, used by Gower,

And with that word all fuddenly
She paffes as it were *afkie*,
Al clene out of the ladies fight. (P. 71 a. col. 1.)

So Spenser,

Scornfully afkew. (B. i. c. 10. ft. 29.)

So that the words *afkaunce*, *afcoyne*, *afkie*, and *afkew*, are not derived (as Mr. Tyrwhit fupposes) from the modern Italian adverb *a Schiancio*, but from the ancient A. S. verb *Æfcunian*, *ewitare*, *declinare*, *to fhun*. So likewise the word *squint*, *transverse tueri*, is derived, according to Skinner, from the German word *Schwezen*, *witore*, *to look shy*, *disdainfully*, or *obliquely*, becaufe difdain is conveyed in that obliquity of look : Indeed the Gloffaries confine the word to

that sense, nor does it admit any other signification in these poems. So *Ascaunce*, (Ecl. 3. v. 52, and Le. v. 17,) *Askaunted* (Le. v. 19,); *Askaunte* (B. H. N° 2. v. 143, and 507,) *Scaunfing* (St. of Can. v. 56,) and *Scaunfe-layd*, (Can. on Hap. v. 4.)

6. ASTERT. The meaning of this word is doubted in the Appendix; but Chatterton's explanation is founded on the authority of Speght, who renders it *let pass, escaped, passed*; and of Skinner, who explains it *elapsus, qui præterit*; and is also justified by many passages in our ancient poets. In Gower and Chaucer, it frequently signifies *to start from, or escape*:

Whose eye may nothing *astarte*. (Gower, p. 23 b.)

That he should nete *astert*. (p. 25 b.)

So Occleve says of Chaucer, in his Prologue;

———— His hie worthe *astartith*,

Unslayn by death————

And, in a sense more similar to that used by our poet, it signifies *to decline, or relinquish*:

He might not the place *astert*. (p. 26 b.)

And in the following passage of Lidgate;

When he wist he might not *astert*,

Of his fate the disposition. (p. 267 a. col. 2.)

So Gawen Douglas,

If deathe this way be to me *schape*,

Now may I not *astert*, nor it *eschape*; (p. 508. v. 41)

where a difference seems to be made between *astert* and *eschape*; but his Glossarist explains the word "*Astert, to escape, run, leap.*" All these ideas are derived from the A. S. word *Artianian*, *movere, to stir*, and *start*, which is perfectly correspondent with the behaviour of King Edward to his English subjects, *he escaped from, avoided, declined*, and suffered their merit *to escape* his notice.

7. AUMERE. Rowley's application of this word is established on the strongest proofs in the three different passages where it occurs.

occurs. *The gelten aumeres* of Dame Agnes (Ecl. 3. v. 25) are properly explained by Chatterton, *borders of gold and silver*; they might be bracelets (for they are said to be strung) or any other ornament that *surrounded* a part of the body; like Jupiter's drefs, in the Testament of Creseis :

His garment and his gite full gaie of grene,

With *golden listes gilt* on every geare. (V. 78.)

The earth's *Defte Aumere*, in the Ballad of Charity, (v. 7) is no less properly called "a loose robe or mantle" *surrounding* it; and the *wide Aumere*, or garment of Hope, (*Ælla*, v. 397) is equally applicable in either sense. The word does not occur in any of our ancient poets, except in Chaucer's R. R. v. 2271:

Weare streight gloves with *Aumere*

Of silk, and always with good chere;

Thou geve, &c.

on which Skinner has the following explanation: "*Aumere* ex "contextu videtur esse *Fimbria* vel *Instita*, nescio an a Teut *Umber* "circum, circa, q.d. circuitus vel ambitus." So likewise Junius: *Aumere*; *Limbus*, *Fimbria*: *Amaerwy*, *Amaerwy*, in Cornu-British.

There are, in Lye's Saxon Dictionary, five or six pages full of words compounded with the Saxon preposition *Ymb*, denoting things *circular* in their form, or *circumambient* in their nature. Thus Bishop Douglas uses *umbesit*, and *umbesegit*, for *beset* and *beseged round about*, both being compounded of the same preposition. So the *Emmertlyng sky*, (M. v. 72) which Chatterton explains *glittering*, rather means the *circumambient sky*; and the *Emmers* (as the gold coins are called in the Gouler's Requiem) may be so denominated from their *circular* form: But Mr. Tyrwhit objects to the application of this word, because he supposes it to correspond with the *bourse de foye*, in the following passage of the French original:

Des gans, &c de bourse de foye,

Et de SAINCTURE te cointoye:

The *Saincture*, or girdle, has escaped the notice of the learned Editor, though, as a principal ornament in ancient dress, it was more likely to be mentioned by the poet than the purse. It was generally of *filk*: So Gower says of Phillis,

A *Seynte of filke* she had. (P. 676. col. 2.)

and in the Child of Elle;

And here she sends thee a *filken scarf*.

(Percy, vol. i. p. 109.)

Chaucer's Plowman speaks of the *golden girdles* grete and small, which were the ornaments of the Pope's dress. His Serjeant at Law was

Girt with a *Seint of Silk*, with barres small.

So the Carpenter's wife, in the Miller's Tale,

A *Seynte* she weared, barred all with *filke*. (v. 49.)

But her purse was of leather;

And by her girdle hung a purse of leather,

Tass'd with filk, and perled with latoun.

The Haberdasher, Carpenter, &c. "had their *Girdeles* and *Pouches*, " (i. e. *purfes*) ychaped with silver." The Abbot of St. Godwin, in the Ballad of Charity, had a *painted girdle*, and the purse which hung at it, was considered only as an appendage; hence the classical word *Zona*, originally signifying a girdle, was applied to the purse likewise.

Mr. Tyrwhit supposes *Aumere* to be a contraction of the French *Aumener* (or *Alms* purse) which is used by Chaucer in another passage of this poem;

Then from his *Aumener* he drough

A little key fetise enough: (v. 2087.)

But the original does not call it either *Aumener* or *Aumere*, but *bourse*:

Adonc de sa *bourse* il trait,

Un petit clef bien fait.

So that *Aumener*, from which Chaucer is supposed to borrow
Aumere,

Alumere, not being used by the French poet in either of these passages, his authority cannot be quoted for it. In fact, we shall consult the French Dictionaries in vain for this word, which is only to be found in the British Etymologists, and applied solely in the sense affixed to it by these poems. Though Chatterton might be acquainted with Chaucer, yet he must have been a stranger to the French original: How then could he have given so just an explanation of Le Meuns *Saincture*, which had entirely escaped the notice of Mr. Tyrwhit?

8. BARBED HALL. If there is no objection to the *Barbed Horse* in Shakespeare's Richard the Second, there can be none to that in *Ælla*;

Whann from the *barbed horse* in fyghte did viewe; (v. 27)
nor probably to

The javelin *barbed* with death's wynges.

(B. H. N° 2. v. 261.)

Much less can that passage be objected to in Shakespeare, where Coriolanus expresses a reluctance to appear before the senate of Rome as a suppliant, with his head *bare* and *unarmed*, which had been usually covered with a helmet:

Must I go shew them my *unbarbed* sconce? (Act iii.)

Not his *unshaven* head, as Dr. Johnson has explained the word; for that would have been no unusual appearance for a Roman, in the days of Coriolanus; but (as Sir Thomas Hanmer justly calls it) *unarmed*. Can there be any impropriety, then, in applying this expression to the hall in a gentleman's country seat, which, according to the custom of that age, was hung round with all the variety of armour then in use, and is very well described in the Ballad of the Old Courtier?

With an old hall hung round with pikes, guns, and bows;

With old swords, and bucklers that had born many hard blows.

9. BLAKE, has two different significations in the two passages quoted in the Appendix, (*Ælla* 178, and 406.) *Blake Autumn*,
means

means *yellow* autumn; which is very properly connected with the idea of *sun-burnt* (as it is there called.) Autumn is also said to have a *fallow band*, (B. H. N° 2. v. 551.) This sense of *Blake* is well known in the northern and western parts of England, where a *yellow-hammer* is called a *Blakelyng*. But *Blake* signifies also *pale*, *fallow*, *black*; Chaucer uses the word in almost all these senses; and Bailey explains it by *Bleak*, i. e. *open*, *exposed*, and therefore *cold*; and observes, that *Blakefield*, in German, signifies *an open field*, a *plain*, or *flat*. In the two following passages of Rowley we are to understand *Blake* in this sense;

Blake stondethe future doome. (Æ. v. 406.)

i. e. my future fate is *open* and exposed to my view. So

The *Blakied* forme of kinde, (Ecl 3. v. 4.)

signifies the *naked* and *undisguised* manners of men. Similar to this is the passage in the Complaint of Creseid, which unites the ideas of *cold* and *nakedness*, so often mentioned together by writers,

Of all blithness now thou are *Blake* and *bare*. (v. 4.)

If Chatterton had understood the meaning of this word, he would not have given the true sense of it in two instances, and omitted the explanation of it in another passage, where it carried a different meaning.

10. BODYKYN, i. e. *Corpusculum*, a diminutive of *body*, and undoubtedly of the same etymology with *bodkin*, though not applied in Chaucer's sense. It comes, however, much nearer in signification to the original Latin word, and Shakespeare has applied it in that sense to the *Body* of Christ, in the sacramental bread or wafer, using it as an oath or exclamation; "*God's Bodikins*, man," says Hamlet. The oath is still in use amongst the common people in Hampshire, and perhaps in other counties.

11. SWARTHE, SWARTHLESS, and SWARTHING, signify the *spirit*, *ghost*, *vital principle*, or *departing soul* of man. *Swarthe* is here opposed to *body*.—"And for a *Bodykin* a *Swarthe* obtain."—"The *Swartblefs* bodies on the plain," (B. H. N° 2. v. 563) and—
"With

“ With *Swarthblefs* corse besprent,” (B. II. N° 2. v. 700) were bodies from which the *soul* was *departed*: And—“ Ynne tydes of teares my *Swarthyng spryte* will drayne,” (Æ. v. 294) means “ my *departing spirit*.” Though this word is not to be found in the common glossaries, yet Ray gives it as a Cumberland expression, signifying the *ghost* of a dead man. Bishop Douglas uses *Wraythis*, or *Wretthis*, a word somewhat similar, for *ghosts*, *apparitions*, *phantoms*.

Nor zit nane vane *wretthis* nor *gaistis* queint. (p. 339. v. 15.)

Aut vanæ vertere ex hostibus umbræ. (Æn. x. v. 593.)

And again,

Thiddir went this *wrayth* or *schado* of Enee. (p. 442. v. 21.)

Huc sese trepida *Æneæ* fugientis imago,

Conjicit in latebras. (Æn. x. v. 656.)

12. BORDEL. A diminutive from the A. S. word *Bord*, which signifies a cottage inhabited by poor people, such as are called in the Domesday Survey *Bordarii*; and though *Bordel*, or *Brothel*, afterwards bore a more disreputable signification in French, yet in an old poem of the fourteenth century, quoted by Prosper Marchand, “ Un *borde* portable,” is rendered “ une maison campestre portative;” and by the Latin translation, “ Hic *casa* fixa fuit portabilis.” It would be difficult indeed to ascertain any precise time, when the meaning of this word was so entirely changed, as to exclude all subsequent application of it in the original sense which it bears in these poems; for though Celmond joins the *Bordelier* with the *Robber*, as equally insensible to the calls of honour, yet this insensibility proceeded, in the former, merely from an ignorance of its principles, in the latter, from a violation of its laws. Our poet, as an Englishman, gives the word its Saxon import; Chaucer, more conversant with, and imitative of the French, adopts their perverted meaning. It may not be impertinent to remark, that *στῆτες* and *τέτες* signified originally a *Shed*, but afterwards a *Brothel*. Even after such perversions

perversions have taken place, words are frequently used in their first and proper sense, and retain their meaning in a derivative language, after they have lost it in the primitive tongue. But although it should have become obsolete in both languages, by what law of criticism was Rowley forbidden to revive it?

Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet, atque
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum;
Quæ prisca memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
Nunc sitis informis premit, & deserta vetustas.

Hor. De Arte Poet.

13. BISMARE (M. 950) *Bismarde*, (St. of Can. v. 141) and *Bismarlie*, (Le. 26) and wherever else the word occurs in these poems, it signifies *capricious, fanciful, delusive*; in which sense it is explained by our Glossarists. Speght, who makes it the same as *bizarre*, interprets it *fantastical strangeness*; and Skinner calls it *curiosity*, deriving it from the A. S. word *Bismereþan*, *illudere, deridere*. Chatterton's explanation, *bewildered, curious*, seems to be borrowed rather from the former than the latter author. Hearne's Glossary to Robert Gloucester gives it a more extensive signification, viz. *scorn, derision, curiosity, vanity*. According to Lye, it signifies *blasphemy, mockery or derision*. In the latter of these senses, the A. S. translators of the Bible use it in the complaint made by Potiphar's wife against Joseph, that he *mocked* her; and in Psal. ii. 4. "The Lord shall have them in *derision*:" So also the deriding speech of the *mockers*, Psal. lxxiii. v. 11. "How should God perceive it?" They use the same word for the *mockery* of the Jews against our Saviour, Matt. xxvii. v. 29. *Bismare* may therefore signify *mockery* and *derision*, whether it be of a serious or pleasant kind. In the former sense we may explain the passage in P. Pl. (p. 108 b.) quoted by the learned Editor in his Glossary:

Bold and abiding *bismeres* to suffer.

In the latter sense, as a pleasing delusion, we may understand the

mokynge brooklett, mentioned in B. H. N° 2. v. 584, which corresponds with the *coursē Bismare* of the Severn, M. 95. Agreeably to this idea of *delusion*, the word is applied by Douglas to a *Bawd*. (Prol. Æn. iv. p. 97-1) and (in Prol. to Æn. viii. p. 238, b. 27) to a *whore*, both on account of their *deceitful* and *delusive* behaviour. But the education and character of the Miller's Wife, in Chaucer's Reves Tale (the only passage where the word occurs in that poet) will scarcely admit Mr. Tyrwhit's explanation, *abusive language*; for she was the daughter of the parson, and bred in a convent; in consequence of which

There durst ne wight clepen her but Dame.

* * * * *

She was so full of *boker*, and of *bismare*,
As though that a ladie should her spare;
What for her kinred and her norterly,
That she had learned in the nonnery.

Mr. Tyrwhit acknowledges some part of her character to be obscure; but if *abusive language* was her fault, was it not expressed under the name of *Hokir*; for Junius explains ἡκορρύπτει, *contumeliæ*? (See the Addenda to his Glossary.) It is much more consistent with her character, to say that she was proud, and full of *frowardness* and *derision* or *caprice*.

13. 14. It is objected to CHAMPYON, and CONTEKE, that there is no instance of their being used as *verbs* by any writer much earlier than Shakespeare, and that the latter word is used by Chaucer as a *noun*. It is a sufficient answer, to quote Robert Gloucester for the word *Conteked*; which his Glossarist explains *contested*, or *contended*. *Champyon* occurs in these poems, not only as a *verb*, (P. G. v. 12, T. 108, 148) and *substantive*, (B. H. N° 2. v. 630, 690, &c.) but as an *adjective* also; as for instance, The *Champyon crown*, (Æ. v. 631) *Champyonne blood*, (T. v. 134) *Champyonne warr*, (E. ii. v. 56) and *Champyon array*, (B. H. N° 1. v. 24.)—*Gauntlette* is also used as a substantive and verb, (T. v. 88

and 116) and as an adjective, *Gauntlette penne*, (Chall. to Lidgate v. 7.) That liberties of this kind are taken by our ancient poets, the following instances may serve as examples.—Gower applies the word *unkinde* both as an *adjective* and *substantive*, in the same line ;

And thus *unkynde*, *unkynde* fond. (P. 174 b.)

and Gascoigne makes the same word stand both for a *noun* and a *verb*, in two lines immediately following each other :

And tho' we made a brave *retire* in field,

Yet who *retires*, does always lose his place. (P. 152.)

So again,

This vain *awayle*. (P. 130)

At this *depart*. (P. 82)

dole decay, (P. ciii) for doleful decay.

An old poet, quoted in Hicks's Gram. A. S. p. 71, converts an *interjection* into a *noun substantive* :

“ Till *welleway* him teacheth,”—(i. e. till he is taught by distress.)—Mr. Tyrwhit's glossary contains several instances of words applied both as *nouns* and *verbs*; as *Accord*, *Affray*, *Disport*, *Dull*, *Dede*, *Fere*, *Hard*, *Happe*, *Plain*, &c.; and many others might be collected from ancient writers. Gower uses the words *New*, *Green*, and *Noise*, as *verbs*; on the other hand, Spenser turns the verbs *Adorne*, *Defame*, *Entertain*, and *Upbraid*, into nouns. This poetical liberty cannot be censured by the learned Editor of Chaucer, without taking notice that his own poet has converted the noun *Fellowship*, into the awkward verb *Fellowshippeth*, even in writing prose. (See his translation of Boethius, B. iv. p. 217 a. col. 2. Speght's edition, 1602.)

15. DERNE, or DERNIE. Three of the four passages wherein this word is quoted by the Appendix, may be interpreted *secret*, in the sense to which the learned Editor would confine this word; as *Dernie tale*, (Ecl. i. v. 19) *Dernie plainte*, (Ecl. iv. v. 8) and Drearie *Dernie* payne, (M. 106); but Actions *Derne*, (Æ. 581)

Dernie dede, (Æ. 683) and Force *Aderne*, (B. H. N° 2. v. 262) must signify *cruel*, agreeably to the explanation given by Speght and Skinner, viz. *Dirus*, *crudelis*, from the A. S. word *Deþm*, *lædere*, and Depe, *damnum*. Agreeably to the idea of *secret*, *Derne* may signify *solitary* or *melancholy*; as the *Derne hawthorns*, (B. H. N° 2. v. 522) which are said to grow on barren and fruitless heaths; and the *Derne Autumn* (an epithet twice given in the same poem, v. 359 and 551) may well deserve that title, when it is said in the following verse, to

Tare the green mantle from the lymed trees.

So the Glossarist on Robert of Gloucester explains *Derne*, by *dismal*, *sad*; and Ray has *Dearn* amongst his north-country words, for *lonely*, *solitary*, *far from neighbours*. In this sense Spenser seems to have used this word in the following passages:

They heard an ruefull voice, that *dearnly* cryd,

With piercing shrieks and many a doleful lay.

(F. Q. B. ii. c. 1. ft. 35.)

for the cry could not be *secret*, which was uttered with piercing shrieks.—So again:

—————Had not the Lady

dearnly to him called. (B. iii. c. 12. ft. 34.)

and it appears by the context that the call was *loud*, *woeful*, and *earnest*.

16. *DROORIE*, has a more extensive and liberal signification than is assigned to it in the Appendix. *Droorie*, (Ep. 47) signifies *modesty*, and *Drooried* (Æ. 127) means *courted*; but is not the language of courtship the language of modesty? *Tru*, the original word in Teutonic, signifies *Fidelis*, from which are derived our English words *True* and *Truth*. *Drubte*, signifies an espoused virgin, *Dru*, *amica*; and in an old French poem, quoted by Prosper Marchand, written at the close of the fourteenth century, and describing the pleasures of a country life, the peasant and his wife, at their table, are called *Le Dru*, and *La Dru*,

rendered by Clemangis *Beatæ convivæ*; and by Marchand, *Le Gaillard*, and *La Gaillarde*. Menage observes, that in the language of the most ancient writers, this word bears a chaste and honourable meaning, but that modern authors have applied it to unchaste love; not so our A. S. Glossarists, for Speght explains it *modesty, sobriety, chearfulness*; Skinner, *fidelitas, veracitas*; and Junius says, *Drurie Chauceri denotat amicitiam, amorem*.

—————Certainly no such beast,

To be loved is not worthy,

Or bear the name of *Drury*. (V. 5064, Urry.)

So Gower,

—————That for no *Druerie*,

He wol not leave his sluggerdie. (P. 78 a. col. 1.)

Druriage, in Bishop Douglas, signifies a *marriage portion*. *Luf Drouryis-monumentum et pignus amoris*; *gifts, or love presents*: and the word is always used by that author in a modest sense. In a romance written in the time of Henry VIth, and quoted by Mr. Warton, (vol. iii. p. 132;)

She was al dight with *Drewries* dere.

he explains the word *Drewries* by *gallantries*, or *jewels*. In a poem of Adam Davie, describing Alexander's battles, it is said that many a lady lost her *Drewery*; and that Athens "was the "*Drywery* of the world." (See Mr. Warton's note on the passage.) In P. Plowman's Crede, Truth is said to be as dere-worth a *Drury* as God himself. (P. 17 b.) In a metrical version of the Gospels for the year, which seems to be of the fourteenth century, (the property of the Reverend Mr. Moore, Canon of Exeter) the word is applied to the human soul, as the object of our Saviour's love.

Bot be we tender of that *Drury*,

Yat Christ so dere on rode wolde by. (P. 341.)

It is applied in the like religious sense, in an inscription engraven in Gothic letters round the Staff of Office belonging to the Mayor

Mayor of Ilchester : Dr. Stukeley has printed it in his *Itinerar. Curios.* p. 147, but without explaining the language, or meaning of the inscription :

Jesu de Druerie,
Ne me Dunctmie.

Which probably may be thus rendered :

Jesu, of thy *love* (or *faithfulness*) forsake me not.

17. FONNES. When the learned Editor of Chaucer objected to this word, probably he did not recollect that his own poet had used it in the same sense; for he has not explained it in his Glossary:

Ne in desire none other *Fownes* bred,

But arguments to his conclusion. (*Troil. B. i. v. 466.*)

But Rowley, with a more accurate orthography (because nearer to the original substantive *Fon*, and to the verb *Fonden*) calls them *Fonnes*. Indeed the word is so spelt in the editions of Speght's Glossary, 1602 and 1687, but in that of 1598 it is written *Fownes*. It would be no wonder, however, if Chatterton had mis-spelt this word, who so frequently confounded the *n* and *w*. Speght explains *Fownes*, *devices*; and Junius, referring to this passage, says, *Fownes*, *Chaucero videntur esse, devices, imaginations, and conceits*. In this sense we may understand that passage in *Ælla* :

One of the *Fonnis* whych the church have made,

Menne wydoute sprytes and wommen for to fleme. (v. 420.)

So in *Ecl. ii. v. 14*, the oars of the vessel which carried King Richard are said to be

Decorn with *Fonnis* rare;

i. e. decorated with *fancied* ornaments.—The verb *Fonden*, formed from the substantive *Fon*, is used by our ancient writers in a great variety of significations; as, to *find*, *invent*, *contrive*, *fancy*, or *sport with the imagination*. Thus Gower,

Liggend alone than I *fonde*,

To dream a merry sweven e'r daie.

Forwenes expressed likewise any irregular or violent exertion of the imagination or affections, which was either strained into madness, or degenerated into dotage and folly. Thus Chaucer,

———— when age approaches on,
The lust is laid, and all the fire is queint;
So freshly then thou shalt begin to *fonne*,
And dote in love, and all her image paint.

(Court of Love, v. 456.)

And the reproof in the Reves Tale is similar in its meaning, and jocularly spoken: “Thou is a *fonne*—i. e. ‘Thou art a fool;’” both passages implying rather a *misapplication* than a *want of understanding*. So likewise Spenser, in the Speech of Despair, means by *fond* an improper exertion of the fancy:

Most envious man, that grievst at neighbours good,
And *fond* that joyest in the wee thou hast.

(B. i. c. 9. st. 39.)

And in his description of immodest mirth, *fondly* signifies *fancifully*, and *fantastically*:

And other whiles vaine toyes she would devyze,
As her fantasticke wit did most delight:
Sometimes her head she *fondly* would aguize
With gawdy girlonds———— (B. ii. c. 6. st. 7.)

Dr. Johnson had no reason, therefore, to call *Fun* “a low cant word;” it being of great antiquity, and established signification, as well as the verb *Fonden*, which is formed from it.

18. *Knopped*. The words *Knop*, *Knob*, or *Knott*, signify the knot of a tree, or indeed any other knot: Chaucer uses it for a *rose bud*, and a *button*, both implying *concentrated substances*, and both expressed by *bouton* in the French tongue. But why should the signification of the word be confined to this single

idea, and the allusion be charged with impropriety, as if the poet had said,

Theyre myghte ys *buttoned* ynne the froste of fere?

(Metam. v. 14.)

For the animal spirits might be driven to, and concentrated in the vital parts of the body, by the frost of fear (agreeably to the just and beautiful allusion of our poet) in the same manner as the spirit in liquor is driven to, and confined by frost and cold in the center of the liquid.

19. THE LECTURN of Rowley, and the *Lectorn* of Chaucer, though derived from the same Latin word *Lectura*, bear different significations; the former being applied to the *lecture* itself, and the latter to the place where the *lecture* is read. The verb *Lecture* occurs in more than one passage of these poems, (See Ecl. iv. v. 28. and St. of Can. v. 68); and the noun *Lecturn*. (Le. 46) But *Lecturnys*, or *Lecturings*, (Æ. 109) may be a participle, formed in the same manner as Chaucer uses *commandings* for *commands*: And the reader may observe, in a preceding remark on the word *Abounde*, that it is not uncommon for the same word to bear two very different significations.

20. LITHE. The existence and etymology of this word, although doubted in the Appendix, are established by the Glossarists. It is acknowledged that the word *Luther* signifies *wicked, idle, slovenly, wanton*; but *Lethy*, or *Lithe*, in the language of Chaucer, signifies *soft*,

So oft falleth the *Lethy* water on the hard rock.

And again, (Test. of Love, B. iii.)

To maken *Lithe* that erst was hard.

(Book of Fame, B. i. v. 119.)

In his preface to the Astrolabe, he speaks of *Lith* English, by which he means *plain* English. Spenser, in his Calendar for February, has the expression "*Lithe* as a lass in Kent." Robert of Gloucester
uses

uses *Litblyche* for *easy*. Shakespeare, by the word *Litber* means *yielding* or *pliant*.

Two winged Talbots through the *litber* sky.

And Milton, speaking of the elephant, says,

He writh'd his *Litbe* proboscis. (Par. Lost, B. iv.)

According to Speght, Skinner, and Junius, *Litbe* signifies *soft*, *mild*, *light*, *gentle*, *quiet*, *placid*; and the epithet is certainly very applicable to a monk, who by his profession, and the rules of his order, was to be *mild*, *gentle*, and *pliable*; a character here properly opposed to the stiffness and pride of an English Baron.

We are now to consider the words objected to under the third head, as *inflected contrary to Grammar and Custom*. But neither the rules of grammar, nor the law of custom, were so well established, or so generally observed, in the fifteenth century, as to furnish a criterion for ascertaining the precise æra when a poem was written; and if such a criterion could be established, it is apprehended that the words objected to in the Appendix would not come within the reach of its censure.

If the authenticity of an ancient poem was to be determined by the strict rules of grammar, what shall we say to the Father of our English Poetry; who, though more correct in his language than his contemporaries, and even than many succeeding writers, yet stands charged by his learned Editor with the following grammatical errors and inaccuracies?

“ 1. In making a disagreement between the nominative case
“ and the verb, by that ungrammatical phraseology—*I is a Miller*
“ —*Thou is a son*. (vol. iv. p. 251.)

“ 2. In putting the nominative instead of the accusative case,
“ as—*we* for *us*. (Ibid. p. 296.)

“ 3. In using the pronouns redundantly. (vol. iv. p. 233.)

“ 4. It is too frequent a practice with him to omit the
“ governing pronoun before his verbs, both personal and rela-
“ tive. (vol. iv. p. 216 and 277.)

“ 5. He frequently abbreviates the third person singular of the present tense; as *bid, rid*, for *biddeth and rideth*; so that they may easily be mistaken for the past tense. (vol. iv. p. 199.)

“ 6. He puts the participle of the past tense improperly for the infinitive mood. (Ibid. p. 222.)

“ 7. He sometimes forms the participle of the present tense in *en*, even in those verbs of which he also uses the participle in *ed*; as *wasþen, faren*, for *washed, fared*.” (vol. iii. p. 317.)

Other grammatical errors might be pointed out, which are not mentioned by his Editor; and it would be a tedious and unnecessary task, to select the numberless errors of Gower, Occleve, Lidgate, and our ancient poets preceding Spenser, who is not to be acquitted entirely of this charge.

With regard to custom, independent of grammar, it will be difficult to establish any precise rules (at least in orthography) upon the authority and consent either of our ancient poets or prose-writers; nothing being more various and uncertain than the spelling of the same word by different, or even by the same authors. Here likewise the testimony of the learned Editor may be called in defence of our poet.

“ Quadrio (says he) has a long chapter upon the licences taken by the Italian poets, for the sake of the rhyme, and as long a chapter might be filled with the irregularities which the old French poets committed for the same reason. It should seem, that whilst orthography was so variable in all the living European languages, before the invention of printing, the poets thought it generally advisable to sacrifice propriety of spelling to exactness of rhiming. Of the former offence, there were but few judges, the latter was obvious to the eye of every reader.” (vol. iv. p. 280.)

Mr. Warton also has taken notice of Spenser's ellipses, his confused construction, his tautology, and self-contradiction; observing, “ that he often new spells a word, to make it rhyme more

“ perfectly, and that this was a liberty which Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate frequently made use of.” He gives likewise the following sentiments of a critic in Queen Elizabeth’s days upon this subject.

“ The author of the Art of English Poesie says; There cannot be in a maker a fouler fault, than to falsify his accent, to serve his cadence, or by untrue orthography to help his rhyme; for it is a sign that such a maker is not copious in his own language.—However, he seems afterwards to allow the deviation from the true spelling in some measure, for he adds,—It is somewhat more tolerable to help the rhyme by false orthography, than to leave an unpleasant dissonance to the ear, by keeping trewe orthographie, and losing the rhyme; as for example, it is better to rhyme *dore* with *restore*, than in its true orthographie, which is *door*: Such men were in effect the most part of all your old rhymers, and especially Gower, who, to make up his rhyme, would for the most part write his terminant syllable with false orthographie, and many times not stick to put a plain French word for an English; and so, by your leave, do many of your common rhymers to this day.”

(Warton’s Observations upon Spenser, vol. i. p. 118.)

These liberties have been also frequently taken with words independent of rime: Thus *ony* is written for *any*, *saft* for *soft*, *bald* for *bold*, *go* for *gone*, *neye* for *eye*, *above*, *obrode*, *ogrant*, and *ogriſe*, for *above*, *abroad*, *grant*, *agriſe*, &c. That the reader may judge how far this liberty was extended by one of our most considerable poets, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the following, amongst other general rules, are given by the Editor of Bishop Douglas’s translation of Virgil, for the better understanding that poet’s language.

1. The way of spelling is far from being uniform; a general fault of this, and of former times, among them who wrote in the Saxon, old Scot, and English dialects.

2.

2. Our

2. Our author, and other writers of those times, both for the verse sake, and otherwise, use some words which are now superfluous: On the other hand, several are omitted or understood.

3. Words and sentences are transposed from their natural order.

4. The plural of nouns is frequently used for the singular, and sometimes, though very rarely, vice versa.

5. Participles are put *metri gratiâ* for verbs, which is also usual with the Anglo Saxon poets: On the other hand, verbs are more frequently used for participles, and sometimes for verbals; as *blaw* for *blawin*, and *performe* for *performed*: On the other hand, he uses *sulden* for *shuld*, *warren* for *were*, *daren* for *dare*.

6. A great liberty is taken in the persons and number of verbs, the terminations being often used promiscuously.

7. The author has a great number of preterits of verbs, most of which continue among the vulgar of Scotland to this day, such as *ran*, *lap*, *fwang*, *fwate*, &c. instead of *did run*, *leap*, *fwing*, and *fweat*; and he omits the final *d* in participles, putting *separate*, *constitute*, and *contribute*, for *separated*, *constituted*, and *contributed*.

8. The last syllable is often changed, to make crambé or rime, as *saw* for *save*, *be* for *bene*, *sayne* for *say*, &c.

9. Many words of Latin original, in our author's time, are taken from the present tense, which are now brought from the supine, as *extreme*, *possede*, *propone*, &c.

10. Two words now separated are joined into one, and sometimes words now joined were then separated, and sometimes joined and sometimes separated.

11. Sometimes a letter is added to, or towards the end of a word, sometimes to the beginning; as *aback*, *adown*, &c. and sometimes taken away.

12. The initial *Be*, in composition, very often adds little or nothing to the signification; as *bekend*, *begrave*, *beknitt*; and sometimes *By* is written for *Be*.

Many other observations are made with regard to the poets use and application of each letter in the alphabet; but those already selected, are sufficient to justify the few liberties taken by our poet. In fact, the anomalies of Rowley being very few, his language is more suspected for its correctness and elegance, than for its deviation from grammar and custom.

From these general observations, we proceed to justify the particular words objected to on this account.

CLEVIS occurs twice in these poems, (B. H. N° 2. v. 46 and 510) and in both passages in the singular number. The Appendix says, that Chaucer uses it in the plural; but the only instance where the word occurs in that poet, might be applied to either:

Roming on the *Clevis* by the fe.

(Leg. of Hyfip. v. 103.)

The Glossarist of Bishop Douglas calls *Clewcbis*, or *Clewis*, a *rock* or *bill*, a *cliff* or *clift*. But the *Clevis* mentioned in these poems, is not so properly the *rock* or *cliff* in general, as the *cleft*, or *torn part* of the rock:

Fierce as a *Clevis* from the rocke ytorne.

And again,

(B. H. N° 2. v. 46.)

The thunder shafts in a *torn Clevis* flie.

(B. H. N° 2. v. 510.)

This word seems to be formed from the old French verb *Cliver*, which, according to Cotgrave, signifies to *lean*, *bow*, or *hang outward*, as the *cliff*, or *steep side of a bill*; an idea which exactly corresponds with the meaning of both these passages: Not that this authority is necessary for the poet's justification; it would be sufficient to say, that the measure of his verse required the word to be lengthened into a dissyllable.

EYNE. Our poet was not ignorant that *Eyne* was a contraction of *Eyen*, the plural of *Eye*; for he has very frequently applied both

words with great propriety in these poems; especially in those two lines where he describes *Kennewalche's*

——— featly sparklyng *eye*;

Those *eyne* that did oft mickle pleased look.

(B. H. N° 2. v. 418.)

There are above twenty passages in these poems where *eyne* must be understood in the plural number, and only three produced in the Appendix, where it is used as a noun singular. In the two following instances,

In everych *eyne* aredyngne nete of wyere;

and,

(Ecl. ii. v. 79.)

In everie *eyne* I kenne the lowe of myghte. (Æ. 680.)

everie eyne may be understood collectively, as equivalent to *all eyes*: So in the other passage, viz.

Wythe fyke *an eyne* she swotelie hymn didd view. (T. v. 169.)
fyke an eyne may signify *such eyes*; or we might read it *fyken eyne*, in the plural number. In another instance, not mentioned in the Appendix;

Where *ne one eyne* mote theyre disporte engage. (M. 54.)
ne one eyne is the same as *no eyes*. The word *eye*, though singular, having frequently a plural signification, implying *both eyes*, or a *pair of eyes*. Instances, however, are not wanting in our ancient poets, to countenance such a mistake, (if this be one) for Gower uses the word *Eie* as a noun plural;

And whan the Egyptiens sie

The felde before *her cie*:—i. e. *their eyes*.

We may suppose, indeed, that this word was made subservient to the rime; but not so in the following passage of the same poet;

But yet *hem* liketh not to stere—i. e. *them*.

Her ghostly *cie* for to see.—i. e. *their ghostly eyes*.

So likewise in the Testament of Cresseis, the word *eien* is used with a verb singular:

All crystal *was* his *eien*. (p. 181 b. col. 2.)

As

As to the pronoun HEIE, Mr. Tyrwhit only *conjectures* that it was obsolete in the time of Rowley; but conjecture ought not to have the force of proof. *Hii* is used for *they* by Robert of Gloucester; and Verstegan has *Hi* or *Hibe* for the same pronoun. Adam Davie uses *Thii*, and Rowley sometimes *Heie*, and sometimes *Tbeie*. The omitting the initial *T*, can be no material objection, nor is it probable that the nominative *Heie* should be quite obsolete, whilst the accusative *Hem* continued in common use.

The learned Editor cannot believe that the word THYSEN was ever in use as the plural of *This*; but in his Dissertation on the language of Chaucer, (page 37) he observes from Dr. Wallis's Grammar, that the pronouns possessive, *His*, *Hers*, *Ours*, *Yours*, are frequently pronounced by the common people, *Hish*, *Hern*, *Ourn*, *Yourn*; and why not, by parity of reason, the pronouns demonstrative, *Thish*, *Thesen*, and *Tbosen*, for *this*, *these*, and *those*. In fact, we still find these words so pronounced by the vulgar in many parts of England; but we have better authority for this word, both in the Anglo-Saxon and German languages. It is observed by Lye, in his Saxon Grammar prefixed to Junius's Etymologicon, that the dative and accusative cases plural of the Saxon pronoun *Der*, *Hic*, are *Dirum* and poetice *Diron*; and that *Dirne* is the accusative singular of the pronoun *Dir*, *istic*. The pronoun *Dieser*, *This*, in German, makes *Diesen* in the dative singular, and in the genitive, dative, and ablative plural; as *Diesen abend*, this night; *Von Diesen sachen*, of these things; *Diesen mannen*, to these men. (See Ludwig's German Dictionary.)

It is possible, indeed, that the termination in *en* might be added for the sake of the rime; additions or abbreviations of this kind being occasionally used by our ancient poets; but there is no reason to think, with the learned Editor, that it was owing to the author's ignorance concerning the propriety of such additions.

We

We are now to justify what is censured in the Appendix “as
 “ a capital blunder which runs through all these poems, viz. the
 “ termination of verbs in the singular number in *n*, and especially
 “ the frequent use of the word *Han* in the same number, which,
 “ as an abbreviation of *Haven*, is said never to be used by any
 “ ancient writer except in the present tense *plural*, and in the
 “ infinitive mood.

No doubt, this termination is more generally applied to those
 tenses; but several instances may be given from ancient authors,
 to justify our poet for using it in the singular number.

Thus Adam Davie says in his *Alexander* :

Olympias, that fair wife,

Wolden make a rich fest.

So Gower, (Warton, vol. i. p. 22.)

Thou wilten. (p. 73 b.)

And again,

The harm that fallen. (p. 67 b.)

And in another place,

That with the help of his brocage,

That maken seme where is nought.

(P. 73 b. v. 32.)

We may find in Chaucer several instances of the same kind,
 without recurring to Urry's edition, which abounds with them;
 that author having frequently added this termination to words
 merely to make up the deficiency of metre, without any authority
 from ancient manuscripts.

The following instances are selected from Speght's edition of
 Chaucer, 1602; which probably may furnish many others:

From him that felen no fore nor sicknesse.

(La Belle Dame, p. 242 a. col. 1.)

I tellen you him had. (Sir Thopas, v. 47.)

Though.

Though a priest, lye with his lemman all night,
And tellen his fellowe.

(Plowman's Tale, p. 90 a. col. 2.)

Forth flew the gentle nightingale,
And befoughten hem, &c.

(Cuckow and Night. p. 317 b. col. 2.)

———— your dreme,

Cometh of the grete superfluitie
Of red colour that is in you parde,
Which causen folks to drede in her dreames.

(Nonnes Priest's Tale, p. 81 b. col. 1.)

Alkaunce that he woulden for 'em pray.

(Sompner's Tale, p. 39 a. col. 1.)

That any heart coulden gues.

(B. of Fame 3d, p. 270 a. col. 1.)

We old men I dreaden. (Prol. to Reves Tale, p. 14 a.)

And hastily this foudon sent his fond,

And praiden hem, &c.

(Man of Lawe's Tale, p. 18 b. col. 2.)

I wretch that weep and wailen thus.

(Knights Tale, p. 1 b. col. 1.)

———— for such a lustie life,

She shoulde lede with this lustie knight.

(Leg. of Hyfypile, p. 191 b. col. 2.)

See also, in the Court of Love, Thou *Serven*, (v. 290) Thou *muften*, (v. 389) I *keepin*, (v. 685) If this matter *springen*, (v. 725) If I *doen* again, (v. 927) If I *greiven* you, (v. 928) She *gaven*, (v. 1209) On *highen* cast. (H. of Fame, *versus finem*.)

If it should be said that these terminations are added on account of the rime; the following instances may be quoted from his prose works;—"Soch writing *exciten* men." (Prol. to Test. of Love, Speght, p. 272 a.) And towards the end of the same Prologue, "Their passing study *kan* refreshed our wits, our
"understanding

“ understanding *han* excited.”—And in the Test. of Love—“ Till
 “ assay of the people *han* proved it.” Again, “ The sight of the
 “ better colours *geven* to them more joie.” (Test. of Love,
 B. i.) “ Altho’ the virtue of deedes of mercie stretchen.” (Ibid.
 Speght, p. 273 b. col. 1.) “ And albeit that Mercurius often
 “ with whole understanding knowen such perilous matters.”
 (Test. of Love, p. 292 b. col. 1.) “ The first species of philo-
 “ sophy is nature, which in kindly things treatin and sheweth :”
 (Ibid. p. 293 a. col. 2.)—“ Ne cessiden thee never to compare.”
 (Boeth. B. iii.)

In fact, the ancient authors appear to have made an arbitrary
 use of the *en* final, annexing it to almost every species of words
 into which speech has been or can be distinguished: To substan-
 tives singular as well as plural; as for instance, “ *Greecen* for
 “ Greece, *Jolen* for Jole, *Soleyn* for Sole; *Himselfen*, *hirselfen*,
 “ and *theirselfen*, in almost every page of Gower and Chaucer :”
 To imperatives singular, as *understanden*, (p. 284 b. col. 1.)
 —*geven*,—*approachin*,—*go askin*: To adjectives, as *bothin*,
famyn: To adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, as *outin*,
aboven, *abouten*, *aforeyne*, *atwixen*, *besiden*, *sithen*: And though
 it is more frequently applied to participles, infinitives, and
 to nouns and verbs plural, yet it is no characteristical mark of
 any of these—Many of them have it not; and the same word,
 in the same mood, tense, number and person, shall be written
 with it in one sentence, and without it in the next; so that
 the criticism which would entirely exclude this termination
 from verbs singular, is not supported by fact, and therefore
 cannot be made a sufficient criterion of antiquity.

If then verbs singular of the past or present tense may termi-
 nate in *en*; and *Han* is an abbreviation of *haven*, the use of it
 may be justified by the learned Editor’s own concession: But in
 fact *han* is used in these poems as a contraction of the past tense
had, and not of the present tense *haven*, as will appear by

referring to the several quotations in the Appendix. Chaucer seems thus to have used it in the Romaunt of the Rose :

The birdes that *han* left their song,

While they *han* suffred cold so strong. (V. 71.)

The word *enthoughteyng* is particularly objected to “because the “initial syllable is added to lengthen the verse, and a participle “of the present tense is formed from a fictitious past time.” But this initial syllable is very frequently prefixed to English verbs, and generally gives an additional energy to them; as to *enchain*, *encircle*, *encumber*, *endanger*, *enfeeble*, *enforce*, &c.; and we meet with the verb *enstrengthen* in another ancient author *. There is no necessity to suppose this participle to be derived from a verb of the past time; for it may be formed from the substantive *thought*, as well as from the past tense of the verb *think*; in the same manner as *draughting* is derived from the substantive *draught*, though *draughted* is also a participle of the past tense. So the verbs *enlighten* and *enliven*, are formed from the substantives *light* and *life*; and Chaucer has created the verb *fellowshippeth* from the substantive *fellowship*.

We proceed next to that objection which supposes Chatterton to have borrowed most of his ancient words, together with the explanations of them, from Skinner's Etymologicon, either copying his blunders, or mistaking and misapprehending his meaning. This charge is easily refuted by the following fact, communicated to me by Mr. Barrett :—Chatterton calling on him one day, saw Skinner's Etymologicon laying on his table, and having asked what the book was, Mr. Barrett offered to lend it to him, which he accepted, but returned the book in two days, saying that it was of no use to him, as he did not understand Latin. Indeed he could have gained very little information from it within so short a time, especially as his ignorance of Latin must

* See an Exhortation by R. Morrifon, printed for Berthelett, 1549.

have

have rendered Skinner's explanations very difficult, if not unintelligible to him. But the Glossary to which he was principally indebted, (for there is a transcript of it in his own hand) was that of Speght, prefixed to his edition of Chaucer 1598, as appears by their perfect agreement in the explanation of words; confirmed by this circumstance, that Chatterton borrowed this edition of Chaucer from Mr. Green, a bookseller of Bristol; it was afterwards purchased by Mr. George Catcott, and is now the property of Dr. Glynn. A remark on one of the words in that Glossary, in Chatterton's own hand, is a sure proof that he had made some use of it. It was the transcript of this Glossary which Chatterton desired his sister to send to him in London, for he had left it behind him at Bristol. (See his letter in *Love and Madness*, p. 175, and 179;) Mr. Barrett copied it, and that transcript is still in his possession.

When we consider that Skinner published his Glossary above seventy years after Speght, and copied his explanations of the words which occur in Chaucer, we shall find that Chatterton's interpretation of those words was taken from Speght, and not from Skinner; and therefore, where he seems to be mistaken in the interpretation, the blunder must be imputed to the former, and not to the latter author; but it remains yet to be decided, whether the explanations given by those authors are *justly* objected to in the Appendix; such of the words, indeed, as are not used by Chaucer, could not be explained by Speght; and for those Chatterton might be indebted to Skinner; he might even copy his mistakes: But the question is not so much concerning the true meaning of the words, as concerning the authority upon which his interpretations are founded.

The Appendix states some instances of blunders supposed to be copied from Skinner; of these, *A la boon*, and *Aumeres*, have been already explained; and as to the word *Bawfin*, *large*, it has certainly escaped the notice of the learned Editor, that it occurs in one of

Chaucer's Ballads, and is explained by Speght in the same manner as by Chatterton: There is therefore *older and better authority than Skinner's for the interpretation*. In that severe ballad against a female, printed in Chaucer's works, (Speght, p. 325 b. col. 2.) which begins "O mossy quince," he calls her "*Bawfin*—*buttocked, bellied like a Tunne*." The reader will judge, whether the application of the word in this passage, does not justify Speght's interpretation, and the use made of it in these poems.

BRONDEOUS, BRONDEYNGE, and BRONDED, i. e. *furious*; so interpreted by Chatterton from Speght, who explains *Bronde* by *fury, fire*; to which the sense of the word in these poems is perfectly applicable. Thus "England's *Brondeous* sons," (Ecl. ii. v. 24) "The *Brondeynge* foe," (Æ. 703) and "The *Bronded* flood," (B. H. N° 2. v. 558.) But it is not likely that Chatterton should borrow Skinner's Latin explanations of *Furia, Titio, Torris*. If he had been indebted to him for this word, would he not have followed him also in the explanation of *Burly-Brand*, (G. v. 7.) i. e. *Magnus ensis*? but he adheres to Speght's idea, and improperly renders that term by *Fury, Anger, Rage*. Though *Bronde* originally signified a *torch or firebrand*, yet it was applied also to a sword, on account of its flaming and fiery appearance. "*Brando ensis sic dictus a flammeâ. specie et igneo splendore*." (Hicks's Gramat. Theotisc. p. 93). He observes also, (Gram. A. S. p. 192, note) that "*Brand, Glad*, " and *Glod*, i. e. *gladius, torris*, and *pruna ignita*, are synonymous terms, because the lustre of swords resembles fire; Odin's Hall "is therefore said to be enlightened only by drawn swords, and "hence the English term of *brandishing* a sword is derived." But authority more ancient than the Testament of Creseis may be quoted for the application of this word, and for the term *Burly-Brand*. The poetical romance of Richard the First, written before the year 1400, (See Warton, vol. i. p. 160) speaks of

Helme, hauberke, and *brondes* bright.

Blind.

Blind Harry, who wrote the History of Sir William Wallace, in 1361, (Warton, vol. i. p. 323) thus describes his armour:

His good girdle, and fyne his *buirly brand*;
A staff of steele he gripped in his hand.

And in another passage,

His burnisht *brand* braithly in hand he bare.

It is unnecessary to add, that the poets subsequent to Rowley, especially Spenser, generally use *brand* for a sword, as fatal *brand*, heart-thrilling *brand*, *bronde-iron*, and steely *brand*. And,

A sword that flames like burning *brand*.

(F. Q. B. ii. c. 3. st. 18.)

When Campynon is said

To dree his swerde in *Burle Brande*,

(B. H. N° 2. v. 664)

it may be literally rendered “that he drew it in *armed fury*.”

BURLED, *armed*. So explained on Speght’s authority, and justified by the several passages in the poems where that word occurs; as The *Burled* Dacyanns, (*Æ.* v. 707) A *Burled* Trojan, (*M.* v. 20) Fitzhughs *Burled* hide, (B. H. N° 2. v. 37) and, The shepsters *Burled* croke, (B. H. N° 2. v. 86): Skinner agrees in the same explanation, but both he and Chatterton borrowed it from Speght. The same may be said of the word *Bismare*, which has already been considered.

CALKED, *cast out*, *ejected*. This explanation of Chatterton, seems to be taken from Speght’s rendering it by the general word *cast*: Had he consulted Skinner, that author’s remark could hardly have escaped him, “*Credo, cast up*.” In the passage of Godwin where that word occurs, *Calke awaie the hours*, may be easily supposed a mistake for *Caste away the hours*; and if the passage; (*Ecl.* i. v. 49) *Calked from everie joie*, will not bear the same interpretation, we may change it for the word *Cachit*, used by Bishop Douglas to signify *driven*, and which the Pr. Parv. explains by *abigo*.

These.

These are instances of words supposed in the Appendix to *have been borrowed from Skinner, and applied in the fanciful significations which that author has ascribed to them*: Their meaning, however, seems to be sufficiently established by antiquity; and if it was not, yet the explanations of Chatterton appear to be borrowed from Speght, and not from Skinner.

We are in the next place to consider some instances of words and interpretations founded (as the Appendix suggests) on a misapprehension of passages in Skinner.

ALYSE is supposed to be a mistake for *Alfred, allowed*; but the former of these words has been already so well defined, and its meaning so fully established, as to leave no room for such an imputation.

BESTOIKER is supposed to originate from a like misapprehension of Skinner, because his glossary has the word *Beswike* in the same sense; but Chatterton might have mis-spelt an ancient word, without even seeing it in Skinner: It is more probably a mistake for a German word of the same signification, and which comes nearer to it in orthography, requiring the change only of a single letter; *Besfrikan*, according to Ludwig, signifying to *decoy, entice, ensnare, &c.*

BLAKE has been already explained, with its concomitant, meaning of *naked*; but not borrowed from Skinner, for it is unlikely that he should have taken his idea from the Latin word *nuda*, which he did not understand: Would he not rather have adopted Skinner's English interpretation of *Bleak* and *Bare*?

HANCELED, *cut off*. So explained by Speght and Skinner; the latter indeed says, that the primary or more proper sense of the word is, *to cut off by way of specimen or sample*; but if the word really imports the fact, the poet's use of it may be justified, though he applies it in a different manner.

He uses also *Halceld* in the same sense, (M. v. 37); and Chaucer has the word *Hameled*, to which Speght has given the like interpretation:

pretation: This idea seems to be conveyed in the word *Hancelines*, or breeches worn in Chaucer's time, which he calls *cutted shaps*. (See Parfons Tale, p. 184 Tyr. and Speght, p. 97 b. col. 2.)

SHAP is objected to only because it is used as a noun; for the verb *shapen*, with its participles *shopen*, *ishope*, and *ishape*, occur very frequently in our ancient writers, in a meaning exactly corresponding to the use of the word in these poems. *Shapen* signifies not only to *create*, *form*, *model*, or *shape*, but also to *allot*, *appoint*, and *fix by a superior power and unalterable decree*; of which the following passages, amongst many others, are proofs.

Gower says—

But if thyn happe thereto be *Shape*. (P. 56 a.)

Me *Shapen* no such *destiny*. (P. 78 a.)

That I am *Shapen* all to strife. (P. 82 a.)

So that the spede of everie love

Is *shape* there as it befall.

So Chaucer, in the Knight's Tale:

And if so be our *destine* be *Shape*. (Tyr. p. 44. v. 1110.)

There is thee *Shopen* of thine woe an ende.

(P. 55. v. 1394.)

Were it by aventure or *destinee*,

For where a thing is *shapen* it shall be. (P. 58. v. 1467.)

That each of you shall have his *destinee*

As him is *shape* (P. 73. v. 1844.)

Or if my *destinee* be *shapen* so. (P. 91. v. 2325.)

Wherefore to *shapen* that they shall not die.

(P. 100. v. 2543.)

And in Queen Annelida, (Speght, p. 244 b. col. 2.)

My *destinee* hath *shaped* so full yore.

Thus with care, sorrow, and tene am I *shapt*

Myne end with death to make.

(Test. of Love, B. i. Speght, p. 273 a. col. 1.)

And

And in the lines quoted in the Appendix :

Now is me *ſhape* eternally to dwell,
Not only in purgatory, but in hell.

Bishop Douglas thus translates that line in Virgil, (*Æn.* vi. v. 466.)

Quem fugis ? extremum *fato* quod te alloquor hoc est.

Quham fleis thou ? this is the latter day,

By *werdis ſchap* that with thee ſpeak I may. (P. 180. v. 12.)

Werdis ſchap, means *parcarum fato*, whom Douglas in other places calls the *weird ſiſteris*. Uupði ȝyrcapu occurs alſo in the Harmonia Evangelica Franco-Theotiſc. quoted by Hicks in his Gram. A. S. p. 112, and is there rendered *parcarum decreto*. But the meaning of the word may be eſtabliſhed upon more certain authority. Verelius, in his Scandic Lexicon, has *ſkap*, *fortuna*, and *Skæpna*, *fatum*. So Junius (in voce Werd) referring to the word *Iſhape* in the Knight's Tale, ſays, “ Poeta priſci quo-
“ que ſermonis indubium veſtigium exhibuit in verbo *Iſhape*,
“ ſiquidem *Skeffne* Danis eſt *Fatum* ; antiquoribus ad hæc Cimbris
“ *parcæ* olim dictæ *ṽPṽB Skop* & *ṽPṽB ṽṽ Skopur Creatio*,
“ quod *parcæ* proſpera ſimul atque adverſa hominibus decernere
“ & veluti concreare ſoleant.”

It remains only to obſerve on the words collected, p. 331 of the Appendix, and ſuppoſed by their agreement with Skinner to have been borrowed from him, that the five laſt are explained in the ſame manner by Speght ; and if the other ſeven are not to be found in his Gloſſary, it is becauſe they do not occur in Chaucer. Two of thoſe words, viz. *Abounde* and *Aluſte*, are not even explained by Chatterton ; but the meaning and antiquity of them all has been eſtabliſhed by the preceding obſervations. If the words are well defined, their being explained by Skinner can be no objection to their authenticity ; but it is on every account unlikely that Chatterton ſhould have depended on that author for his words and explanations, which being conveyed in Latin, muſt have been exceeding difficult for him to underſtand.

It

It is asserted also in the Appendix, (p. 331) “ that Chatterton “ has applied the prefix A, to words of all sorts, without any “ regard to custom or propriety ;” but one of the words in his list, viz. *Agrame*, or *Agreme*, occurs in the Plowman’s Tale of Chaucer, v. 2283 ;

Then woll the officers be *agramed* :

And as to the general charge, Chaucer applies this prefix to verbs in the present tense, as *Arreaseneth*, *Accloyth*, *Atyde*, and *Afyle* ; to past tenses, as *Astranglit*, *Agathered*, *Aforced*, &c. ; to nouns, as *Avision*, *Avow*, &c. ; to adjectives, as *Avoid*, *Acroke*, &c. ; to adverbs, as *Abacke*, *Anye*, *Anow*, &c. ; and the observations relating to this prefix, both in Urry’s and Mr. Tyrwhit’s Glossaries, will justify the use of it in these poems. It must not be unnoticed, however, that the words referred to in the Appendix on this occasion, are sometimes used by our poet without the prefix, as *boune*, *come*, *derne*, *dygne*, *left*, &c.

The reader having been detained so long in a series of verbal criticism, it may be necessary to recal his attention to those points, on which the authenticity of the Poems is defended against the objections of the Appendix.

It is contended, that the criterion of antiquity therein laid down cannot be admitted, with regard either to the *use*, *signification*, or *inflection* of words ; and that, if any such criterion was established, the words objected to in the Appendix would not come within that description, being authorised, both in their *use* and *signification*, by ancient writers and glossarists ; and the liberty taken in their inflection, with respect to grammar and custom, justified by the examples of other poets.

In answer to the suggestion, that Chatterton borrowed many of his ancient words and explanations from Skinner ; it has been proved, that he had no knowledge of the existence of such a Glossary, till he had produced several of these poems to Mr. Barrett ; that he then borrowed the book, and returned it at the

end of two days, declaring it could be of no use to him, because he did not understand Latin; but that he had read and copied Speght's Glossary for his own use (as Skinner had done before): And the explanations of Speght, consisting, for the most part, of a single word in English, were easy and intelligible to Chatterton; whereas those in Skinner being more diffuse, and in Latin, could not be understood by him. That his *adoption* of the errors of Speght and Skinner, of which he is accused in the Appendix, shews at least that he was not the *maker* of the Glossary; and his frequent misinterpretation of words, affords a proof equally convincing that he did not always understand the language of the poems, and therefore could not have been the author of them.

It must be observed, that our modern imitators of ancient poetry are very liberal in their use of unmeaning expletives and adverbs, in order to give an air of antiquity to their compositions, without being able to add force and energy to their expression: But the style of this poetry is very different; the words are all alike ancient, the language equally nervous; no word appears to be borrowed or forced, to express the poet's ideas, or to fill up the measure of his verse. Many of these words are explained by Chatterton, upon the authority of Speght and other common glossaries: But there are others, which are only to be found in old French Dictionaries, in Lye's Junius, in his Saxon Glossary, in the Medulla Grammatices, and the Promptuarium Parvulorum. Some of these he has left unexplained, to others he has attempted to affix a meaning; but the Glossaries in which alone they existed were not in his hands, nor was it within his ability to understand them if they had been before him. He was therefore to supply the meaning by his own ingenuity; and though in some instances he has fixed a probable sense to them, yet that sense stands unsupported by any authority, and is not the same with that given by the ancient Glossaries above mentioned to these words: Thus, for instance, the epithet of *Berten neders*. (T. v. 58) is explained by
Chatterton.

Chatterton *venomous*; not knowing that the Pr. Par. had explained that word by *darting* or *leaping*: The *Lordynge* Toad he thought was so called from the dignity of his posture, sitting on his hinder legs; not being aware that the word *Lourdin* expressed the heavy and sluggish nature of the animal. *Houton*, or *Hautain*, is explained in the Pr. Par. by the word *exalto*, which sense agrees very well with the passages where that word occurs; but Chatterton renders it *hollow*, without the least authority or propriety of interpretation. Other instances might be produced, but these are sufficient. The inference from this fact is decisive, “That the “ passages in which these, or any such words occur, could not be “ the composition of Thomas Chatterton.”

The reader may have observed, that the poems and prose compositions which pass under the name of Rowley, contain several historical particulars, which tend to establish the authenticity of these MSS, because they could not have been known to Chatterton.

But there are other circumstances and anecdotes, especially in the unpublished prose works, which seem to be contradicted by true history; as these must be imputed either to Rowley or Chatterton, it ought to be considered which of the two persons was most capable, and which the most likely to practise this deceit.

It will be admitted, I presume, that a person answering the character of Rowley, might have existed in the 15th century: A priest learned in his profession, and great in his poetical abilities. He might also be possessed of a fertile and sportive imagination, be fond of embellishing his compositions with anecdotes of early times, the produce of his own invention, either to add importance to his narration, or to amuse his friend and patron; whose genius, confessedly similar to his own, disdained the plain recital of simple facts, and delighted *to soar above the truth of history*. (See his Letter to Canynge, v. 33.)

This turn of mind is not without example in the annals of
 3 U 2 literature.

literature. The 15th century produced a contemporary author with Rowley, of the same character and disposition. Annii of Viterbo, an eminent divine, well skilled in the learned and oriental languages, and master of the Pope's palace, forged histories and antiquities under the names of Berofus, Manetho, and other ancient authors; of which a catalogue may be seen in Voffius and Bayle. Agostini also fays (Dialogue 11th) that he fabricated infcriptions, and caufed them to be buried in a vineyard near Viterbo, where he knew they would foon be dug up; and on their difcovery, carried them in triumph to the magiftrates, to convince them, upon the authority of thefe infcriptions, that their city was 2000 years more ancient than Rome. The poft which this monk held in the Pope's palace, and the honour done to his memory by his native city, in repairing his epitaph in 1618*, fhew that he was held in high efteem by his countrymen for his literary abilities.

This fpecies of forgery was not uncommon with the Italian antiquaries. Agostini mentions the names of four perfons who fabricated infcriptions and medals, either to do honour to their town and country, or to eftablifh fome favourite point of antiquity.

Not to mention a collection of infcriptions, in different languages and characters, difcovered at Grenada, and fupposed to be a forgery of the 16th century, which Juan Flores, Prebendary of Grenada, engraved, but without explanation, in 67 copper-plates, (a copy of which is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries at London) Mr. Swinburn, in his Travels through Spain, p. 155, fpeaks of one Medina Conti, at Grenada, *a learned and ingenious man, profoundly skilled in the antiquities of his country*, who, to favour fome pretentions of the church, in a great law-fuit, forged deeds and infcriptions in an unusual character, which he

* See his life in Bayle.

caused to be buried where he was sure they would be dug up; and on their being discovered, published engravings and explanations of them, in support of the claims for which they were forged: But the fraud being detected, and proved upon him, he was committed to prison, where, Mr. Swinburn says, he was likely to continue. It is very material, in the present question, to observe that these forgeries took their rise from the learning and abilities of the antiquaries who practised them, and who were enabled, by giving an appearance of probability to their fictions, more easily to impose on mankind.

The case of Rowley's MSS. is exactly similar. His notes, or, as he calls them, *Emendals*, on a history of Bristol, ascribed by him to Turgot, but probably written by himself—His history of coinage, contained in the yellow roll—His drawings and descriptions of ancient coins and inscribed stones, said by him to have been dug up in the city and neighbourhood of Bristol, and calculated to do honour to the place, (though no such genuine coins or inscriptions could have existed) contain such a mixture of probable and improbable facts, such a foundation of truth and superstructure of fable, as shew the author to have been well acquainted with the antiquities of this kingdom, and capable of misleading the generality of readers; who, in that illiterate age, were very incompetent judges of historical truth*.

The tendency therefore of his natural inclination, coinciding with that of his friend and patron, and supported with abilities for carrying on his plan, might engage him in this system of deceit, and furnish us with a rational solution for this extraordinary conduct.

But no motive of this kind could present itself to Chatterton. Had he been author of the poems ascribed to Rowley, his great

* All these will make part of Mr. Barrett's history, from which the public will be better enabled to judge of the learning and ingenuity contained in these anecdotes.

object would have been to give them credit, and the appearance of authenticity; but he could have no inducement to assume unnecessarily the characters of an historian and antiquary. The forging anecdotes concerning Bristol, could do no honour to his poetic character, and would rather encrease than remove suspicions concerning the authenticity of the poems. He had neither disposition nor literary abilities to qualify him for such an undertaking. His youth, his ignorance of the learned languages, and his total want of historical information, must have rendered every attempt of this kind ridiculously absurd, void of all probability, and unsatisfactory to the reader.

I shall not enter into the arguments which arise from the prose compositions which still remain unpublished in Mr. Barrett's hands; and are confessedly a part of the same ancient treasure, discovered at the same time, supported by the same evidence, referring to the same era, treating of the same subjects, and mutually confirming and establishing each other: These materials being chiefly local, and relating to Bristol, come more properly under Mr. Barrett's cognizance, who will do ample justice to the subject, whenever he shall favour the world with his History of Bristol, which he has pursued with very constant attention, and will complete to the great satisfaction of the public. It would be unjust to anticipate him in this useful undertaking: I shall therefore conclude these remarks, by selecting a single instance from those papers, containing an unanswerable proof, that those documents, and consequently the poems that accompany them, were written at the time to which they more immediately refer, viz. the middle of the fifteenth century.

The MS. List of Skilled Paincters and Carvellers, which has been quoted more than once in the course of these observations, concludes with the following words:

“ Now havyng gevyen accounte of those Skylde Payncters
“ and Carvellers, I wyll saie of John a Milvertone, a great

“ Carmelyte

“ Carmelyte Fryer in this citie, whose tongue wyll goe neer toe
“ make hymme rue therefore, & knowen unyeere.”

Unyeere, with a small variation in the spelling, is the same with *unweere*, a word frequently used in these poems for *Storm* or *Tempest*. (See *Æ.* v. 519, 965, 1188; and *E.* iii. v. 87.) *To knowen unyeere* may therefore signify, to *experience the storms* of opposition which were raised against Milverton on account of his opinions and doctrine; and the history of this remarkable Frier, will fully justify the account here given of him, and point out the consequences which attended the freedom of Milverton's tongue. He was contemporary with, and possibly a school-fellow of Rowley; for he received the rudiments of his education at the Carmelites or White-Friers in Bristol, where Rowley also is said to have been bred: He completed his studies at Oxford, where he was made Doctor and Professor in Divinity. In 1456 he was appointed Provincial of the Carmelites within the three kingdoms, and became afterwards an eminent preacher in London, but followed the doctrines of Henry Parker and Thomas Holding, monks of the same order, and others, in preaching up the poverty of Christ, and thence taking occasion to inveigh against the pride, luxury, and riches of the Bishops and superior clergy. It is to this doctrine, and to this period, that the opinion of Rowley applies. And it was fully justified in its consequences; for Milverton, being excommunicated by the Bishop of London, fled to Rome; where Pope Paul the Second, on a complaint preferred against him by the Bishops, kept him confined three years in the castle of St. Angelo; during which time he addressed letters to the Pope, to some of the Cardinals, and to the Nobles of Italy. He was at last honourably acquitted, by the judgment of seven Cardinals, not only with the liberty of returning to the see of St. David's, to which he had been elected (though not consecrated) but also with the additional offer of a Cardinal's hat; both which

(as

(as Leland observes) he modestly declined : He died at the Carmelite Convent of the White-Friers in London, in 1476, and was buried in the middle of their choir.—This account, which is given by Leland * and Pitts †, will ascertain, within a certain number of years, the time when Rowley gave him this character : It must have been subsequent to his being made Provincial, in 1456 ; and prior to his excommunication and departure for Rome, in the Papacy of Paul the Second, whose Pontificate extended from 1464 to 1470. It is needless to add, that this consistent account of Milverton must have been penned by one who was either his contemporary, or was well acquainted with his history and character.

Here then let the evidence be closed ; and if there yet remain in the mind of the candid reader, any doubts which prevent him from subscribing to the authenticity of this poetry, as the genuine compositions of Rowley, and the production of the fifteenth century, let him consider the almost insurmountable difficulties which are opposed to the affected claim in behalf of Chatterton. The keen and harsh spirit of criticism has indeed attempted to destroy this fair fabrick, and in stripping it of the venerable form of antiquity, hath endeavoured to cast a shade over the intrinsic merit of the composition. It has been the endeavour of the preceding sheets to place the evidence in a clear and impartial view, and to remove that cloud which overshadowed the beauties of the poetry, though it could not destroy them. Between these two claims the public must decide ; for as to any intermediate author, or period of the poems, the improbability will be greater, and the difficulties attending such an hypothesis insurmountable.

* De Scriptoribus Britannicis. See also Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britan.*

† De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus.

P. S. SINCE the foregoing sheets were printed, I have been favoured with the account of two imperfect and unsuccessful attempts by Chatterton's dramatic muse; the only efforts he is known to have made in that style of poetry. They are both communicated by Chatterton's friends, and one of them authenticated under his own hand, for which I am obliged to Mr. Ruddall of Bristol. It contains, in a single sheet of paper, the two first scenes of a ballad opera, under the title of *Amphytrion, a Burletta*, evidently borrowed from Dryden's play of the same name; but whether he made any further progress in it, does not appear. From his choice of the subject, which has been considered as a characteristical distinction between Rowley's and Chatterton's poetry, and from his adopting the ideas and language of Dryden, no delicacy can be expected in the performance; nor indeed has he shewn any; for the language is coarse, and even indecent, the airs are without sentiment, spirit, or wit, almost unfit to be presented to the reader, and therefore not possibly to be ascribed to that poet, who wrote the minstrels songs in Ella.

But that the reader may form some judgement of this poetry, the following reply of Nox to the commands of Jupiter, brought by Mercury, may serve as a specimen.

How now! would you make me a bawd?
 Must I too assist him to whore?
 If Jove will be prowling abroad,
 Must heroes and gods hold the door?

A bawd is a name I detest;
 A whore, I confess, is no scorn.
 Why should he choose me from the rest,
 To aid him in grafting the horn?

Mercury. Why, where's the mighty scandal in the post?
 On earth pimps and procurers rule the roast.

This short specimen also shews how little he was acquainted with Latin; for he marks Jupiter and Mercury quitting the scene together by the following reference, "*Exit Both.*"

Mr. Thistlethwaite speaks of another unsuccessful attempt of Chatterton in the dramatic style, which he communicated to him a few weeks before he left Bristol; it consisted of two or three acts of a comedy, or farce, which was political in its plan, and wherein the characters of very respectable personages were satyriized with great indecency. As far as Mr. Thistlethwaite can recollect at this distance of time, he thought it greatly inferior to Chatterton's other productions, and unworthy of his pen. How unlike then must it have been to the poems ascribed to Rowley! and how justly does Mr. Thistlethwaite conclude, that the "Author of the
" poems ascribed to Rowley, and Thomas Chatterton, were two
" distinct beings, furnished with different ideas, endued with
" different abilities, possessed of different morals, and living in
" different centuries!"

In addition to what is said of Sir Baldwyn Fulford, p. 325, it may be remarked, that he was an unsuccessful, if not an indiscreet, friend to the Lancastrian cause; for Campbell, in his *Lives of the British Admirals*, vol. I. p. 217, says "that he undertook
" to burn the Earl of Warwick's fleet in the haven of Calais;
" which quickly appeared to be but a vain enterprise."

A GLOSSARY OF UNCOMMON WORDS IN THIS VOLUME.

THE advertisement prefixed to this Glossary in the former editions observes, “ That Chatterton’s explanations at the bottom of the several pages were “ therein drawn together and digested alphabetically, with the letter *C.* after each “ of them ; but that these explanations were not to be admitted without great cau- “ tion, a considerable number of them being (as far as the learned Editor could “ judge) unsupported by authority, or analogy ; and that the explanations of some “ other words, omitted by Chatterton, were added by the Editor, where the mean- “ ing of the writer was sufficiently clear, and the word itself did not recede too “ far from the established usage.”

The Glossary, in its present form, is enlarged with the explanation of many words which were left unnoticed by Chatterton ; who has given no gloss on the Battle of Hastings, nor on the poems which follow in that volume, and only a very sparing one on the Tragedy of Ella.

Where the interpretations of Chatterton appear to be of doubtful authority, or to be contradicted by other writers, an alteration, or correction, is subjoined in *Italics*, by which all the additions of the present Editor may be distinguished.

The meaning of the words was determined, in the former Glossary, on the authority of a single passage ; but, as our Poet has frequently used the same word in a variety of significations, it is a satisfaction due to the reader, to refer him to the several passages where those words occur ; that he may determine the propriety of their application, and admit the authenticity of the poems, from the command of language so visible in them. These additional references are extended also to other ancient words, which, although they occur frequently, are used only in one determinate sense.

It has been necessary to correct the mistaken references in the former Glossary, which arose from misnumbering the lines in some of the poems. Those in *Ella*, from v. 380, being anticipated by one line ; and those in the second poem on the Battle of Hastings, from v. 150, by ten lines. The latter error was corrected in the poem by the subsequent editions ; but the Glossary formed on the first edition continuing unaltered, produced a disagreement of ten lines between the notes of reference in the Glossary and the lines as they stood in the poem. The mistake in *Ella* continued through all the editions ; but both are now corrected, and the references are made to correspond with the text, except in a few instances, which, having escaped the attention of the Editor, are noticed in the Errata.

The additional explanations of this Glossary, which are not directly supported by authority, are, for that reason, marked with a *qv*.

For want of *Italic* figures, it has been necessary to distinguish the numerals, in the additional references of this Glossary, by prefixing to them the following mark, [.

EXPLANATION OF THE LETTERS OF REFERENCE.

				Page
H. 1.	—	Battle of Hastings, N ^o 1.	—	40
H. 2.	—	Battle of Hastings, N ^o 2.	—	97
Ep.	—	Epistle to M. Canynge.	—	165
Le.	—	Letter to M. Canynge.	—	170
Ent.	—	Entroduccionne to Ella.	—	195
Æ.	—	Ella, a Tragycal Enterlude.	—	196
P. G.	—	Prologue to Goddwyn.	—	280
G.	—	Goddwyn, a Tragedie.	—	285
T.	—	The Tournament.	—	306
B. T.	—	The Bristowe Tragedy.	—	328
M.	—	The Englysh Metamorphosis.	—	355
Ch.	—	Balade of Charitie.	—	366
S. E.	—	Challenge to Ladgate, and Song to Ella.	—	382
Lad.	—	Ladgate's Answer.	—	388
E. I.	—	Eclogue the First.	—	391
E. II.	—	Eclogue the Second.	—	400
E. III.	—	Eclogue the Third.	—	408
E. IV.	—	Eclogue the Fourth.	—	416
L. C. I.	—	Onne our Ladies Church. Poem the First.	—	423
L. C. II.	—	On the same. Poem the Second.	—	424
R. C.	—	Epitaph on Robert Canynge.	—	427
St. C.	—	The Storie of W. Canynge.	—	430
C. H.	—	On Happienesse, by W. Canynge.	—	447
G. R.	—	The Goulers Requiem.	—	449
C. F.	—	The Accounte of Canynges Feast.	—	451
P. Pa.	—	Promptuarium Parvulorum.		
P. Pl.	—	Pierce Plowman's Crede.		

A G L O S S A R Y.

A BESSIE, E. III. 89. humility, C.
humbly
Aborde, Ch. 89. *went on*
 Aborne, T. 45. burnished, C. *See Borne*
 Abounde, v. H. I. 55. *do service or benefit*
 Aboune, v. G. 53. make ready, C. *See*
Boune
 Abredynge, Æ. 334. upbraiding, C.
 Abrewe, St. C. 60. as brew
 Abrodden, E. I. 6. abruptly, C. *abroad*
 Acale, G. 191. freeze, C. *P. Pa.*
 Accaie, Æ. 356. assuage, C.
 Achevments, Æ. 65. services, C.
 Achments, T. 153. atchievements, C. *See*
Hatched, and Hatchments
 Acheke, G. 47. choke, C.
 Acome, St. C. 95. as come
 Acrool, E. IV. 6. faintly, C. *or, in a*
murmuring voice
 Addawe, v. St. C. 78. awake,
 Addawd, H. 2. 110. [*Æ.* 398. *awakened*
 Adave, H. 2. 392. *dawned upon*
 Adeene, Æ. 488. *worthily. See Adigne*
 Adente, and Adented, G. 32. fastened,
 annexed, C. [*Æ.* 263. 395.
Adented, Æ. 490. *indented, bruised. See*
Dente, Dented, Dentfull
 Aderne, H. 2. 262. cruel, fierce. *See*
Derne, Dernie
 Adigne, and Adygne, Le. 46. nervous,
 worthy of praise, [*H.* 2. 7. 154. 387.
St. C. 125. *good. See Deene*
Adve, without adve, H. 1. 202. *immedi-*
ately
Adradde, H. 2. 86. *P.* 180. *afraid*
 Adrames, Ep. 27. churls, C.
 Adrew, H. 2. 546. *for drew*
 Adventaile, T. 13. armour, C. [*H.* 2.
 327. 671. 676. *Æ.* 468. *G.* 62.
Adyghte, C. H. 2. *cleathed*

Adygne. *See Adigne*
Affere, v. Æ. 1068, *to affright, or ter-*
rify, P. Pa.
Affraie, n. Æ. 755. 794. *E. II.* 53. *fright,*
or terror
 ——— v. T. 85. 108. *to fight, or engage*
in a fray. See Fraie
 ——— v. Æ. 794. 1005. *E. I.* 7. 18. *to*
terrify
Affryghte, n. E. III. 88. *fear, or fright*
 Affynd, H. 1. 132. related by marriage,
P. Pa.
 Afeme, G. R. 14. as feme, to drive away,
 to affright
Agested, Clodde-asted, St. C. 9. *lying on*
the clod, or earth
Agleeme, H. 2. 602. *to shine upon. See*
Gleme
 Agrame, G. 5. 93. }
 Agreme, Æ. 356. } *greivance, torture, C.*
 Agrosed, C. H. 6. as agrised, terrified
 Agroted, Æ. 348. swoilen. *See Groted,*
 [*Æ.* 382. 944. *P. Pa.*
Agrutebe, P. 190. *grudge, P. Pa.*
 Agylted, Æ. 334. [436.] offended, C.
 Aidens, Æ. 222. aidance, *aid*
Aiglintine, T. 166. *sweet-brier*
 Ake, E. II. 8. oak, C.
 Alans, H. 2. 124. hounds
Allaie, H. 2. 228. *was allayed, or stopped.*
Allaie used as a verb neuter
 Alatche, v. Æ. 117. *accuse, blame, leave, &c.*
 Aledge, G. 5. idly, C. *eased, relieved,*
P. Pa.
Alenge, E. II. 19. *along*
Alisake, Æ. 168. *a may-pole*
 Alest, Æ. 50. left
Alighte, H. 2. 705. *to light upon*
 Allaboon, E. III. 41. S. E. 4. a manner
 of asking a favour, C.

Alleyn,

Allicyn, E. I. 52. only, C. [*Æ.* 276. 289. 298. 340. 1159. *T.* 19. 56. *alone, singly.*
Æ. 370. 425. 487. 545. 822. *only.*
Æ. 465. *nevertheless*
 Almer, Ch. 20. beggar, C.
 Alofe, H. 1. 202. *aloft*
 Alufte, H. 1. 88. *free, or deliver*
 Alyfe, Le. 29. allow, C. [*G.* 36. 180.
pay, or allow. *Æ.* 277. 407. *to free, or deliver.*
 Alyche, E. II. 10. *Like*
 Alyne, T. 79. across his shoulders, C.
singly, alone
 Amaine, H. 1. 274. *myghte amayne, H. 1.*
52. 162. 172. 332. with all his force
 Amate, *Æ.* 58. destroy, C. [*Æ.* 1036.
quench. See Emmate
 Amayld, E. II. 49. enamelled, C.
 Amode, n. *Æ.* 1243. *a reward*
 Ameded part, *Æ.* 54. rewarded
 Amenged, St. C. 6. mixed, [*S. E.* 37.
mingled. See Menged
 Amenused, E. II. 5. diminished, C.
 [*Le.* 28.
 Ametten, M. 46. met with
 Amield, T. 5. ornamented, enamelled, C.
 Amonge, Ch. 27. among
 Anenfte, *Æ.* 1081. 1216. *T.* 37. against
 Anente, *Æ.* 474. against, C. [*Æ.* 496,
T. 27. 95. *St. C.* 1.
 Anere, *Æ.* 15. another, C. [*Ep.* 48.
 Anete, St. C. 64. annihilate
 Anethe, T. 143. beneath, *P. Pa.*
 Anie, St. C. 59. as nie, nigh
 Anie, H. 2. 120. *amoy, or nigh, qu.*
 Anlace, G. 57. an ancient sword, C.
 [*H.* 2. 449. 601. *Æ.* 642. 660. 726.
 766. 1074. 1082. *G.* 73. *a sword*
 Antecolent, *Æ.* 233. going before
 Applings, E. I. 33. grafted trees, C. *ap-*
ples, or apple trees
 Arace, G. 156. divest, C. *See Erace*
 A Hapler, Arcublafter, H. 2. 52. 303. *a*
cross-bow

Arcublafteris, H. 2. 163. *cross-bow-men*
Ardurous, S. E. 40. *burning*
Areding, E. II. 79. *thinking, considering*
Argent herse, G. 33. *the armorial ensign of*
Kent
 Arisl, Ch. 10. arose, C. [*E. III.* 51. *arisen*
Armlace, H. 2. 97. *accoutrement for the*
arms
Armourerace, Æ. 338. *St. C.* 20. *a suit of*
armour
 Arrow hede, H. 1. 74. *arrow head, or*
arrow mounted with lead, qu.
 Ascaunfe, E. III. 52. disdainfully, C.
 [*Le.* 17. *obliquely*
Askaunte, H. 2. 143. 507. *obliquely*
 Askaunted, Le. 19. glauced, looked ob-
 liquely
Aslaunte, H. 2. 716. *flaunting*
 Asenglave, H. 1. 117. [*483. H.* 2. 166.
a lance, H. 1. 423. *the steely point of*
a lance
 Aslee, *Æ.* 503. *slide, or creep*
Assaie, v. H. 2. 285. *make an attempt,*
P. Pa.
Assaile, v. H. 2. 325. *to attack.*
 Asleled, E. III. 14. answered, C.
 Ashrewed, Ch. 14. accursed, unfortu-
 nate, C.
 Asswaie, v. *Æ.* 352. *to assay, experience*
Aslarte, H. 2. 485. *started from, afraid of*
 Asterte, G. 137. neglected, C.
 Astedde, E. II. 11. feated, C.
 Astoun, and Astounded, part. E. II. 5.
 astonished, C. [*H.* 2. 75. *St. C.* 55.
 Astounde, v. M. 83. astonish, C. [*Æ.* 730
 Asyde, St. C. 90. perhaps astyde, as-
 cended, *by his side*
Athorowe, H. 2. 718. *through*
 Athur, H. 2. 466. as thurgh, through,
athwart, across
Attend, H. 1. 467. *assist, or was not with*
him, qu.
 Attenes, *Æ.* 18. at once, C. [*Æ.* 140.
 317. *G.* 109. *Ch.* 13. 42.

Attoure,

Attoure, v. T. 115. turn, C.
Attourne, v. E. III. 47. *Æ.* 582. *to turn*
 Attoure, adv. *Æ.* 322. around
 Ave, H. 2. 636. for Eau, Fr. water, or
for Aven, a river
 Aumere, Ch. 7. a loose robe, or mantle, C.
or girdle, Æ. 397.
 ———, E. III. 25. borders of gold or
 silver, C. *or bracelets*
 Aunture, H. 2. 133. as aventure, adven-
 ture, P. Pa.
Auntours, P. 184. *adventurous*
Aure, *Le.* 14. Or, the colour of gold in he-
 raldry
 Autremete, Ch. 52. a loose white robe
 worn by priests, C. *rather a cowl*
 Awhape, awhaped, *Æ.* 399. astonish,
 astonished, C. [*H.* 2. 643, 658.
Aye, E. I. 30. R. C. 7. *ever, always*
 Ayenwarde, Ch. 47. backwards, C.
 P. Pa.

B

Balefull, E. I. 20. *weful*
Bane, v. *Æ.* 915. *curse*
 ———, n. *Æ.* 320. *hurt, damage*, Ent. 2. *ruin*
Baned, *Bante*, *Benned*, *Æ.* 207. 512. 521.
 1184. *curfed*
 Bankes, T. 3. benches
Barbe, St. C. 103. *beard*
Barbd hall, *Æ.* 219. *hall hung round with*
armour
Barbed horse, *Æ.* 27. *horse covered with*
armour
Barbed javelines, *armed with death*, H. 2.
 261.
Baren, *Æ.* 379. for barren
Barganette, E. III. 49. a song or ballad, C.
 [T. 41.
Dataunt, B. T. 276. 292. *a stringed in-*
strument played on by beating, qu. See
Strange
Battayles, *Æ.* 706. boats, ships, Fr.
 [Æ. 620.

Batten, G. 3. fatten, C.
 Battent, T. 52. loudly, C. *rather furious*
 Battently, G. 50. loud roaring, C. [*Æ.*
 825. *rather, furious, violent*
 Battone, H. 1. 520. beat with sticks, Fr.
 P. Pa.
 Baubels, Ent. 7. jewels, C.
 Bawlyn, *Æ.* 57. large, C. [*H.* 2. 690.
M. 101.
 Bayre, E. II. 76. brow, C.
Beave, H. 2. 336. } *leaver*
Beaver, H. 1. 55. III. }
Beveredd, T. 115. *covered with a beaver*
 Beheste, v. G. 60. command, C. [T. 33.
 P. Pa.
Behesting, T. 46. *commanding*
 Behight, v. H. 2. 355. *name*
 Behylte, v. *Æ.* 938. promised, C. *with-*
holden, Æ. 1101. *forbidden*
Behyltron, *Æ.* 359. *hidden.* See *Hilte*,
Hiltren
 Belent, H. 2. 121. *stopped, at a stand*
 Beme, *Æ.* 562. trumpet, [*Æ.* 562.
 Bemente, v. E. I. 45. lament, C. [*E.* III.
 40.
Bementynge, E. IV. 3. *lamenting*
 Benned. See Baned
Bennymes, v. *Æ.* 904. *deprives, takes away*
Benymynge, P. G. 3. *bereaving, C.*
depriving
Bercie, St. C. 8. *Birchy, qu.*
Berne, *Æ.* 579. child, C.
Berten, T. 58. *venomous, C.* *darting,*
leaping, P. Pa.
Befoles, *Befecme*, T. 124. becomes, C.
 [G. 42. T. 124. C. F. 2. P. Pa.
Befped, H. 1. 172. 402. P. 434. *dispatched*
Beprenge, v. H. 2. 363. S. E. 22. *scat-*
ter, spread
Beprengege, H. 2. 553. *Æ.* 78. 1002.
spreading
Beprent, and *Beprengeit*, H. 2. 387. 496.
 553. P. 700. *Æ.* 619. T. 132. 154.
scattered, spread. See *Spreng*
Belladde, C. II. 3. *situated, depressed, P. Pa.*
 Belladde.

Bestanne, *Æ.* 410. *withheld, opposed, lost, qu. if the same with Bestalde*
 Bested, *H.* 2. 140. *contended for, engaged in, P. Pa.*
 Bestoiker, *Æ.* 91. *deceiver, C.* [*Æ.* 1068.
 Bestreints, *H.* 2. 634. *sprinkles*
 Betreinted, *H.* 2. 697. *sprinkled*
 Bete, *G.* 85. *bid, C.*
Bethoghte, H. 1. 444. *thinking. See Enthoghte*
 Betraffed, and Betrafte, *G.* 7. *Æ.* 1030.
 betrayed, deceived, imposed upon, C.
 Bevyte, *E.* II. 57. *break. A Herald term, signifying a spear broken in tilting, C. bend to*
Bewopen, H. 2. 665. *stupefied.*
 Bewrate, *n. H.* 2. 127. *treachery, betraying*
 Bewrecke, *v. G.* 101. *to revenge, C.*
Bewrecke, n. H. 2. 318. *revenge*
Bewreckynge, Æ. 976. *revenging*
 Bewreen, Bewryen, Bewryne. *Le.* 42.
 Æ. 6. *G.* 72. *C.* [*H.* 2. 647. *Æ.* 485. 1018. 1074. 1112. 1227. *express, declare, display, P. Pa.*
 Bewrynnig, Brynnig, *T.* 128. *declaring, C.* [*Æ.* 679. 992. *See Wryn, and Wreene*
Reynde, Ep. 31. *beyond*
 Bigbes, *Æ.* 371. *jewels, C.* [*H.* 2. 182. *St. C.* 121.
 Birlette, *E.* III. 24. *a hood or covering for the back part of the head, C. a cap*
 Bismare, *M.* 95. *bewildered, curious, C. capricious*
 Bismarelie, *Le.* 26. *curiously, C. capriciously*
 Bismarde, *St. C.* 141. *C.* [*H.* 2. 715. *deluded*
Blacke, P. 434. } *yellow*
Blake, Æ. 178. }
 Blake, *Æ.* 407. *naked, C.*
 Blakied, *E.* III. 4. *naked, original, C.*
 Blanche, *Æ.* 369 *white, pure, [G.* 96.
 Blanchie, *E.* II. 50. *white, C.*
Blataunte, H. 2. 554. *St. C.* 11. *noisy*

Blatauntlic, *Æ.* 108. *loudly, C.*
 Blazeurs, *H.* 2. 441. *praisers*
 Bledc, *E.* I. 49. *for believe, abide, P. Pa.*
 Blente, *E.* III. 39. *ceased, dead, C. rather mingled. See Tlente, P. Pa.*
Blents, H. 2. 638. *mixes, opposes, stops, qu.*
 Blethe, *T.* 98. *bleed, C.* [*Æ.* 816. *G.* 35.
Blodde-red, E. II. 53.
 Blyn, and Blynge, *Æ.* 334. *E.* II. 40. *cease, stand still, C.* [*Æ.* 552. *G.* 558. *P. Pa.*
Boddeynge, Æ. 160. *M.* 62. *budding*
 Boddekin, *Æ.* 265. *body, substance, C.* [*St. C.* 51, *a diminutive of body*
 Boleynge, *M.* 17. *swelling, C. See Embollen, P. Pa.*
 Bollengers, *E.* II. 33. *a kind of boat, C. or barge*
 Boolie, *E.* I. 46. *beloved, C.* [*G. R.* 1.
Boon, Æ. 316. *favour*
Bostles, H. 1. 118. *useless.*
 Bordel, *E.* III. 2. *cottage, C.* [*Æ.* 147.
 Bordelier, *Æ.* 409. *cottager, [H.* 2. 633. *Æ.* 1007. *St. C.* 85.
 Borne, *Æ.* 740. *T.* 13. *burnish, C.* [*H.* 2. 289. *qu.*
Borne, H. 2. 48. *brook*
 Boun, *v. E.* II. 40. *make ready, C.*
 Boune, Bounde, *adj. T.* 32. *ready, C.* [*Æ.* 589. *T.* 148.
 Bourne, *part. Æ.* 482. *bounded, limited*
Bourne, n. H. 2. 198. *boundary, promontory*
Boute ytte, G. 84. *to go about it*
 Boutig matche, *S. E.* 2. *contest*
 Bowke, *T.* 19. *Bowkie, G.* 133. *body, C.* [*Æ.* 770.
 Braffeth, *G.* 123. *bursteth, C.* [*Æ.* 293. 614. *H.* 2. 194. 515. *Gh.* 42.
Brasfeyng, Æ. 417. 678. 997. *S. E.* 16. *bursting*
Braunce, G. 89. *braunch*
 Brayd *G.* 77. *displayed, C. or proclaimed*
 Brayde, *Æ.* 1009. *embroider*

Brede,

Brede, G. 63. 95. *E. II.* 4. *broad*
Breme, n. G. 12. strength, C. [G. 69.
G. R. 17. *fury*
 ———, adj. *E. II.* 6. strong, C. [*H.* 2. 604.
Æ. 424. 629. *furious*
Bremie, H. 2. 695. *P.* 434. *furious*
Brende, v. G. 50. burn, consume, C.
Brendeynge, *Æ.* 1036. G. 200. *burning*
Bretful, Ch. 19. filled with, C.
Broched, H. 2. 335. pointed, [*H.* 2. 593.
P. Pa. See *Þbroched*
Brigandine, H. 2. 645. G. 62. *body armour*
Bronde, H. 2. 302. 651. *fury, or sword, qu.*
Eroned, H. 2. 558. *furious*
Brondeynge, *Æ.* 703. *furious*
Brondeous, *E. II.* 24. *furious*, C. [*Æ.* 760.
 1087. 1188. G. 68.
Burlie Bronde, G. 7. *fury, anger*, C. *great*
sword, H. 2. 664. *armed fury*
Brooklette, H. 2. 410. *St. C.* 1. *little brook*
Browded, G. 130. *embroidered*, C.
 [*St. C.* 43.
Brued, H. 1. 10. *embrued*
Brutylle, *Æ.* 69. *brittle, frail*, *P. Pa.*
Brynning. See *Bewryne*
Burled, M. 20. *armed*, C. [*H.* 2. 37. 86.
Æ. 707. 1216. G. 194. 210.
Burn, *Æ.* 584. *probably a mistake for turn*
Bylecoyle, C. F. 2. *belacueil*, Fr. the
 name of a personage in the Roman de la
 Rose, which Chaucer has rendered, Fair
 welcoming
Byker, n. *Æ.* 546. *battle*, [402. 942.
H. 2. 644.
Byker, v. *Æ.* 566. *to fight, or engage*
Bykrous, M. 37. *warring*, C.
Bysmare, and *Bysmarelie*. See *Bismare*,
 and *Bismarelie*

C.

Cale, *Æ.* 853. *cold*, [*H.* 2. 632. *Ch.* 26.
Calke, G. 25. *cast*, C. *cast away*

Calked, *E. I.* 49. *cast out*, C. *driven*
Caltysning, G. 67. *forbidding, confining*
Caytisned, *Æ.* 32. *binding, enforcing*, C.
 [*Æ.* 1103. *confined, captive*
Carnes, *Æ.* 1242. *rocks, stones*, Brit.
monumental heaps of stones
Castle-stede, G. 100. *a castle*, C. [*Ent.* 8.
St. C. 17. *E. I.* 50.
Castle Steers, *Æ.* 565. *S. E.* 40. *the hold*
of the castle
Caties, H. 2. 67. *cates*
Celnefs, *Æ.* 881. *coldnefs*
Chafe, adj. *Æ.* 191. *hot*, C. *P. Pa.*
Chefe, n. G. 11. *heat, rashness*, C.
Chaftes, G. 101. *beats, stamps*, C. *rubs*
Champyon, n. H. 2. 630. 690. *Æ.* 590.
T. 89. 93. *E. IV.* 38.
 ———, adj. H. 1. 24. *Æ.* 631. *T.* 134.
E. II. 56.
Champyon, v. *P. G.* 12. *challenge*, C.
 [*T.* 108. 148.
Chaper, *E. III.* 48. *dry, sun-burnt*, C.
 [*G.* 123.
Chapournette, Ch. 45. *a small round hat*, C.
Charie, *St. C.* 116. *dear*
Chafe, H. 2. 82. *E. I.* 12. *to chace, drive*
away, or fly from, qu.
Cheefe, *Æ.* 43. *chuse*
Chelandree, *Æ.* 105. *goldfinch*, C. [*Ch.* 5.
Cheorte, C. F. 4. *cheery, chearful*
Cherisaunce, *Ent.* 1. *comfort*, C. [*Æ.* 214.
Cherisaunced, *Æ.* 838. *comfortable*
Cheves, Ch. 37. *moves*, C. *shivers, trembles*
Chevyfed, *Ent.* 2. *preserved*, C. *or, redcom-*
ed, P. Pa.
Chirckynge, M. 23. *a confused noise*, C.
or, disagreeable sound
Choughen, *Æ.* 151. 570. *choughs, jack-daws*
Church-glebe, *E. IV.* 27. *church-yard*
Church-glebe-house, Ch. 24. *grave*, C.
Cierge, *P.* 185. *a wax-taper*
Clangs, v. Ch. 38. *sounds loud*
Clayne, v. *Æ.* 1101. *to found, or make a*
noise, as clang

Clarions, H. I. 49. trumpets
Cleembe, n. H. 2. 605. 693. noise, sound
Cleme, n. E. II. 9. sound, C.
Clymmynge, Ch. 37. noisy
Clepde, St. C. 11. named. See Yelepde
Clergyon, P. G. 8. clerk, or clergyman, C.
Clergyond, Ent. 13. taught, C. instructed
Clevis, H. 2. 46. [510. the cleft of a rock
Clinie, H. 1. 431. declination of the body.
See Declinie, P. Pa.
Cloude agested. See Agested
Coistrell, H. 2. 88. a serving-lad
Comfreie plant, E. I. 36. cumfrey
Compheeres, M. 21. companions, C.
[Æ. 51. 774. 1217. G. 14.
Congeon, E. III. 89. dwarf, C. P. Pa.
Contake, and Conteke, v. T. 87. to dispute,
confuse, or contend with, C. [E. II. 10.
Contekes, n. G. 45. contentions
Contekions, Æ. 552. contentions, C.
Conteins, H. 1. 223. for contents
Cope, Ch. 50. a cloak, C.
Corven, See Ycorven. formed, shaped, or
represented, P. Pa.
Cotte, E. II. 24. cut
Cottes, E. II. 33. See Bollengers. small
boats, still called cotts
Coupe, E. II. 7. cut, C.
Couraciers, T. 74. horse-courfers, C.
[Æ. 922. horsemen
Courser, H. 1. 154. horse, P. Pa.
Coyen, Æ. 125. coy, qu. coy, modest,
P. Pa.
Crafed, Le. 35. broken
Cravent, n. E. III. 39. coward, C. [Æ. 365.
Cravent, adj. Æ. 714. cowardly
Creand, Æ. 580. as recreand, cowardly
Crine, Æ. 850. hair, C.
Croche, v. G. 26. to cros, C.
Croched, H. 2. 511. perhaps for broched
Crokyde, H. 2. 413. crooked
Crokynge, Æ. 119. bending, crooking, twin-
ing
Cross-stone, Æ. 1121. monument, C.

Crouchee, St. C. 63. crucifix
Crouched, G. 110. crossed
Croucheynge, Æ. 751. crooked, winding
Cuarr, St. C. 53. quarry, qu.
Cuisshes, H. 2. 230. 256. 328. armour for the
thigh
Cullis yatte, E. I. 50. portcullis gate, C.
Curdell, Æ. 221. to card
Curriedowe, G. 176. flatterer, C. [P. 184.
Cuyen kine, E. I. 35. tender cows, C. ra-
ther, cow cattle, P. Pl.

D.

Dacya, Dacyannes, Dacya's sons, Dacyanne,
Æ. 319. 630. 707. 722. 1085. 1089.
1092. S. E. 25. P. 435. Denmark, Danes,
Danish
Daie brent, E. III. 54. sun-burnt
Daise-eyd, E. IV. 15. daisied
Daygnous, Æ. 50. disdainful
Danke, Æ. 97. damp
Dareygne, G. 26. attempt, endeavour, C.
Darklinge, Æ. 1126. dark
Declynie, H. 1. 161. declination, qu. slop-
ing
Decorn, E. II. 14. carved, C. or, decorated,
qu.
Deene, E. II. 69. glorious, worthy, C.
Deere, n. Ep. 5. hurt, damage, C.
P. Pa.
—— adj. E. III. 88. dire, C. [Æ. 583.
Defayte, G. 52, decay, C. to be defeated, a
verb neuter
Deis, M. 9. vapours, meteors, C. or, spec-
tres, fairies, qu.
Deste, Ch. 7. neat, ornamental, C. [Æ. 859.
St. C. 87. Agrestis, P. Pa.
Defilie, Ep. 6. Æ. 947. P. 183. properly
Deigned, E. III. 53. disdained, C.
Delievretie, T. 44. activity, C. P. Pa.
Demasing, H. 1. 276. musing
Dente, v. Æ. 885. weave, indent

Dental,

- Dented, *Æ.* 263. [*II.* 1. 196. 257. *sharp, pointed.* See *Adente, P. Pa.*
Dentfull, II. 2. 673. *indented, full of dents*
 Denwere, *G.* 141. *doubt, C.* *M.* 13. *tre-mour, C.* [*G.* 170.
Depeyncte, v. G. 8. *to paint*
Depeyete, Æ. 397. *painted*
 Depyctures, *T.* 7. *drawings, paintings*
 [*P.* 445. *pictures, representations*
 Dequace, *G.* 56. *mangle, destroy, C.* *pull down*
 Dequaced, *St. C.* 38. *junk, quashed*
 Dere. See *Deere*
 Derkynnes, *Æ.* 229. *young deer, qu.*
 Derne, *Æ.* 581. *cruel, C.* *or, secret*
Derne, H. 2. 522. 551. *melancholy*
 Dernie, *E. I.* 19. *woeful, lamentable, C.*
 [*Æ.* 683. *M.* 106. *secret*
 Deffavate, *H.* 2. 333. *disloyal, unfaithful*
 Deffavatie, *Æ.* 1046. *lechery, C.* *rather, undutifulness, unfaithfulness*
 Detratours, *H.* 2. 78. *traitors, or disgraceful persons*
 Deylde, *Æ.* 46. *situated on a deis, P. Pa.*
 Dheie, *they*
 Dhere, *Æ.* 292. *there*
 Dhereof, thereof, [*E. II.* 29.
 Difficile, *Æ.* 358. *difficult, C.*
 Dighte, *v.* Dyghte, Dighted, Dyghted,
Ch. 7. *dress, arrayed, C.* [*H.* 2. 661.
Æ. 2. 162. 300. 338. 606. 749. 812. *pre-pare, prepared*
Dightyng, Dyghtyng, H. 2. 537. *Æ.* 1131. *preparing, dressing*
 Dispande, *L. C.* 2. 14. *perhaps for disponded, expanded*
Dispended, Ch. 38. *exhausted, P. Pa.*
Dyspendyng, Æ. 715. *expending*
Dyspense, G. 150. *expence*
Dispente, G. 151. *expended, P. Pa.*
 Disponded, *St. C.* 27. *disposed, [L. C. II.* 4.
Disstraughte, H. 2. 62. *Æ.* 454. 500. *E. II.*
 53. *E. IV.* 34. 48. *distracted*
 Divinitre, *Æ.* 141. *a divine, C.*
Doffed, P. 433. *put off*
Don, P. 183. *put on*
 Donde, *H.* 1. 51. *put on, or finished, qu.*
 Dolce, *Æ.* 1186. *soft, gentle, C.*
Dulce, St. C. 103. *soft*
 Dole, *n. G.* 137. *lamentation, C.* [*Æ.* 29.
 267. 723. *E. III.* 88.
 — adj. *C. H.* 13. *doleful*
 Doled, *Æ.* 503. *doleful*
 Dole, *Dolle, n. St. C.* 117. *R. C.* 10. *share*
 Dolte, *Ep.* 17. *foolish, C.*
 Dome, *Æ.* 245. 249. 534. 1094. *E. I.* 30.
 51. *E. III.* 35. *H.* 2. 342. *fate*
 Donore, *H.* 1. 5. This line should probably be written thus :
 “O sea-o’erteeming Dovor !”
 See the note on the passage
 Dortoure, *Ch.* 25. *a sleeping-room, C. P. Pa.*
 Dote, *St. C.* 20. *perhaps as dighte, clothed*
 Doughtie, *Æ.* 20. 464. *St. C.* 19. *valiant, brave, powerful*
 Doughtilie, *T.* 92. *valiantly, bravely*
 Doughtremere, *H.* 2. 481. *D’outre-mer, Fr.*
from beyond sea
 Draffi, *Æ.* 716. *the refuse, or what is cast away, P. Pa.*
 Dreare, *H.* 2. 263. *dreary*
 Dree, *Æ.* 982. 769. [*H.* 2. 664. 714. *draw, or drive*
 Drefte, *Æ.* 465. *least, C.* *threats, qu.*
 Drenche, *Æ.* 85. *Ch.* 30. *drink, or sea’s*
 Drented, *Ch.* 45. *St. C.* 22. *soaked, drenched*
 Drented, *G.* 91. *drained, C.*
 Dreynted, *Æ.* 237. *drowned, C.*
 Dribblett, *E. II.* 48. *small, insignificant, C.*
 [*Le.* 29. *Æ.* 1189. *M.* 7.
 Drites, *G.* 65. *rights, liberties, C.*
 Drocke, *T.* 40. *drink, C.* *rather, dry up*
 Droke, *Æ.* 460. *dry*
 Droorie, *Ep.* 47. See Chatterton’s note.
 Druerie is courtship, gallantry, [*Æ.* 127. *modesty*
 Drooried, *Æ.* 127. *courted*
 Dulce. See *Dolce*
 Dureffed,

Durested, E. I. 39. hardened, C.
 Dyd, H. 2. 9. should probably be dight,
 cloathed. See Dight
 Dygne, T. 89. worthy, C. [*Le.* 52. *Æ.*
 1099. See *Adygne*
Dynesfarre, H. 1. 132. *Dynevawr Castle*, in
Carmarthenshire
Dynne, n. *Æ.* 1064. noise
Dynns, v. T. 51. sounds
 Dynning, E. I. 25. founding, C.
 Dysperpelleft, *Æ.* 414. scatterest, C. See
Perpled
 Dysporte, E. I. 28. pleasure, C. [*M.* 54.
Dysporteynge, E. III. 9. sporting
 Dysportusment, *Æ.* 250. as dysporte, enjoy-
 ment
 Dysfregate, *Æ.* 541. to break connection, or
 fellowship

E.

Ecke, *Æ.* 462. amplification, exaggeration
 Edraw, H. 2. 52. for ydraw, draw
 Est, E. II. 78. often, C. [*Æ.* 204. 476. G.
 12. 99. *M.* 53. *Ep.* 8.
Eft, *Æ.* 449. T. 116. afterwards
 Estfoons, E. III. 54. quickly, C. [*H.* 1. 200.
 414. G. 151. T. 76. E. II. 36. soon
Egederinge, G. 122. gathering, assembling
 Eke, E. I. 27. also, C.
Elate, *Æ.* 595. L. C. II. 16. exalted, lofty
 Ele, M. 74. help, C.
 Eletten, *Æ.* 447. enlighten, C. or light upon
Eletten, H. 1. 413. light upon
Elocution, *Lad.* 12. elocution
Elves, *Ch.* 27. personages, people
 Emblanched, E. I. 36. whitened, C. [*M.*
 10. P. Pl.
 Embodyde, E. I. 33. thick, stout, C. forest-
 trees
Emtellen, *Æ.* 595. *Ch.* 37. P. 435. swelling

Embowre, G. 134. lodge, C. rather, inhabit,
 cultivate
 Emburled, E. II. 54. armed, C. See
Burled
Emendals, P. 182. a word used in Rowley's
MSS. to signify his notes on Turgot's History
 of Bristol. It is an old word, still used in the
Accounts of the Middle Temple. See Cow-
 ell's Law Dictionary
 Emmate, *Æ.* 34. lessen, decrease, C.
 Emmers, G. R. 7. coined money
 Emmertleyng, M. 72. glittering, C. cir-
 cumambient
Emprije, n. H. 2. 187. 627. *Æ.* 449. G. 53.
 undertaking
Emprise, v. M. 74. undertake
Enachyng, *Æ.* 44. acting
 Enalie, G. 159. embrace, C. exalt
 Encaled, *Æ.* 917. frozen, cold, C. cooled
 Enchafed, M. 60. heated, enraged, C.
 [*Æ.* 967. See *Chafe*
Enchafyng, E. II. 56. heating
Encheare, *Æ.* 754. encourage
Engarlanded, St. C. 7. wearing a garland
 Engyne, v. *Æ.* 380. to torture
Engined, part. *Æ.* 1188. tortured, P. Pa.
Enheedynge, St. C. 105. taking heed
Enhele, *Æ.* 1140. heal
Enhepe, v. G. 113. enheped, E. I. 15. to heap
Enleme, H. 2. 586. enlighten
Enlesed, *Æ.* 164. full of leaves
 Enlowed, *Æ.* 605. flamed, fired, C. See
Low
 Enrone, *Æ.* 660. unsheath. Perhaps En-
 wryne, from *preon*, to display, draw out
Enseem, L. C. II. 15. seem
 Enseme, *Æ.* 970. to make seams in, qu. or,
 to furrow
 Enseeming, *Æ.* 745. as seeming
Enshone, B. T. 263. shewed
 Enshooting, T. 174. shooting, darting, C.
 Enstrote, H. 2. 503. deserving punishment
 Enswote, *Æ.* 1174. sweeten, qu.
 Enswolters,

- Enfwolters, *Æ.* 628. swallows, sucks in, *C.*
 Enfyрке, *S. E.* 10. encircle
 Ent, *E. III.* 57. a purse, or bag, *C.* [*G.* 149.
 165. *St. C.* 122. *G. R.* 1.
 Entendement, *Æ.* 261. understanding,
 [*H.* 2. 430. *comprehension*
Entendement, H. 1. 6. *intention, meaning*
Enthoghte, v. H. 1. 116. *thinking*
 ———, *H.* 2. 67. *thought of*
Enthoghten, part. H. 2. 366. *thought. See*
Bethoghte
 Enthoghteing, *Æ.* 703. *thinking*
 Entremed, *L. C. II.* 4. *intmixed, P. Pa.*
 Entrykeynge, *Æ.* 304. as tricking, [*Æ.* 326.
 or *intriguing, P. Pa.*
 Entyn, *P. G.* 10. even, *C.* or, *in short*
Enyromed, T. 50. *worked with iron*
Erfst, Æ. 99. *formerly*
 Estande, *H.* 2. 271. for ystande, stand
 Estells, *E. II.* 16. a corruption of estoile,
 Fr. a star, *C.*
 Estroughted, *Æ.* 918. *stretched out.*
 Ethe, *n. f. and adj. E. III.* 59. ease, *C.* *easy,*
 [*Æ.* 814. 819. *G.* 37. *T.* 99. 163.
Ethe, v. Æ. 945. *Ch.* 83. *to give ease, to*
relieve
 Ethie, *St. C.* 49. [85.] *easy*
 Evalle, *E. III.* 38. equal, *C.*
 Eve merk, *E. II.* 16. *dark evening*
 Eve-speckt, *T.* 56. marked with evening
 dew, *C.* *rather, with dark spots, qu.*
Everiche, H. 1. 42. *Æ.* 590. *H.* 2. 125.
every one
 Ewbrice, *Æ.* 1084. adultery, *C.*
 Ewbricious, *St. C.* 60. lascivious, *adul-*
terous
 Eyne gears, *St. C.* 13. *objects of the eyes*
Eyne fight, St. G. 141. *eye-fight*
- F.
- Fage, *Ep.* 30. tale, jest, *C.*
 Fay, *H.* 2. 144. *Æ.* 39. *P. G.* 3. *faith*
 Faifully, *T.* 147, faithfully, *C.* *See Un-*
faifull
 Faitour, *Ch.* 66. a beggar or vagabond, *C.*
 [*St. C.* 37. *rather, a drawer, P. Pa.*
 Faldstole, *Æ.* 61. a folding-stool, or seat.
See Du Cange, in v. Faldistorium,
a kneeling stool
 Fayre, *Æ.* 1203. 1223. clear, innocent, or,
virtuous
 Feere, *Æ.* 964. fire
 Feerie, *E. II.* 45. flaming, *C.* *fiery*
 Fele, *T.* 27. feeble, *C.*
 Felle, *G.* 119. *Ep.* 5. *cruel, bad*
 Fellen, *v. E. I.* 10. part. sing. *qu. fell*
Ferselie, H. 2. 585. *fiercely*
 Fetelie, *G.* 24. nobly, *C.* [*H.* 2. 413. 418.
finely, beautifully
 Fetelieft, *H.* 1. 206. *most beautiful*
 Fetive, *Ent.* 7. as festive, [*Æ.* 658. *Ch.* 13.
L. C. II. 2. *St. C.* 143. *elegant, beauti-*
ful
 Fetivelie, *Le.* 42. elegantly, *C.*
 Fetiveness, *Æ.* 399. as festiveness, *cheerful-*
ness
 Feyngnes, *E. III.* 78. a corruption of feints,
C.
Feygne, adj. G. 110. *willing*
 Fhuir, *G.* 58. fury, *C.* [*H.* 2. 124. 130.
 145. *Æ.* 519.
 Fuired, *E. III.* 87. *furious*
 Fir, *T.* 113. defy, *C.*
 Flaiten, *H.* 1. 84. *horrible, or undulating*
 Flaunched, *H.* 2. 242. [*St. C.* 90. *arched*
Fleme, v. Æ. 421. *to terrify. See Aflenne*
Flemynge, Æ. 1008. *terrifying*
 Flemed, *T.* 56. frightened, *C.*
 Flemie, *St. C.* 12. *frightfully*
 Fleeting, *H.* 2. 87. 304. *flying, passing*
 Flizze, *G.* 197. fly, *C.*
 Floe, *H.* 2. 54. arrow, [*H.* 2. 164. 234.
 240. 304. *T.* 48. 54. 60. 78. 83.
 Flott, *Ch.* 33. fly, *C.* or *flat*
 Flotting, *H.* 2. 42. *floating, or undulating*
 Foile, *E. III.* 78. battle, *C.*

Fons, Fonnes, E. II. 14. devices, C.
 [.E. 420. T. 4. P. Pa.
Fore, Æ. 244. *before*
Forefend, H. I. 249. *forbid*, B. T. 141.
Forgard, Æ. 564. *lose*, C. [.E. 423. 564.
 St. C. 57. *lost*
Forletten, E. IV. 19. *forfaken*, C.
Forloyne, Æ. 721. *retreat*, C.
Forrey-yng, T. 114. *destroy-ing*, C. [H. 2.
 529.
Forleige, v. Æ. 1105. *slay*, C. [Æ. 1077,
 G. 175.
Forslagen, Æ. 1075. *slain*, C. [Æ. 1075.
 1090. T. 53. 77. 83. G. 99.
Forstraughte, St. C. 58. *distracted*, *confounded*
Forstraughteyng, G. 34. *distracting*, C.
Forwat, Ch. 30. *fun-burnt*, C.
Forweltring, Æ. 617. *blasting*, C. *or burn-*
ing
Forwyned, E. III. 36. *dried*, C. [Ch. 23.
withered
Fraie, n. T. 124. *Combat*, P. Pa.
Fremde, Æ. 429. *strange*, C. [H. 2. 147.
Fremded, Æ. 554. *frighted*, C. *strange*, *un-*
known
Freme, Æ. 267. *strange*, P. Pa.
Fructile, Æ. 185. *fruitful*
Fuir, *Fuired*. See *Fhuir*

G.

Gaberdine, T. 88. a piece of armour, C.
 [H. 2. 718. T. 168. Æ. 251. a *coarse cloak*
Gallard, Ch. 39. *frighted*, C.
Gare, Ep. 7. *cause*, C. [Æ. 632. 651. 809.
 953. 1074. 1106. 1158. 1227. G. 63.
 106. Ep. 7.
Gastnefs, Æ. 417. *ghastlinefs*, [Ch. 31. *ter-*
ror
Gauntlette, n. T. 88. 106. *glove*
 ———, *ad*. S. E. 7. *challenging*
 ———, n. T. 116. *to challenge*
Gayne, Æ. 821. *to gayne*, *so gayne a prize*.

Gayne has probably been repeated by
 mistake. *May it not stand for gainful, or*
for the opposite to ungayne, i. e. awkward?
Geare, Æ. 299. *apparel*, *accoutrements*,
 [Æ. 285. M. 68.
Geason, Ent. 7. *rare*, C. G. 120. *extraor-*
dinary, *strange*, C.
Geer, H. 2. 274. *as Gier*
Geet, Æ. 735. *as Gite*, *qu. whether it*
means gate or cloathing
Gelten, E. III. 25. *gilded*
Geyltynge. Æ. 179. *gilding*.
Gemot, n. H. 2. 388. *council*
Gemote, v. G. 94. *assemble*, C.
Gemoted, E. II. 38. *united*, *assembled*, C.
 [M. 58.
Gerd, M. 7. *broke*, *rent*, C. *struck*
Gies, v. G. 207. *guides*, C.
Gye, n. M. 79. *a guide*
Gier, H. I. 399, 527. *turn or twist*. See
Geer
Gif, E. II. 39. *if*, C. [Ep. 36. Le. 21. 25.
 E. III. 3. 9. 10.
Gites, Æ. 2. *robes*, *mantels*, C. [Æ. 606.
 G. 32.
Gytelles, Æ. 437. *cloaths*, *mantles*
Glair, H. 2. 570. [E. II. 37. *shining*,
clear, P. Pa.
Glairie, Ch. 69. *clear*, *shining*, P. Pa.
Gledes, H. 2. 217. *glides*
Gledeynge, M. 22. *livid*, C. *like a live coal*
or glede, or gliding, i. e. shooting, qu.
Gleme, v. H. 2. 330. Æ. 926. *shine*. See
Agleme
Glesler, M. 104. B. T. 347. *to shine*
Glomb, G. 175. *frown*, C.
Glommed, Ch. 22. *clouded*, *dejected*, C.
Glawe, S. E. 40. *look earnestly, stare*
Gloure, Ch. 90. *glory*
Glytted, H. 2. 272. *shone, or glided, qu.*
God-den, P. 185. *good evening*
Gore depycted, Æ. 762. *painted with blood*
Gore red, E. II. 16. *red as blood*
Gorne, E. I. 36. *garden*, C.

Gottes, *Æ.* [494.] 739. drops
 Gouler, *St. C.* 76. [*G. R. Title—usurer, P. Pa.*]
 Graiebarbes, *Le.* 25. greybeards, *C.*
 Grange, *E. I.* 34. liberty of pasture, *C. an arable farm*
 Gratche, *Æ.* 115. apparel, *C.* [*Æ.* 594. *M.* 68. 80.]
 Grave, *C. F.* 2. chief magistrate, mayor, *qu. if not the epithet given to the aldermen*
 Gravots, *E. I.* 24. groves, *C.*
 Greaves, *H.* 2. 276. a part of armour
 Grees, *E. I.* 44. grows, *C.* [*T.* 16. *E. III.* 34. *St. C.* 103.]
 Grete, *T.* 24. greeted, saluted
 Groffile, *Æ.* 546. groveling, mean
 Groffish, *Æ.* 257. uncivil, rude
 Groffynghie, *Ep.* 33. foolishly, *C. vulgarly, coarsely*
 Gron, *G.* 90. a fen, moor, *C.*
 Gronfer, Gronfyre, *E. II.* 45. a meteor, from Gron, a fen, and Fer, a corruption of five, *C.* [*G.* 200. *Æ.* 460. 642.]
 Grore, *H.* 2. 27.
 Groted, *Æ.* 337. swollen, *C.*
 Gryne, *H.* 2. 706. groin
 Gule depeyncted, *E. II.* 13. red painted, *C.*
 Gule steynct. *G.* 62. red stained, *C.*
 Gye. See Gie
 Gytes, Gytelles. See Gites

H.

Haile, Hailie, *E. III.* 60. [*Æ.* 33.] 148. 409. [*M.* 63.] happy, *C.*
 Hallidom, *H.* 2. 148. 156. holy reliques, or holy church, or holy judgment, *qu.*
 Hallie, *T.* 144. holy, [*Ep.* 9. 43. *Æ.* 383, *G.* 111. 130. 178. *T.* 144. *E. I.* 56.]
 Halline, *Ch.* 82. joy, *C. happiness*
 Hallie, *Æ.* 33. wholly, a mistake for Hailie
 Halceld, *M.* 37. defeated, *C. or, harassed*
 Hancelled, *G.* 49. cut off, destroyed, *C.* [*P.* 184.]

Han, *Æ.* 733. hath, *qu. rather had*
 Hane, *G.* 20. *Æ.* 1136. has, *qu.*
 Han, Hanne, *Æ.* 408. had, particip. *qu. Æ.* 684. had, *pa. t. sing. qu. [All the following instances are in the singular number, and stand for Had, H. 1. 74. 182. 188. 207. 282. 319. 322. 337. 396. 429. 455. H. 2. 306 N. B. Han and Had, in the same line, and in the same tense, 703. Æ. 649. 733. L. G. I 4. C. F. 1.]*
 Hanne, *sing. number, Æ.* 684. 1183. 1184. *M.* 61. *Lad.* 9. had
 Hann, had, *pl. Æ.* 59.
 Hand-sword, *H.* 2. 702. back sword
 Hantoned, *Æ.* 1093. accusmad. See Hantend
 Harbergeon, *H.* 2. 346. coat of mail
 Harried, *M.* 82. tost, *C.* [*Æ.* 208.]
 Hart of Greece, *H.* 1. 494. a flag
 Hatched, *S. E.* 25. covered with hatchments
 Hatchments, *H.* 2. 488. achievements, coat of armour. See Achments
 Haveth, *E. I.* 17. have, 1st person, *qu.*
 Hawoure, *Æ.* 714. behaviour
 Heafod-s, *E. II.* 7. heads, *C.* [*Æ.* 495. *G.* 198.]
 Heavenwere, *G.* 146. heaven-ward, *C.* [*Æ.* 759. *M.* 97. *St. C.* 75.]
 Hecked, *Æ.* 393. wrapped, closely covered, *C.*
 Heckled, *M.* 3. wrapped, *C.*
 Heie, *E. II.* 15. they, *C.* [*Le.* 5. *E.* 563. 779. *G.* 174. *T.* 123.]
 Heideyngnes, *E. III.* 77. a country dance, still practised in the north, *C.* [*H.* 2. 10. a romping country dance]
 Hele, *n. G.* 127. help, *C.* [*Æ.* 1041. *G.* 127.]
 Hele, *v. E. III.* 16. to help, *C.* [*E.* 557. *G.* 139. 179. See Enhele]
 Hem, *T.* 24. a contraction of them, *C.* [*Le.* 24. *Æ.* 1065. *G.* 51. *E. III.* 4.]
 Hendie stroke, *H.* 1. 95. hand stroke
 Hente, *T.* 175. grasp, hold, *C.*
 Hentyll, *Æ.* 1160. eyelids

Hechaughts,

Herebaughts, Heraude, T. 21. 151. M. 78.

herald

Herebaugbirie, Le. 8. heraldry

Herselle, Æ. 279. herself

Heste, v. G. 138. to command

Hette, n. Æ. 1181. [H. 2. 28. 188. Æ. 446.

a command,

Hete, pa. t. St. C. 62. promised

Hight, L. C. I. 11. M. 110. named, called

Hilte, Hylte, v. Æ. 253. 437. 1058. T. 163.

Ep. 2. hide, hid

Hilted, Hiltren, T. 47. 65. hidden, C.

[Æ. 417. 807. G. 59. hidden, secret

Hiltring, Ch. 13. hiding, C.

Holtred, Æ. 293. } hidden, secret, C.

Hulstred, M. 6. }

Hinde, H. 2. 12. G. 49. Ep. 20. E. III. 2. 7.

peasant

Hindlette, Æ. 774. 991. 1139. peasant

Hoastrie, E. I. 26. inn, or public house, C.

P. Pl.

Hoistes, H. 2. 305. lifts up

Hommagers, T. 46. dependents, tenants

Hommeur, Æ. 1189. honour, humour, qu.

Hondepoint, Æ. 273. index of a clock, marking hour or minute

Hopelen, Æ. 398. hopelessness, or small hope

Horrowe, M. 2. unseemly, disagreeable, C.

Horfe-millanar, Ch. 56. See the note on the passage

Hove, H. 1. 431. pa. t. of heave

Houton, M. 92. hollow, C. [R. C. 6. lofty,

P. Pa.

Huscarles, Æ. 921. 1193. house-servants, [H. 2. 80.

Hygra, H. 2. 326. 691.

Hyger, Æ. 626. the flowing of the tide in the Severn was anciently called the

Hygra, Gul. Malmes. de Pontif. Angl.

L. iv.

Hylle fyre, Æ. 681. a beacon

Hylte. See Hilte, &c.

Hught. See Hight

I

Jape, Ch. 74. a short surplice, &c. C. P. Pa.

Jernie, H. 2. 217. journey

Jeste, G. 195. hoisted, raised, C.

Isiete, G. 2. devour, destroy, C. fret, harass

Ihantend, E. I. 40. accustomed, C. See Hantoned

Juntle, H. 2. 82. for gentle

Impestering, E. I. 29. annoying, C.

Immenged, St. C. 90. mixed, mingled

Impleasaunce, Æ. 285. unpleasantness

Inhild, E. IV. 14. infuse, C.

Joice, E. IV. 14. juice

Joicey, Æ. 186. juicy

Juysted, T. 158. justed

Ishad, Le. 37. broken, C. scattered, shed

Ithink, H. 2. 153. think

Jubb, E. III. 71. a bottle, C. [Æ. 84.

Iwreene, C. H. 9. disclosed. See ywreen

Iwympled, H. 2. 528. wrapped up. See Wywympled

Iwys, E. II. 75. certainly

Jyned, Æ. 763. joined

Jyninge, E. II. 37. joining

K.

Ken, Kennes, Ep. 14. 28. Æ. 410. E. II.

6. E. III. 4. St. C. 76. sees, discovers, knows, C.

Kepe, G. 133. to take care of

Keppend, Le. 44. careful

Kerveth, Æ. 417. cutteth

King Coppes, Æ. 112. S. E. 16. E. I. 31. butter-flowers

Kiste, Ch. 25. coffin, C.

Kiverled, E. III. 63. the hidden, or secret part, C. or covering, P. Pa.

Kynde, E. III. 4. nature

Knite, T. 44. joined, united

Knopped, M. 14. fastened, chained, congealed, C. *P. Pa.*

Knowlache, E. III. 8. knowledge

Knowlached, H. 1. 76. known, distinguished

Knowlaching, part. H. 1. 283. knowing

Knowlacheynge, n. Ep. 15. L. C. I. 9. knowledge

L.

Ladden, H. 1. 206. lay

Lare, Lere, H. 2. 597. 676. *Æ.* 567. *Rim.* leather

Lauds, Ep. 28. praises

Lave, H. 2. 397. wash

Lavynge, M. 6. washing

Laverd, P. 183. lord, *Æ.* 155. See *Loverd*

Lea, H. 2. 364. *Æ.* 618. M. 103. field, or pasture

Leafe, H. 2. 463. lose

Leathel. See *Lethal*

Lecche, H. 2. 260.

Leechemanne, *Æ.* 31. } physician

Leckedst, H. 2. 332. most despicable

Lecture, v. E. IV. 28. St. C. 68. to relate, instruct

Lecturn, Le. 46. subject, C. or lecture, qu.

Lecturnies, *Æ.* 109. lectures, C.

Leden, E. IV. 30. decreasing, C. or heavy, qu.

Ledunne, *Æ.* 1142. heavy, qu.

Leege, G. 173. homage, obeisance

Leegefolcke, G. 43. subjects, C. [*G.* 137. 147.]

Leegefull, T. 89. 90. laudful

Leegemen, H. 1. 31. subjects

Lege, Ep. 3. law, C.

Leggen, v. M. 92. to lessen, alloy, C.

Leggende, M. 33. alloyed, C.

Lemanne, *Æ.* 132. mistress

Leme, Lemes, n. *Æ.* 42. lights rays, C. [*Æ.* 183. 929. 1010. 1014. 1017. 1127.]

M. 5. 107. *P. Pa.*

Lemed, v. E. IV. 7. glistered, C.—*Æ.* 605.

lighted, C. [*Æ.* 914. M. 31. E. IV. 7. *P. Pa.*

Lere. See *Lare*

Lessel, E. IV. 25. a bush or hedge, C.

Lete, G. 60. still, C.

Lethal, E. IV. 21. deadly, or death-boding, C. [*H.* 1. 557. H. 2. 295. 352. 519. *Æ.* 665. 1201. G. 58. E. I. 42. E. IV. 21. 49.]

Letnlen, *Æ.* 272. still, dead, C.

Letten, *Æ.* 127. church-yard, C.

Levyne, M. 122. lightning, C. [*Æ.* 242.]

Levynde, E. IV. 18. blasted, C. struck with lightning

Levyne blessed, E. IV. 43. blasted with lightning

Levyne bronde, *Æ.* 413. flash of lightning

Levyne forreyng, T. 114. destroying lightning

—furched, *Æ.* 518. forked

—fyres, *Æ.* 183. flashes of lightning

—plome, *Æ.* 950. feathered lightning

—roddie, M. 104. red

—rode-forweltring-bronde, red destructive darts of lightning, *Æ.* 617.

Levyne myltyed, *Æ.* 461. lightning melted, qu.

Liefe, *Æ.* 217. choice.

Liff, E. I. 7. leaf

Ligheth, *Æ.* 636. lodges

Likand, H. 2. 177. liking

Limed, limmed, E. II. 7. M. 90. glassy, reflecting, C. [*E.* IV. 37.]

Lymmed, part. M. 33. polished, C. softened

Limitour, Ch. 75. a licensed begging friar

Linge, *Æ.* 376. stay, C. linger

Lyffe, lyffith, v. M. 15. T. 2. sporteth, boundeth

Liffed, lyffed, part. bounded, T. 97. C. [*Æ.* 53. confined. See *Unlyst*

List, H. 1. 544. attention, regard

Lithic, Ep. 10. humble, C. flexible, *P. Pa.*

Loaste, *Æ.* 455. loss

Livelyhode, *Æ.* 961. life

Lode, H. 1. 386. load

Lode, H. 1. 33. praise, honour

Logges, E. I. 55. cottages, C. [*E. III. 2.*
 Lordinge, T. 57. standing on their hind-
 legs, C. rather, heavy, sluggish, P. Pl.
 Lore, Ep. 13. S. E. 6. St. C. 79. 104.
learning
 Lote, H. I. 256. lot
 Loverd, E. III. 29. lords, C. [*H. 2. 167.*
Æ. 155. 270. 276. 666. 839. 1175.
G. I. 104. 149. G. 152. Ch. 53. E. III.
29. See Laverd.
 Leughe, Ep. 27. laughier
 Loufly, Æ. 1170. lusty
 Lowe, lowes, G. 50. T. 137. flame, flames,
 C. [*Æ. 680. 745. G. 50. P. Pa.*
 Lowings, Ch. 36. flames, C.
 Lurdanes, H. I. 36. lord Danes
 Lycheynge, E. III. 5. an idea of likeness
 Lyene, H. 2. 407. lie
 Lymmed. See Limed
 Lynch, E. IV. 37. bank, C. [*Æ. 931.*
 Lyoncel, E. II. 44. young lion, C.
 Lyped, E. IV. 34. linked, united, qu.
 Lyffe, lyffed. See Lisse
 Lyfhyng, St. C. 2. listening

M.

Magystrie, H. 2. 140. }
 Mastrie, Æ. 595. } mastery, victory
 Masterschyppe, Æ. 591. }
 Mancas, G. 136. marks, C. [*G. 174.*
180. mancuses, the aureus, or gold coin of
the Roman empire
 Marks, G. 163. a money of account, in value
 two-thirds of a pound; but here erroneously
 made synonymous with the mancusa
 Manchyn, H. 2. 222. a sleeve, Fr.
 Mate, H. 2. 137. match
 Maugre, H. I. 204. notwithstanding
 Maynt, meynt, E. II. 66. many, great
 numbers, C. [*Ep. 40. H. 2. 559. Æ. 74.*
T. 13. 35. M. 77. 90. St. C. 86.

Mede, Le. 15. Æ. 62. T. 107. reward. See
Amede
 Meeded, Æ. 39. rewarded
 Mee, mees, E. I. 31. meadows, C. [*Æ. 92.*
M. 8. Ch. 2. St. C. 3.
 Memuine, H. 2. 120. *mesnie-men*, attend-
 ants, P. Pa.
 Menged, H. 2. 118. mixed, the many, E. IV.
 42.
 Meniced, St. C. 146. menaced, qu.
 Mennys, Æ. 1109. men
 Mensured, T. 2. measured
 Mere, G. 58. lake, C.
 Merke, T. 163. dark, gloomy, C. [*St. C.*
33.
 Merkye, Æ. 1058. P. 433. dark
 Merker, Æ. 1012. darker
 Merknese, Æ. 1005. 1128. darkness
 Merke plante, T. 176. nightshade, C. ra-
 ther, ivy
 Move, H. I. 485. move
 Mical, H. I. 214. much, mighty
 Myckle, Le. 16. T. 96. much, H. I. 12. 14.
 and T. 102. passim
 Mifel, Æ. 550. myself
 Miskynette, E. IV. 22. a small bagpipe,
 C.
 Mist, Ch. 49. poor, needy, C. [*mister,*
Ch. 82. needy, P. Pa.
 Mitches, E. IV. 20. ruins, C. rather scraps,
 fragments
 Mittee, myghty, E. II. 28. mighty, C.
 [*H. I. 115.*
 Myrynge, Æ. 1217. wallowing
 Mockler, St. C. 105. more, greater, migh-
 tier
 Moke, Ep. 5. much, C. [*G. 137. E. IV.*
12.
 Mokie, E. IV. 29. black, C. [*Æ. 434.*
G. 47. E. IV. 29. Le. 2. 6.
 Mokynge, H. 2. 584. mocking
 Mole, Ch. 4. soft, C.
 Mollock, G. 90. wet, moist, C.
 Moreynge, P. 434. rooting up

Morglaien,

Morglaïen, M. 20. the name of a sword in some old romances, [*H.* 2. 600. 653.

M. 20. the name of Bevis's sword

Morthe, *Æ.* 307. death, murder

Morthynges, E. IV. 4. murdering, C.

Mote, E. I. 22. might, C. [*E.* III. 6.

Motte, H. 2. 194. word, or motto

Myckle. See Mical

Myghte ameine. See *Amayne*

Myndbruch, *Æ.* 400. [*St. C.* 74. 145. *firmness of mind, sense of honour*

Mynemene, H. 2. 435. miners

Mynster, G. 75. monastery, C. [*B. T.* 305. *E. I.* 56. or church, *P. Pa.*

Mynstrell, E. I. 1. *Æ.* 86. 841. *T.* 23. 41. *E. III.* 80.

Mysterk, M. 33. mystic, C. rather *professional*

N.

Ne, P. G. 6. not, C. [*H.* 1. 208. *Æ.* 1121. *St. C.* 50. 57. 58. 61.

Ne, [*St. C.* 42. 43. 44. *no, or none*

Nedere, Ep. II. adder, C. [*Æ.* 252. 513. 1034. 972. *water-nedders*, *P. Pa.*

Neete, *St. C.* 41. night, [*Æ.* 398.

Nesh, T. 16. weak, tender, C. [*H.* 2. 575. *Æ.* 163. *P. Pa.*

Nete, neete, *Æ.* 398. *St. C.* 41. night

Nete, T. 19. nothing, C. [*H.* 1. 92. *Le.* 2. *Æ.* 400. 530. 570. 1019. *T.* 18. *Ch.* 84. *E. III.* 10.

Nethe, *Æ.* 405. beneath

Nilling, *Le.* 16. unwilling, C.

Nome-depeyncted, E. II. 17. rebus'd shields, a herald term, when the charge of the shield implies the name of the bearer, C.

Norrurs, P. 435. king of Norway

Notte, *Æ.* 300. knot, *fylen*

Notte browne, *St. C.* 49. nut-brown

Noyance, *Æ.* 453. amoyance

O.

Oathed, *Æ.* 1104. bound upon oath

Obaic, E. I. 41. abide, C. [*E. II.* 26. *P. Pa.*

Offrendes, *Æ.* 51. presents, offerings, C. [*Æ.* 430.

Olyphautes, H. 2. 619. elephants

Onflemed, G. 192. undismayed

Onknowlachynge, E. II. 26. not knowing, C. [*G.* 171. *T.* 178.

Onlight, *Æ.* 677. darken, *qu.*

Onliht, *Le.* 45. boundless, C.

Ontyllle, *Æ.* 1036. until

Orrests, G. 100. oversets, C.

Ore, H. 2. 125. other

Overest, *Æ.* 441. uppermost

Ouched, T. 80. See Chatterton's note. *adorned with a garland of flowers*

Ouphante, *Æ.* 887. 928. ouphen, elves

Ourt, H. 2. 578. out, or open, *qu.*

Ouzle, *Æ.* 104. blackbird, C.

Owndes, G. 91. waves, C. [*Æ.* 367. 457. *E. II.* 8. *flood*

Oundynge, *Æ.* 440. swelling waves

P.

Paizde, H. 2. 223. poised

Pall, Ch. 31. contraction from appall, to fright, C.

Paramente, *Æ.* 52. robes of scarlet, C. M. 36. a princely robe. [*St. C.* 45. *robe of state*

Parker, E. I. 34. bailiff, or overfar

Passent, T. 67. passing

Paves, payyes, *Æ.* 432. shields, [*Æ.* 647

Payred, L. G. II. 15. 16. compared

Peece, Ch. 5. pied, C.

Peene, *Æ.* 261. 483. pain

Penete, Ch. 25. painted, C.

Peynfledde, Ep. 4.
Penne, Æ. 727. mountain, eminence
Penfmenne, P. G. 1. writers
Percafe, Le. 21. perchance, C.
Perdie, H. 1. 147. privately, or *par Dieu*, qu.
Pere, E. I. 141. appear, C.
Peering, Æ. 96. appearing
Perforce, Æ. 635. was forced, H. 1. 353.
Perpled, St. C. 99. purple, qu. scattered.
See Disperpled. [Æ. 414.
Perfant, Æ. 560. piercing
Pete, Æ. 1000. beat, or pluck
Peyfan, P. 190. peasant
Pheeres, Æ. 46. fellows, equals, C.
[Æ. 202. 517.
Pheon, H. 2. 272. in heraldry, the barbed head of a dart, [473.
Pheryons, St. C. 147. qu.
Picte, E. III. 91. picture, C.
Pyghteth, Ep. 15. M. 73. plucks, or tortures
Pighte, pyghte, T. 38. pitched, or bent down, C. [Æ. 60. 608. 1084. 1187. G. 39. 76.
Pittie golphe, H. 1. 517. hollow pit
Pleasaunce, Æ. 1240. E. II. 2. 12. 22. 32. 42. 52. 62. 72. pleasure, blessing
Plonce, H. 2. 564. plunge
Pouche, Ch. 80. purse
Poyntel, Le. 44. a pen, C. [Æ. 6. 682. 758. P. Pa.
Prevyd, Æ. 23. hardy, valorous, C. well-tried
Protofleine, H. 2. 38. first slain
Prowe, H. 1. 108. [H. 2. 514. forehead
Puerilitie, H. 1. 67. childhood
Pynant, Le. 4. pining, meagre, rather, poignant, or relishing. *See the epithet given to Poesie, in the preceding line*
Pyghte, pyghtethe. *See Pight, &c.*

Q.

Quaced, T. 94. vanquished, C. *quashed*, or beaten down. *See Dequaced*
Quaintiffed, T. 4. curiously devised, C., P. Pa.
Quansed, Æ. 241. stilled, quenched, C.
Queede, Æ. 284. 427. the evil one, the devil, [Æ. 454. 986. G. R. 20. P. 183. P. Pl.
Quent, S. E. 28. strange

R.

Ramping, Æ. 283. T. 6. furious
Receivure, G. 151. receipt, C.
Recer, H. 1. 87. for racer, a horse
Recendize, Æ. 543. { for recreandice,
Recrandize, Æ. 1192. { cowardice, P. Pl.
See Creand
Recreand, Æ. 507. coward, C. [Æ. 330. 342. 507.
Reddour, Æ. 30. violence, C. P. Pa.
Rede, Le. 18. wisdom, C. [H. 2. 24. 107. 622. Æ. 268. 730. G. 138. 162. counsel, advice
Rede, Æ. 1119. read, or learn
Reded, G. 79. counselled, C.
Redeynge, Æ. 227. advice, consideration, qu.
Regrate, Le. 7. esteem, C.—M. 70. esteem, favour, C. [Æ. 1038.
Rele, n. Æ. 5. 29. wave, C. [G. 144. M. 11.
Reles, v. E. II. 63. waves, C.
Renome, T. 28. honour, glory, C. [Æ. 651. 830. 978.
Renteynge rolles, St. C. 128. } an account of
Rentrolle, Ch. 86. } rents due
Responsed, St. C. 4. answered

Reyne,

- Reyne, reine, ryne, E. II. 25. run, C.
 [Æ. 254. G. 120. T. 27.
 Reyning, E. II. 39. running, C. [Æ. 846.
 Reytes, Æ. 899. water-flags, C. *or*
wreaths, qu.
 Ribaude, Ep. 9. rake, lewd person, C.
 Ribbande geere, St. C. 44. ornaments of
 ribbands
 Ribible, E. I. 25. violin
 Riped, Æ. 181. ripened
 Rodded, Ch. 3. reddened, C.
 Rode, E. I. 59. complexion, C. [Æ. 851.
 Rodeing, Æ. 324. riding, *or* command
 Roder, Æ. 1064. rider, traveller
 Roghling, T. 69. rolling, C.
 Roin, Æ. 325. ruin
 Roiend, Æ. 577. ruined
 Royner, Æ. 325. ruiner, [Æ. 623. 1069.
 Rustling, E. I. 7. rustling
 Rou, G. 10. horrid, grim, C. [Æ. 303.
 526.
 Rowncy, Le. 32. a cart-horse, C. *a back-*
ney-horse
 Rynde, Æ. 1191. ruined, *torn away*
- S.
- Sabalus, E. I. 22. Zabalus, Æ. 427. the
 devil, C.
 Sabbatons, P. 183. boots
 Sabbatanners, Æ. 275. [583. *booted sol-*
diers
 Sable, n. P. 434. *fard.* Æ. 1009. *darkness*
 Sable, v. E. II. 60. *to blacken*
 Sable, adj. Æ. 1006. 1053. *black*
 Saint Mary flower, E. I. 37. *marygold*
 Saic, H. 1. 51. *military cloak*
 Sanguen, E. IV. 10. *bloody*
 Sarims plain, H. 1. 301. *Salisbury plain*
 Saunt, P. 184. *saunter*
 Sayld, H. 2. 299. *affailed*
 Scalle, Æ. 702. shall, C.
 Scante, Æ. 1132. scarce, C.
 Scantillie, Æ. 1009. scarcely, sparingly, C.
 [H. 2. 525.
 Scarpes, Æ. 52. scarfs, C.
 Scarre, Æ. 981. *mark*
 Scathe, Ch. 86. *scarce*
 Scethe, Ep. 12. T. 96. *hurt, or damage*
 Scaunce layd, C. H. 4. *uneven*
 Scaunfing, St. C. 56. *glaucing, or locking*
obliquely
 Scaasted, H. 2. 542. *adorned with turrets*
 Seile, E. III. 33. gather, C. *or close up*
 Seillye, G. 207. closely, C. *or with skill,*
qu.
 Scolles, Æ. 239. shoes
 Scond, H. 1. 20. for abscond
 Seck, H. 1. 461. for suck
 Seeled, Ent. 11. closed, C.
 Seere, Æ. 1163. search, C.
 Selyncs, E. I. 55. happiness, C. [C. H.
 10. 14. Æ. 33. 81. 312. 317. 835. E. IV.
 32.
 Semblament, St. C. 10. *appearance*
 Semblate, St. C. 67. *appearance*
 Semmlykeed, Æ. 298. [St. C. 113. *counte-*
nance, P. Pa.
 Semlykeene, Æ. 9. countenance, C. G. 56.
 beauty, countenance, C. [H. 2. 568.
 Æ. 1145. T. 36. 117.
 Sendaument, St. C. 126. *appearance*
 Seme, E. III. 32. seed, C.
 Semecope, Ch. 87. a short under-cloak,
 C.
 Sete, Æ. 1068. feat, *stability*
 Shappe, T. 36. fate, C. [Æ. 34. 365. 656.
 718. 904. 1238. G. 18.
 Shapscourged, Æ. 602. fate-scourged, C.
 Sheene, n. Æ. 678. T. 3. E. 11. 19. *lustre,*
shine
 Shemres, Æ. 9. E. II. 37.
 Shemring, E. II. 14. glimmering, C.
 [Æ. 738. G. 14. T. 3.
 Shente, T. 157. broke, destroyed, C.
 [Æ. 1092.

Shepen,

- Shepen, St. C. 97. *innocent*
 Shepftere, E. I. 6. *shepherd, C.*
Shetting, Ch. 69. shooting
 Shoone-pykes, St. C. 44. *shoes with piked toes. The length of the pikes was restrained to two inches, by 3 Ed. IV. c. 5.*
Shutte out, Æ. 994. shut out
 Shrove, H. 2. 432. *shrouded*
Skyne, skyn, H. 2. 405. 562. sky
Sleeth, see, G. 68. E. I. 43. slays
Skene, Æ. 678. E. II. 67. slain
Slewe, H. I. 178. clue of thread
 Sletre, Æ. 538. *slaughter, [Æ. 799.*
 Slughornes, E. II. 9. *a musical instrument, not unlike a hautboy, C.—T. 31. a kind of clarion, C. [H. 2. 190. Æ. 690. 721. 1101. T. 31. a military horn, or trumpet*
 Smethe, T. 101. *smoke, C. [Æ. 1100. T. 101. Ch. 30.*
 Smething, E. I. 1. *smoking, C. [Æ. 501. 607. T. 161. E. I. 1.*
 Smore, H. 1. 412. *besmeared*
 Smothe, Ch. 36. *steam, or vapours, C.*
 Snett, T. 45. *rent, C. snatched up*
Sockeynge, Æ. 442. sucking
Sorfected, Æ. 604. swarfeited
Sole, R. C. 9. soul
In sothe, Æ. 39. 227. in truth
 Sothen, Æ. 127. *sooth, qu.*
Soughlys, E. III. 63. souls
 Souten, H. 1. 252. *for fought, pa. t. fing. qu.*
 Sparre, H. 1. 26. *a wooden bar, or inclosure*
 Spedde, H. 2. 525. *spied, or attained, qu.*
 Spencer, T. 11. *dispenser, C.*
Spere, Æ. 67. all to
Sphere, Æ. 488. spear
Sprenges, sprienged, Æ. 161. 723. scatters, sprinkles. See Besprenge
Spytyng, Æ. 706. towering, fiery, lofty
Stale, H. 1. 193. slykening
 Stalks, T. 73. *stalks*
Stalchys, G. 159. strading
Steeked, Æ. 1187. a mistake for stealed
Steemie, H. 1. 386. steaming
 Steeres, S. E. 40. *stairs, [Æ. 565. the hold of the castle*
 Stente, T. 134. *stained, C.*
 Steynced, Æ. 189. *alloyed, or stained, qu.*
Stints, H. 2. 639. stops
Steeke, H. 2. 516. } luck
Stoke, H. 1. 511. }
 Storthe, G. R. 10. *death*
 Storven, Æ. 607. *dead, C. P. Pa.*
 Straught, Æ. 59. *stretched, C. [H. 2. 687. Æ. 59. T. 143. See Estroughted*
Long-straighte, Æ. 1116. far-stretched
Stree, v. H. 2. 454. strew, or did strow
Stre, n. H. 2. 712. straw
 Stret, Æ. 158. *stretch, C.*
 Strev, Æ. 358. *strive*
 Stringe, G. 10. *strong, C. [Æ. 504. 1074. E. I. 35.*
Strange, E. III. 25. stringed
Strynge bataunt. See Bataunt
 Suffycyl, Æ. 62. 980. *sufficient*
Super ballie, G. 78. too loly
Sureste, E. I. 5. cloak, or mantle
 Swarthe, Æ. 165. *ghost*
 Swartheing, Æ. 295. *expiring*
 Swarthlefs, H. 2. 563. *dead, expired*
 Swefte-kervd, E. II. 20. *short-lived, C. quick made*
Sweltrie, T. 61. E. III. 31. sultry
Swelcyng, G. 91. swelling
 Swoltering, Æ. 443. *overwhelming*
Swerte, E. I. 23. E. III. 37. sweet, P. Pa.
 Swotie, E. II. 9. *sweet, C. [H. 2. 583. Æ. 842. M. 52.*
Swtelie, T. 169. sweetly
 Swythe, twythen, fwythyn, *quickly, C. [Æ. 117. 206. 223. 430. 433. 1196. G. 86. T. 12. 32. 117.*
 S;ke, E. II. 6. *such, so, C. [Le. 13. Æ. 12. 66. G. 123. T. 20. E. III. 57. 91.*
Sythe, sythene, Æ. 470. 1055. S. E. 1. since

T. Takelie,

T.

Takelle, T. 72. arrow, C. [*H.* 2. 625. *Æ.* 273. 509. *T.* 72.
Talbots, *H.* 2. 89. a species of dogs
Teeming donore, *H.* 1. 5. prolific benefactors
Teint, *H.* 1. 462. for tent, rather tinture
Tempest chafte, *E.* III. 92. tempest beaten
Tende, T. 113. attend, or wait, C. [*Æ.* 1124.
Tene, *Æ.* 366. sorrow
Tentyffie, *E.* III. 48. carefully, C. attentively
Tere, *Æ.* 46. health, C. constitution
Thighte, St. C. 104. [*H.* 2. 578. consolidated
Thilk, *H.* 1. 81. 193. that, or such
Thyk, G. 28. such
Thoughten, *Æ.* 172. 1135. for thought, pa. t. sing. qu.
Thraslarke, *H.* 2. 487. lark, or thrush, qu.
Thyssen, *E.* II. 87. these, or those, qu.
Throffle, *Æ.* 857. thrush
Tide, *Æ.* 86. for betide
Tochelod, *Æ.* 205. tackled, or joined
Tore, *Æ.* 1019. torch, C. [*Æ.* 964.
Tofte, *Æ.* 458. for tofs
Trechit, *H.* 2. 93. for treget, deceit, *P. Pa.*
Treynted, *Æ.* 453. scattered. See *Be-rcinted*
Trotte, *E.* III. 60. truth
Twyghte, *E.* II. 78. plucked, pulled, C.
Twytte, v. *E.* I. 2. pluck, or pull, C.
Tynge, tyngue, tongue, [*Æ.* 422. 522. 545. 771. 857.
Tynge of the morning, *M.* 49. the tinge or blush of the morning
Tytend, *H.* 1. 488. drawn tight

V.

Val, T. 138. helm, C. qu.
Venge, n. *H.* 1. 119. vengeance, revenge
Vengeouffie, *H.* 1. 347. revengefully
Vengeunge, *H.* 2. 54. revenging
Vernage, *H.* 2. 11. vernaccia, Ital. a sort of rich wine
Vorte, T. 81. green branches, and leaves
Ugsome, adj. *E.* II. 55. terribly, C. — *Æ.* 303. terrible, C. [*H.* 2. 692. *Æ.* 594. 978. G. 10.
Ugshomeneß, *Æ.* 506. terror, C.
Ugshome, *Æ.* 555. terribly
Virgine, Ch. 1. the sign of Virgo
Unaknell, *H.* 1. 268. without any knell rung for them, qu. [*H.* 2. 556.
Unburled, *Æ.* 1185. unarmed, C.
Uncithe, *H.* 2. 290. strange, unknown
Uncted, M. 30. anointed, C.
Undelievre, G. 27. inactive, C.
Undevyse, *Æ.* 448. explain
Unenhantend, *Æ.* 635. unaccustomed, C.
Unespryte, G. 27. unspirited, C.
Unfaifull, *P.* 184. unfaithful
Ungentle, Ch. 18. beggarly, sordid
 ———, *P. G.* 1. uncivil
Unhailie, Ch. 85. unhappy, C.
Unkend, G. 59. unknown
Unknell. See *Unaknell*
Unliart, *P. G.* 4. unforgiving, C. inflexible
Unlist, *E.* III. 86. unbounded, C.
Unlored, Ep. 25. unlearned, C.
Unlydgefull, *Æ.* 536. rebellious, disobedient
Unplayte, G. 86. unplyte, *Æ.* 1237. explain, C.
Unquaced, *E.* III. 90. unhurt, C. not crushed
Unsprytes, *Æ.* 1211. unsouls, C. unmans
Untentyff, G. 79. uncareful, neglected, C. inattentive

Unthrees,

Unbewes, *M.* 32. *bad qualities*
Unthylle, *T.* 30. *useless*, *C.*
Unwere, *E.* III. 87. *tempest*, *C.* [*Æ.* 519.
 965. 1188.
Unwote, *H.* 1. 261. *unknown*
Volunde, *Æ.* 73. *memory*, *understanding*, *C.*
 —*G.* 140. *will*, *disposition*
Upryne, *H.* 2. 719. *raise up*. *Upwryen*
Uprifte, *Æ.* 917. *risen*, *C.* [*G.* 59.
Upfwalynge, *Æ.* 258. *swelling*, *C.* [*E.* II. 15.
Upfwol, *E.* II. 84. *swollen*

W.

Walfome, *H.* 2. 92. *Le.* 5. *wlatfome*, *loath-*
some, [*wolfome*, *H.* 2. 567.
Wanhope, *G.* 34. *despair*, *C.*
Warde, *Wardest*, *Æ.* 49. 372. *watch*, *watchest*
Wastle-cake, *St. C.* 100. *cake of white bread*
Wayld, *Æ.* 11. *choice*, *selected*
Waylinge, *E.* II. 68. *decreasing*, *C.*
Wayne, *E.* III. 31. *car*, *C.* [*H.* 2. 569.
Æ. 1. *E.* II. 49. *E.* III. 68.
Weal, *T.* 20. *government*
Wedcefter, *Æ.* 943. *watchet*
Wede, *Ch.* 18. *dress*
Weere, *Wiere*, *Wyere*, *Æ.* 834. *E.* II. 79.
grief, *C.* [*Æ.* 842. 1002. 1157.
Welke, *H.* 1. 34. *heavenly course*, *qu.*
Welked, *E.* III. 50. *withered*, *C.* *P. Pa.*
Welkyn, *Æ.* 1054. *heaven*, *C.* [*Æ.* 167.
 524. 965. *Ch.* 9. 35. *or sky*
Wemes, *P.* 185. *faults*. See *Mr. Tyrwhit's*
Glossary
Whaped, *H.* 2. 579. See *Awrapped*
Wifegger, *E.* III. 8. *a philosopher*, *C.* *phi-*
losophic, *learned*
Wiflen, *Æ.* 684. *with* [*St. C.* 119.
Wite, *G.* 176. *reward*, *C.*
Wites, *H.* 2. 21. 91. 129. *men*, *people*
Withe, *E.* III. 56. *a contraction of wither*, *C.*
Woden blue, *St. C.* 45. *dyed blue with woad*
Woe-begen, *Ch.* 23. *woeful*, *miserable*

Woe-bementing, *E.* IV. 36. *woe-bewailing*
Wolsome. See *Walfome*
Wordeynge, *Æ.* 1229. *sending word*
Wote, *Woteth*, *H.* 1. 17. *L. C.* I. 7. 10. *know*
Woted, *H.* 2. 8. *knew*
Wraytes. See *Reytes*
Wrynn, *T.* 117. *declare*, *C.* [*Æ.* 653.
Wurche, *Wurcheft*, *Æ.* 499. *work*, *work-*
est, *C.* [*P. G.* 5. *E.* III. 61.
Wychencref, *Æ.* 419. *witchcraft*
Wyere. See *Weer*
Wympled, *G.* 207. *mantled*, *or covered*, *C.*
P. Pa.
Wynnyng, *Æ.* 219. *charms*
Wyte, *G.* 32. *wisdom*, *or knowledge*

Y.

Yan, *Æ.* 72. *than*, [*Æ.* 830. 873. 874.
 917.
Yaped, *Ep.* 30. *laughable*, *C.* [*Æ.* 234.
P. Pa.
Yatte, *T.* 9. *that*, *C.* [*Æ.* 9. 193. 620.
 1065. 1240. *Le.* 11. 29. *T.* 9. 86.
Ybereynge, *Æ.* 732. *bearing*
Yblente, *Æ.* 40. *blinded*, *C.* [*Æ.* 40.
Yborne, *her yborne*, *Æ.* 135. *her son*
Yrende, *Æ.* 611. *burn*
Ybrente, *Æ.* 308. 1090. *T.* 137. *burnt*
Ybroched, *G.* 97. *horned*, *C.* *or*, *large and*
round, *like a jewel*, *qu.*
Ybroughten, *Æ.* 918. *brought*
Ycame, *H.* 2. 675. *came*
Yclaped, *H.* 1. 454. *H.* 2. 135. *M.* 69.
called
Ycorne, *Æ.* 374. *engraved*, *carved*
Ycorven, *T.* 170. *to mould*, *C.* *or form*
Ycrafed, *T.* 132. *broken*, *C.*
Ylronks, *T.* 39. *drinks*
Yeave, *yeve*, *Æ.* 960. *G.* 133. *T.* 12. 130.
gave, *give*
Ydeyd, *H.* 2. 9. *dyed*

Yenne,

- Yenne, then, *Æ.* 795.
 Yer, *E. II.* 29. their, [*T.* 36. *G.* 100. *yere*,
 101. *Le.* 12. *Ent.* 3. *Æ.* 789. *Yre*, 537.
 Yer, *Æ.* 673. your [*900.*
Yformed, *H.* 2. 203. *formed*
Ygrove, *H.* 2. 434. *graven*, or *formed*
Yinde, *Æ.* 6, 1. yonder
Yine, *Æ.* 539. thine
Yinge, *St. C.* 108. *young*
Yis, this, [*Æ.* 1107.
Ylached, *H.* 2. 436. *enclosed*, *shut up*
Ylain, *Æ.* 271. *lain*
Ymade, *H.* 2. 281. *made*
Ynbum, *Ent.* 5. *interr*, *C.*
Ynutile, *Æ.* 198. *useless*
Ypass, *H.* 1. 552. *H.* 2. 71. 308. *pass*, *passed*
Yreaden, *H.* 2. 207. *made ready*
Yrearde, *L. C. I.* 6. 8. 12. *reared*, *raised*
Yroughte, *H.* 2. 318. for *Ywrought*
Ysped, *M.* 102. *dispatched*, *C.* [*Æ.* 787.
Yspende, *T.* 179. *confider*, *C.*
Ystorven, *E. I.* 52. *dead*, *C.*
Ytorne, *H.* 2. 46. *turn*
Ytsel, *E. I.* 18. *itself*
Yweille, *Æ.* 669. *G.* 157. *wield*
Ywreen, *E. II.* 39. *covered*, *C.* [*St. C.* 33.
Ywrinde, *M.* 100. *hid*, *covered*, *C.* [*E.* 129.
 St. C. 33.
Ywrinde, *Æ.* 335. *St. C.* 71. *disfolded*. See
 Beureen, &c.
Ywrite, *Æ.* 648. *write*
Yvine, *Æ.* 539. *thine*

Z.

Zabalus. See Sabalus.

E I N I S.

L R R A T A.

PAGE. LINE.

21	6	for	and	read	et
40	17	Vetredi	—	—	U'etredi
61	26	Meenalus	—	—	Meenalus
81	32	1779	—	—	1777
86	23	176	—	—	165
88	14	78	—	—	278
107	ult.	601, 740	—	—	600, 739
110	24	oryne	—	—	clyne
115	14	appear'd	—	—	yicra'd
Ibid.	24	734	—	—	733
117	8	390	—	—	298
119	5	Brandenburg	—	—	Brandenburg
120	20	May	—	—	August
123	ult.	357	—	—	557
130	19	399	—	—	389
136	19	—	—	—	dele 355
139	ult.	464, 618	—	—	463, 617
147	5	Campyon	—	—	Campynon
150	7	627	—	—	626
152	25	Bertrammel Maine	—	—	Bertramvil Manne
174	16	Northwich	—	—	Northwick
178	12	10 Ed. IV.	—	—	9 Ed. IV.
Ibid.	antepen.	father	—	—	grandfather
192	ult.	after person	—	—	add at that period
193	7	—	—	—	dele and
194	8	found	—	—	found
197	17	these	—	—	those
198	11	Hallie	—	—	Hallie
199	18	twice	—	—	thrice
214	15	512	—	—	502
Ibid.	ult.	271	—	—	261
239	ult.	710	—	—	691
246	antepen.	1126	—	—	1125
251	antepen.	—	—	—	dele and
258	15	frers,	—	—	dele ,
280	13	Frers	—	—	Freres
283	3	Hallie	—	—	Hallie
302	8	South	—	—	North
Ibid.	14	1274	—	—	1277
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